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VOL. VIII. No. 2.

October, 1887.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL

OF

HELLENIC STUDIES

TEXT



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY, AND SOLD BY THEIR DEPOSITORS.

BY

MACMILLAN AND CO., 25, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND,
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1848







THE JOURNAL
OF
HELLENIC STUDIES



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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Rules of the Society	xi
List of Officers and Members	xix
Catalogue of the Library	xxxix
Transactions of the Society—1887	xlvi
1. A Hyton in Form of a Sphinx. Plates LXXII.-III.—A. S. MURRAY	1
2. Numismatic Commentary on <i>Panathiaia</i> , III. Books IX, X., I. 1-23, Plates LXXIV.-VIII.—F. IMHOOF-BLUMER and P. GARDNER	6
3. Excavations in Caria.—W. R. PATON	64
4. <i>Isos</i> .—E. L. HICKS	68
5. Two Naxosite Vases. Plate LXXIX.—E. A. GARDNER	119
6. The Trial Scene in <i>Iliad</i> XVIII.—WALTER LEAF	122
7. The Homeric Talent: its Origin, Value, and Affinities.—W. RIDGWAY	133
8. Recently Discovered Archæic Statues.—E. A. GARDNER	150
9. The Lombards and Venetians in Eubœa, 1803-1840.—J. B. BURY	194
10. An Inscription from Rome.—E. A. GARDNER	214
11. Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor.—A. H. SMITH	216
12. Vases Representing the Judgment of Paris. (Note.)	268
13. Two Vases from Cyprus (Pls. LXXXI. and LXXXII.).—A. S. MURRAY	317
14. The Cuddian Aphrodite of Praxiteles (Pl. LXXX.).—A. MICHAELIS	324
15. Inscriptions from Salonica.—D. G. HOGARTH	356
16. <i>Apollo Lermenus</i> .—D. G. HOGARTH and W. M. RAMSAY	376
17. A Theban Decree.—E. L. HICKS	401
18. Inscriptions from Thasos.—E. L. HICKS and J. T. BENT	409
19. <i>Irys</i> and <i>Aedon</i> : a Panathiaic Oxylix.—J. E. HARRISON	429
20. Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos (Pl. LXXXIII.).—W. R. PATON	446
21. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia, II.—W. M. RAMSAY	461

SUPPLEMENT.

Excavations in Greece, 1886-7	269
Sculpture and Epigraphy, 1886-7	278

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(A) *Art and Manufacture*—

Petrin's 'Naukratis'; Reinach's 'Conseils aux Voyageurs Archéologues'; Furtwängler's 'Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium'; Klein's 'Griechische Vasen mit Meister-signaturen'; Klein's 'Euphronios'; Winter's 'Jüngere Attische Vasen'; Morgenthau's 'Zusammenhang der Bilder auf Griechischen Vasen'; Schneider's 'Troische Sagenkreis'; Vogel's 'Szenen Euripideischer Tragödien in Griechischen Vasengemälden'	286
Pottier and Reinach's 'Nécropole de Myrina'; Furtwängler and Löschke's 'Mykenische Vasen'; Heydemann's 'Jason in Colchis'; Robert's 'Archäologische Märchen'; Ulrich's 'Ueber griechische Kunstschriftsteller'; Robinson's 'Descriptive Catalogue of Coins at Boston'; Roschard's 'Parthenon'; Collignon's 'Phidias'	520

(B) *Inscriptions*—

Meisterhans's 'Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften'; Collitz's 'Sammlung der Griechischen Dialektinschriften'; Loewy's 'Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer'; Reinach's 'Traité d'Épigraphie grecque'; Latyschev's 'Inscriptions Tyræ, Olbias, Ac.'	299
Kirchhoff's 'Studien,' Bd. IV.; Robert's 'Introduction to Greek Epigraphy'	533

(C) *History and Antiquities*—

Busolt's 'Griechische Geschichte,' Vol. I.; Max Duncker's 'History of Greece,' Vols. I. II.; Holm's 'Griechische Geschichte,' Vol. I.; Haud's 'Historia Numorum'; Beloch's 'Bevölkerung der Griechisch-römischen Welt'	309
Studzinski's 'Altgriechische Tracht'; Halbig's 'Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert,' Bd. II.; Gardner's 'Greek Coins of Peloponnesus'; Haverfield's 'Topographical Model of Syracuse'	536

INDEX TO VOLUMES I-VIII	541
-----------------------------------	-----

CLASSIFIED TABLE OF CONTENTS.

I.—EXCAVATION AND TRAVEL.

	page
J. T. BENT.—Inscriptions from Thasos	409
E. A. GARDNER.—Recently discovered Archaic Statues	159
D. G. HOGARTH.—Apollo Larmenus	376
W. R. PATON.—Excavations in Caria	64
A. H. SMITH.—Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor	216

II.—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

E. A. GARDNER.—Two Narrative Vases	119
J. E. HARRISON.—Itys and Asdon, a Panninian Cylix	439
F. JIMSON-BLEMER and P. GARDNER.—Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, III.	6
A. MICHAELIS.—The Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles	324
A. S. MURRAY.—A Rhyton in form of a Sphinx	1
" " Two Vases from Cyprus	317
W. E. PATON.—Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos	446

III.—INSCRIPTIONS.

E. A. GARDNER.—An Inscription from Boeotia	214
E. L. HICKS.—Inscriptions	83
" " A Thasian Decree	401
" " Inscriptions from Thasos	409
D. G. HOGARTH.—Inscriptions from Salonica	356
" " Apollo Larmenus	376

IV.—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

	PAGE
J. B. BUNY.—The Lombards and Venetians in Eubœa, 1308-40	194
W. LEAF.—The Trial Scene in <i>Iliad</i> XVIII.	122
W. M. RAMSAY.—The Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia, II.	461
W. BINGEWAY.—The Homeric Talent : its Origin, Value, and Affinities . .	133

LIST OF WOOD-CUTS, &c.

	PAGE
Wall at Assarlik, Caria	64
Wall at Myndus	66
Tombs at Assarlik	67, 72, 73, 79, 80
Pottery from Assarlik	69, 71, 74, 75, &c.
Fibula from Assarlik	74
Archaic Statues, Athenian Acropolis	163, 166, 167, 171
Head from Temple of Apollo Ptoos	184
Statue from Temple of Apollo Ptoos	188
Map of part of Phrygia	267
Plan to show place of Recent Excavations on Athenian Acropolis	269
Plan of Propylææ, Olympieum, Athens	272
Plan of Temple at Corinth	275
Sketch-Plan of Theatre at Siyeon	276
Statue of Cnidian Aphrodite, Vatican (Perrier, Kraus, and Visconti)	323
Coins of Cnidus with Figure of Aphrodite	340
Statuette of Aphrodite, Taras	345
Vatican and Munich Statues of Aphrodite	347
Head of Aphrodite: Olympia. (Plate)	353
Itys and Aedon: Cyliz	440, 441
Amphora from Calymnos	447
Map of Phrygia	461

LIST OF PLATES.

PLATE

- LXXII. A Rhyton in the Form of a Sphinx ; British Museum. Autotype print.
- LXXIII. Painting from the same Vase ; Subject, Childhood of Erichthonius. Drawn by F. Anderson ; lithographed by W. Griggs.
- LXXIV. }
 LXXV. } Photographs from Casts of Coins of Phocis, Boeotia, Athens, &c.,
 LXXVI. } in illustration of Pausanias. Executed by Brunner and Co.,
 LXXVII. } Winterthur.
 LXXVIII. }
- LXXIX. Two Fragments of Pottery from Naukratis. Drawn by F. Anderson ; lithographed by W. Griggs.
- LXXX. The Cnidian Aphrodite, Vatican. Autotype print.
- LXXXI. Vase from Cyprus : Female Figures. Drawn by F. Anderson, Jun. ; lithographed by W. Griggs.
- LXXXII. Red-figured Vase from Cyprus : Subject, Death of Sphinx. Drawn by F. Anderson, Jun. Autotype print.
- LXXXIII. Vases from Calymnos and Carpathos. Drawn by F. Anderson, Jun. ; printed by the Clarendon Press.

RULES

OF THE

SOCIETY FOR THE PROMOTION OF HELLENIC STUDIES.

I. THE objects of this Society shall be as follows :—

I. To advance the study of Greek language, literature, and art, and to illustrate the history of the Greek race in the ancient, Byzantine, and Neo-Hellenic periods, by the publication of memoirs and unedited documents or monuments in a Journal to be issued periodically.

II. To collect drawings, facsimiles, transcripts, plans, and photographs of Greek inscriptions, MSS., works of art, ancient sites and remains, and with this view to invite travellers to communicate to the Society notes or sketches of archaeological and topographical interest.

III. To organise means by which members of the Society may have increased facilities for visiting ancient sites and pursuing archaeological researches in countries which, at any time, have been the sites of Hellenic civilization.

2. The Society shall consist of a President, Vice-Presidents, a Council, a Treasurer, one or more Secretaries, and Ordinary Members. All officers of

the Society shall be chosen from among its Members, and shall be *ex officio* members of the Council.

3. The President shall preside at all General, Ordinary, or Special Meetings of the Society, and of the Council or of any Committee at which he is present. In case of the absence of the President, one of the Vice-Presidents shall preside in his stead, and in the absence of the Vice-Presidents the Treasurer. In the absence of the Treasurer, the Council or Committee shall appoint one of their Members to preside.

4. The funds and other property of the Society shall be administered and applied by the Council in such manner as they shall consider most conducive to the objects of the Society: in the Council shall also be vested the control of all publications issued by the Society, and the general management of all its affairs and concerns. The number of the Council shall not exceed fifty.

5. The Treasurer shall receive, on account of the Society, all subscriptions, donations, or other moneys accruing to the funds thereof, and shall make all payments ordered by the Council.

6. No money shall be drawn out of the hands of the Treasurer or dealt with otherwise than by an order of Council, and a cheque signed by two members of Council and countersigned by a Secretary.

7. The Council shall meet as often as they may deem necessary for the despatch of business.

8. Due notice of every such Meeting shall be sent to each Member of the Council, by a summons signed by the Secretary.

9. Three Members of the Council, provided not more than one of the three present be a permanent officer of the Society, shall be a quorum.

10. All questions before the Council shall be determined by a majority of votes. The Chairman to have a casting vote.

11. The Council shall prepare an Annual Report, to be submitted to the Annual Meeting of the Society.

12. The Secretary shall give notice in writing to each Member of the Council of the ordinary days of meeting of the Council, and shall have authority to summon a Special and Extraordinary Meeting of the Council on a requisition signed by at least four Members of the Council.

13. Two Auditors, not being Members of the Council, shall be elected by the Society in each year.

14. A General Meeting of the Society shall be held in London in June of each year, when the Reports of the Council and of the Auditors shall be read, the Council, Officers, and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other business recommended by the Council discussed and determined. Meetings of the Society for the reading of papers may be held at such times as the Council may fix, due notice being given to Members.

15. The President, Vice-Presidents, Treasurer, Secretaries, and Council shall be elected by the Members of the Society at the Annual Meeting.

16. The President and Vice-Presidents shall be appointed for one year, after which they shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

17. One-third of the Council shall retire every year, but the Members so retiring shall be eligible for re-election at the Annual Meeting.

18. The Treasurer and Secretaries shall hold their offices during the pleasure of the Council.

19. The elections of the Officers, Council, and Auditors, at the Annual Meeting, shall be by a majority of the votes of those present. The Chairman of the Meeting shall have a casting vote. The mode in which the vote shall be taken shall be determined by the President and Council.

20. Every Member of the Society shall be summoned to the Annual Meeting by notice issued at least one month before it is held.

21. All motions made at the Annual Meeting shall be in writing and shall be signed by the mover and seconder. No motion shall be submitted, unless notice of it has been given to the Secretary at least three weeks before the Annual Meeting.

22. Upon any vacancy in the Presidency, occurring between the Annual Elections, one of the Vice-Presidents shall be elected by the Council to officiate as President until the next Annual Meeting.

23. All vacancies among the other Officers of the Society occurring between the same dates shall in like manner be provisionally filled up by the Council until the next Annual Meeting.

24. The names of all candidates wishing to become Members of the Society shall be submitted to a Meeting of the Council, and at their next Meeting the Council shall proceed to the election of candidates so proposed: no such election to be valid unless the candidate receives the votes of the majority of those present.

25. The Annual Subscription of Members shall be one guinea, payable and due on the 1st of January each year; this annual subscription may be compounded for by a payment of £15 15s., entitling compounders to be Members of the Society for life, without further payment.

26. The payment of the Annual Subscription, or of the Life Composition, entitles each Member to receive a copy of the ordinary publications of the Society.

27. When any Member of the Society shall be six months in arrear of his Annual Subscription, the Secretary or Treasurer shall remind him of the arrears due, and in case of non-payment thereof within six months after date of such notice, such defaulting Member shall cease to be a Member of the Society, unless the Council make an order to the contrary.

28. Members intending to leave the Society must send a formal notice of resignation to the Secretary on or before January 1; otherwise they will be held liable for the subscription for the current year.

29. If at any time there may appear cause for the expulsion of a Member of the Society, a Special Meeting of the Council shall be held to consider the case, and if at such Meeting at least two-thirds of

the Members present shall concur in a resolution for the expulsion of such Member of the Society, the President shall submit the same for confirmation at a General Meeting of the Society specially summoned for this purpose, and if the decision of the Council be confirmed by a majority at the General Meeting, notice shall be given to that effect to the Member in question, who shall thereupon cease to be a Member of the Society.

30. The Council shall have power to nominate British or Foreign Honorary Members. The number of British Honorary Members shall not exceed ten.

31. Ladies shall be eligible as Ordinary Members of the Society, and when elected shall be entitled to the same privileges as other Ordinary Members.

32. No change shall be made in the Rules of the Society unless at least a fortnight before the Annual Meeting specific notice be given to every Member of the Society of the changes proposed.

RULES FOR THE USE OF THE LIBRARY.

I. THAT the Library be administered by the Library Committee, which shall be composed of not less than four members, two of whom shall form a quorum.

II. That the custody and arrangement of the Library be in the hands of the Librarian, subject to the control of the Committee, and in accordance with Regulations drawn up by the said Committee and approved by the Council.

III. That all books, periodicals, plans, photographs, &c., be received by the Librarian or Secretary and reported to the Council at their next meeting.

IV. That every book or periodical sent to the Society be at once stamped with the Society's name.

V. That all the Society's books be entered in a Catalogue to be kept by the Librarian, and that in this Catalogue such books, &c. as are not to be lent out be specified.

VI. That the Library be accessible to Members on all week days from eleven A.M. to six P.M., when either the Librarian, or in his absence some responsible person, shall be in attendance.

VII. That the Society's books (with exceptions hereinafter to be specified) be lent to Members under the following conditions :—

- (1) That the number of volumes lent at any one time to each Member shall not exceed three.
- (2) That the time during which such book or books may be kept shall not exceed one month.
- (3) That no books be sent beyond the limits of the United Kingdom.

VIII. That the manner in which books are lent shall be as follows :—

- (1) That all requests for the loan of books be addressed to the Librarian.
- (2) That the Librarian shall record all such requests, and lend out the books in the order of application.
- (3) That in each case the name of the book and of the borrower be inscribed, with the date, in a special register to be kept by the Librarian.
- (4) Should a book not be returned within the period specified, the Librarian shall reclaim it.
- (5) All expenses of carriage to and fro shall be borne by the borrower.

IX. That no book falling under the following categories be lent out under any circumstances :—

- (1) Unbound books.
- (2) Detached plates, plans, photographs, and the like.
- (3) Books considered too valuable for transmission.

X. That in the case of a book being kept beyond the stated time the borrower be liable to a fine of one shilling for each additional week, and if a book is lost the borrower be bound to replace it.

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THE SESSION OF 1886-7.

The First General Meeting was held on *October 21, 1886*, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

On the motion of the HON. SECRETARY, seconded by Lord LINGEN, Mr. COLVIN was appointed to represent the Society upon the Managing Committee of the British School at Athens.

MR. POYNTER read a paper upon a bronze leg recently acquired for the British Museum from M. Piot, of Paris (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 189). This leg, which had belonged to a statue of heroic size, was armed with a greave, and the few fragments of drapery which alone had come to light with the leg showed that the figure must have been that of a hero in full armour and in motion. After communicating some notes from Mr. A. S. Murray, arguing that the figure could not represent a runner in the *ὀπλίτης ἄρομος*, and assigning its production to about 450 B.C., Mr. Poynter proceeded to show on anatomical grounds that the attitude might have been that of a runner at the moment when the body was about equally poised on the two legs. The interest of this fragment to the artist lay not so much in its probable date (as to which Mr. Poynter was disposed to agree with Mr. Murray) as in its beauty of workmanship. The British Museum was to be heartily congratulated upon the acquisition of so unique a specimen of the acme of Greek art.

MR. C. SMITH stated that some further fragments of drapery had just reached the Museum.

MR. A. H. SMITH reminded the meeting that this leg was one of several specimens of sculpture upon which M. François Lenormant had based a theory, which had found no acceptance, as to a native Tarentine school of sculpture.

MISS J. HARRISON read a paper on the representation in Greek art, and especially in vase-paintings, of the myth of the judgment of Paris (*Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 196). After dealing in detail with the various types which extant examples assume, the writer propounded a new theory, both as to the primary significance of the myth and as to the artistic origin of the earliest type, in which Hermes leads the three goddesses in procession, and Paris is absent from the scene. The theory was that this type had been taken over from the well-known type of Hermes leading the Charites to Pan.

In thanking Miss Harrison for her paper, the CHAIRMAN said that her theory was probably well founded.

The Second General Meeting was held on *February 24, 1887*, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

MR. CECIL SMITH read a paper by Mr. A. S. Murray on 'A Rhyton in the form of a Sphinx' (*Journal*, Vol. VIII. p. 1). Mr. Smith added some remarks upon a similar but inferior vase of Sphinx form at St. Petersburg. This, which was probably of later date, had been found in a tomb with two other similar vases belonging to a date as late as the end of the ninth century B.C.

PROFESSOR MIDDLETON called attention to the wonderful brilliance of the vermilion pigment on this and other vases of the kind, due, as he had ascertained by experiment, to the presence of pyroxide of iron.

The HON. SECRETARY read a paper by Professor W. Ridgeway on 'The Homeric Talent: its Origin, Values, and Affinities' (*Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 133), arguing that the ox was the original unit of value, and the talent its metallic representative.

The CHAIRMAN described the paper as extremely interesting and suggestive.

MR. HEAD said that even if the whole chain of argument could not be maintained, this valuable paper would be of great use in the study of metrology. So far as the Homeric talent was concerned, Professor Ridgeway was certainly right in associating it with the ox. But when he went on to argue that the ox was everywhere of the same value for more than a thousand years he went too far. It was indeed inconceivable that at any time the ox had the same value everywhere. That the ox had a conventional value in early Greece, and also that the ox unit = the talent of Homer at a given time might be granted, but all the rest was doubtful. For one thing in early Greece all the coinage was silver, and gold was not used until the time of Philip of Macedon. All the Greek silver talents and minae were of Oriental origin, developed ages before the Greeks received them. The route by which they reached Greece was established by the study of coins. Gold and silver bullion were the medium of exchange in the East from the earliest times. It was hazardous to suppose that all the coins were based on the ox. That the Babylonian gold shekel bore a certain relation to all Greek standards implied that all had a common origin in the East, but not necessarily that this was the value of the ox. In historical times the ox was certainly of fluctuating value in Greece, as we had evidence to show.

The Third General Meeting was held on *April 21, 1887*, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

PROFESSOR GARDNER read a paper by Mr. W. R. Paton on 'Tombs in the Neighbourhood of Halicarnassus' (printed

in *Journal*, Vol. VIII. p. 64, under the title 'Excavations in Caria'). In introducing the paper, Professor Gardner dwelt on the light Mr. Paton's discoveries threw upon the history of this interesting district, the cradle and, down to the time of Mausolus, the home of the Leleges.

MR. ARTHUR EVANS concurred in thinking that the remains belonged to the Leleges. He pointed out that in general plan—an avenue, a domed chamber, and an outer circle of slabs—these tombs had many parallels from Ireland (New Grange) on the one side to Graeco-Scythia, Sarmatia, Kertch, and Mycenae on the other. The ornamentation on the sarcophagi also closely resembled the gold ornaments from Mycenae. The presence of fibulae was of special importance. The presence of iron, and of vases with concentric circles and bands, like those found in Cyprus, pointed to a later date.

Mr. Newton said that Mr. Paton did not dwell enough upon the massive character of the gateway, which recalled the Lion Gate at Mycenae. Professor Gardner and Dr. Gustav Hirschfeld also took part in the discussion.

MR. WALTER LEAF read a paper on the 'Trial Scene in *Iliad*, XVIII.' (*Journal*, Vol. VIII. p. 122), arguing that the point reached by Homeric Society was intermediate between the stage of the punishment of homicide by exile, and of its commutation for a fine, and that the dispute in the scene in question really turned upon the infliction of one penalty or the other.

PROFESSOR POLLOCK expressed general agreement with Mr. Leaf's views, but thought he was perhaps too ready to take for granted the formalisation of early law. He could not recall any evidence of such sharp transition as was suggested from one stage to another. In early Teutonic law, certainly, there was a period when several alternatives were possible, and Homeric society might have been in the same stage. As to the reconciliation of the *Íorrip* with the

γέροντες Mr. Leaf was probably right. The appointment of judges by a single judge was known to Roman law. *A propos* of the reference made by Mr. Leaf to the story of 'Burnt Njal,' it was worth noting that in later times of Icelandic law indictments were set out minutely 'over the head of John.' This John might represent the *ἄστωρ*—the man without whose authority the judges could not have been summoned. Professor Pollock cited the first book of the *Iliad* as affording ground for doubting whether the early Greeks were so much more orderly than the Icelanders.

MR. NEWTON referred to an inscription from Priene, and described a trial scene which he had witnessed at Rhodes. The next of kin of a murdered man publicly refused any satisfaction but blood for blood, though the murderer on the scaffold offered to become the slave of his victim's family.

MR. EVANS said that the blood-feud still existed in Upper Albania, though it might be compounded for by the murderer or his representative going to the house of the victim with a sword round his neck, presenting gifts, and going through a certain ceremony. As a rule, the man who accepted this restored part of the deposit, or else the matter would come before the Council of the elders and then of the people.

MR. LEAF exhibited photographs of a new prehistoric house found at Mycenae in the previous December beneath the foundations of a Doric temple.

The Annual Meeting took place on *June 23, 1887*, MR. SIDNEY COLVIN, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following Report was read by the HON. SEC. on the part of the Council:—

AMONG the most important events in the history of the Society during the past year should be mentioned the fully attended Special Meeting held by permission in the rooms

of the Society of Antiquaries on July 2, 1886, for the purpose of discussing various questions which had been raised in regard to the remains at Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann, accompanied by Dr. W. Dörpfeld, came over from Athens on purpose to attend this meeting, and the discussion excited very general interest. A full report appeared in the *Proceedings* issued with the last Part of the *Journal*. It is enough to say here that, quite apart from the merits of the controversy, the meeting had the undoubted effect of emphasizing the position of the Society as the natural centre in England for discussions on questions of Hellenic archaeology, and was the means of attracting several new members.

The ordinary General Meetings of the Session have been fairly well attended, and interesting discussions have taken place. But as so many members live out of London, and the papers read are almost without exception afterwards published in the *Journal*, these meetings, pleasant and useful as they are to the members who can attend them, are not to be regarded as the most important part of the Society's work. Members therefore who cannot attend the meetings need not feel that their support is of no avail, for without it the Society could hardly continue to exist.

Foremost no less among the original objects of the Society, than among its achievements, must still be placed the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, which has won for itself a high rank among periodicals of its class. The last volume, for 1886 was in no way inferior to its predecessors in variety and interest. Among the contents may be mentioned an important paper by Mr. Arthur Evans on *Tarentine Terra-Cottas*; a second instalment of the valuable *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, by Dr. Imhoof-Blumer and Professor Percy Gardner; Mr. Farnell's papers on *The School of Scopas* and on the *Works of Pergamon*; Mr. E. A. Gardner's paper on the *Early Ionic Alphabet*; Miss Harrison's on the *Judgment of Paris*, as dealt with by the Greek vase painters; Professor Jebb's on *The Homeric House in relation to the Remains at Tiryns*, and Professor Middleton's on *The Great Hall in the Palace of Tiryns*. In the department of later Greek history

Mr. J. B. Bury contributed the first instalment of a careful paper on *The Lombards and Venetians in Eubœa*, while Mr. Tozer gave some account of *Gemistos Plethon*, a Byzantine reformer of the fifteenth century A.D. Shorter papers were contributed by Mr. J. T. Bent, Dr. Gustav Hirschfeld, Mr. F. B. Jevons, Mr. A. S. Murray, Mr. E. J. Poynter, R.A., Mr. Cecil Smith, Dr. Waldstein, and Mr. Warwick Wroth.

In regard to the *Journal*, as members have already been informed, two important modifications of the original plan have recently been decided upon after full consideration. It has more than once been suggested that a bibliography of new publications in Greek archaeology, a summary of foreign periodicals, and a record of discoveries in Greece and the adjoining countries, might be added to the *Journal* with great advantage to members who have no facilities for keeping themselves informed of the progress of research. But the preparation of such a Supplement involves so much care and labour that it has been found impossible to make arrangements for it upon the same basis as the rest of the *Journal*. The acting Editor however represented to the Council that if the matter in this Supplement could be paid for at a moderate rate he was prepared to arrange for its regular and efficient production; the progress of archaeology at Oxford and Cambridge, and the foundation of a British School at Athens, affording better facilities for work of this kind than were available some years ago. The question was fully discussed at a Special Meeting, and the Council decided in the interests of the Society to adopt Professor Gardner's suggestion. The second modification is in the form of the *Journal*. A good many members have found the separate Plates inconvenient. The size of the Plates and their separate packing and carriage have moreover been a source of heavy expense to the Society. The extra cost of the Supplement made it necessary to consider whether a saving could not be effected in some other direction. After full consideration it was decided to raise the size of the text to imperial 8vo. A single page plate in this form will be large enough to illustrate most objects of antiquity, while a double page plate

will be nearly as large as those now issued. The bibliographical Supplement will begin with the next number of the *Journal*, which will be issued early in July. But arrangements have already been made which involve the issue of one more volume in the original form. When this is complete an index will be issued to the first eight volumes of the *Journal*, and also a list of the seventy separate Plates, which may be collected in a convenient portfolio.

In consequence of representations received from several members of the Society, the Council have decided to set apart annually such a sum as the financial position of the Society may allow for the purchase of books for the Library. During the past year the following books have been purchased on the recommendation of the Library Committee: Overbeck's *History of Greek Sculpture*, Boeckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcorum*, Mitchell's *History of Greek Sculpture*, Waldstein's *Essays on the Art of Phidias*, and Gerhard's *Anserlesene Vasenbilder*. The first nine volumes of the *Journal of Philology*, completing the set, have been presented to the Society by the publishers. Several important books including Mr. Head's masterly *Historia Numerum*, have been sent for notice in the new Supplement of the *Journal*, and as all books sent for that purpose will be eventually placed in the Library it is hoped that many valuable additions may be made in this way. Members are again reminded that presents of appropriate books are always welcome. Before long a Catalogue will be issued of the present contents of the Library, and future additions will be recorded in the *Journal*.

Among the objects stated in the Rules of the Society is the collection of photographs of Greek works of art, ancient sites and remains. Till recently the Council have not seen their way to any fruitful effort in this direction. But during the past year the generous offer of Mr. W. J. Stillman to place at the disposal of the Society the negatives of a very important series of photographs taken by him of the monuments of Athens afforded an opportunity of which the Council gladly availed themselves. Mr. Stillman's offer was

promptly accepted, and satisfactory arrangements were made with the Autotype Company for the reproduction upon an enlarged scale and in permanent form of twenty-five of the most important subjects. A complete set of proofs, mounted in a portfolio, was acquired for the Library of the Society, and the Autotype Company undertook to supply members of the Society with copies of the prints at a reduced rate. As a circular on the subject has been sent to every member of the Society, it is not necessary to enter here into any further detail.

In the autumn of 1886 the British School at Athens was opened under the directorship of Mr. F. C. Penrose, and the grant of £100 made by the Society for three years has accordingly been called for. Four students have been enrolled during the season, and the results of the work done will be recorded in the form of Reports by the Director and some of the students in the next number of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*. A grant of £50 was made in the autumn to Mr. J. Theodore Bent, in aid of explorations in the island of Thasos. But as £25 of the £50 granted last year was repaid by Mr. Bent the charge upon the Society's income this year is only £25. The results of the expedition have been decidedly encouraging, among the discoveries being an important female votive statue, with an inscription, an archaic statue of Apollo, two bas-reliefs, and many inscriptions. Mr. Bent will contribute some account of his explorations to an early number of the *Journal*.

The financial position of the Society is set forth in the accompanying balance-sheet. The receipts of the year, including the subscriptions of members and of libraries, the sale of the *Journal* to non-members, and the interest on money invested, amount to £914 15s. 2d. The expenditure, which covers the cost of Volume VII. of the *Journal*, and includes the above-named grants to the School at Athens and to Mr. Bent, amounts to £792 14s. It should be pointed out that the receipts include Life Subscriptions to the amount of £94 10s. A further sum of £300, including these Life Subscriptions, has been invested in Consols, making

a total of £1,014 so invested. The balance at the bank on May 31 was £488 15s. A further asset is the sum of £95 7s. 9d. advanced towards the cost of photographing the Laurentian Codex of Sophocles. As all the other expenses of that undertaking have now been cleared off, the sale of the remaining copies will gradually cover also the debt to the Society. Lastly, there are arrears of subscriptions amounting to about £150. On the whole, then, the financial position of the Society may be regarded as satisfactory.

Since the last Annual Meeting 34 new members have been elected and 12 libraries have been added to the list of subscribers. Against this increase must be set the loss by death or resignation of 28 members, so that the net increase of members and subscribers is 18; the present total of members being 627, and of subscribers 84.

On the whole the progress of the Society during the past year has been, as this Report shows, of a satisfactory character. Good work has been done, and though the actual increase in the number of members has been less than in previous years there has at least been no loss of ground. As so much of the efficiency of the Society depends upon the support it receives from every quarter, the Council once more urge upon members the importance of making the Society widely known among their friends, with a view to securing a steady supply of new members.

In moving the adoption of the Report, the CHAIRMAN alluded sympathetically to the recent foundation of the *Classical Review*, and referred briefly to the chief archaeological discoveries of the year. The progress of research had been steady, if not sensational, and various institutions of all nations had been working with good result. Among these might now be numbered the British school at Athens, which had taken part in an important excavation on the site of the Temple of Olympian Zeus. The Athenian Archaeological Society had been very active, and had discovered on the Acropolis not only a large number of archaic statues of great interest, but, in the space between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum, the site of a primitive temple, certainly earlier than the Parthenon, and possibly dating from the period of Pisistratus. The excavations at Eleusis had also been continued with good result. The French School, besides the discovery of an ancient gate, *κατὰ τὸ Ἀφροδίσιον*, at the Piræus, had conducted very important excavations at the temple of Apollo Ptoieus in Eubœa, where numerous archaic figures, resembling the Apollo of Thera and others, had been found, as also many inscriptions. Further work had been done by the French in the island of Delos. Turning to individual workers, Mr. Colvin referred to Mr. Bent's investigations in the island of Thasos, and to Mr. W. R. Paton's examination of ancient tombs and necropoleis in Caria. In Cyprus the site of Arsinoë had been discovered, and in the course of the excavations had been found vases of really fine workmanship, a ring, and other objects, which promised a rich result from further explorations. If funds could be raised, a most important excavation might here be carried on upon a most favourable site. The matter would probably be brought before members of the Society in the course of the autumn. In conclusion, the Chairman dwelt strongly upon the importance of adding as many members as possible, that the Society might have a large surplus of income each year, and be able to devote really adequate sums in aid of explorations as opportunity might arise.

MR. WATKISS LLOYD seconded the motion, and the Report was unanimously adopted.

At the usual ballot the former President and Vice-Presidents were re-elected, Professor P. Gardner being added to the latter. Lord Lingen, Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, Mr. A. H. Smith, and Dr. H. Weber were elected to fill vacancies on the Council, Mr. Capes, Mr. Gow, and Mr. P. Ralli retiring by rotation.

MR. BENT gave a short account of his discoveries in Thasos. These included (1) a Roman arch with three inscriptions recording that it had been erected in memory of certain emperors and generals who had protected outlying parts of the empire from barbarian invasion. He had also found a statue of a female, probably a priestess, named Sabina. He had further uncovered a theatre, and found that each seat was inscribed with a name, the letters in some cases being of good date. A peculiar feature was a circle of large blocks of stone in the centre of the orchestra, each inscribed with two large letters—H P, P A, Σ E, &c., not, however, making up a sentence. In the front of the theatre was a pretty Doric colonnade, but the stage was of Roman date. In the field adjoining the theatre was found a good archaic bas relief representing a banqueting scene.

A RHYTON IN FORM OF A SPHINX.

[PLATES LXXII AND LXXIII.]

THE rhyton here published was found in a tomb at Capua in 1872, as described briefly in the *Bullettino* of that year (p. 42); it was acquired in the following year by the British Museum, and was soon thereafter included, but only in one view, among the 'Photographs of the Castellani Collection,' pl. 12. Always much admired for its beauty, both in the modelling of the Sphinx and in the drawing of the figures which encircle the cup above her head or occupy the spaces under her body, this vase has been seen at a certain disadvantage, as I believe, from a defective interpretation of the subject painted round the cup. In the *Bullettino* this subject was called 'Triton, Nike and other figures,' and this description has remained unchallenged. But obviously the figure here named Triton does not end in the tail of a fish, as a Triton should end. It is the tail of a serpent, and therefore he must be identified with some legendary person possessed of this combination—a human body ending in the coils and tail of a serpent. There can be no doubt that he is Kekrops, *Κέκροψα σπειραεισιν εἰλίσσοντα* as he is described by Euripides,¹ or as

¹ *Ion*, 1163. It should here be stated that the subject represented on this vase was rightly identified by Hartwig at a meeting of the Roman Institute last year. I had not however

seen the abstract of his paper in the *Mittheilungen* of the Roman Institute, I. p. 190, till after my article was set up in type.

he appears in a Berlin terra-cotta, representing the birth of Erichthonios.¹ On the terra-cotta Athene receives the infant Erichthonios from Gaia, who rises from the earth holding him up.

On the vase with which we are now concerned the incident has advanced a step. Athens and Gaia have disappeared, and the three daughters of Kekrops have come on the scene. Nike is offering a libation to Kekrops; the boy Erichthonios sits closely wrapped up in a mantle on a rock of the Acropolis. It is understood that in the meantime Athene had confided the boy to the care of the three daughters of Kekrops with injunctions as to secrecy. One of them, however, Pandrosos, had yielded to curiosity and opened the basket in which the boy lay. At the sight she ran frantic. We may assume that the frenzied figure behind Nike is Pandrosos, and thus while Nike is, so to speak, congratulating Kekrops on the secrecy² of the birth of Erichthonios, his daughter has exploded the arrangement, and the presence of the boy is in the way of becoming an open fact. One of the daughters, standing before Erichthonios, holds a sceptre—probably to indicate the sceptre which is to pass to him in time. The third daughter shares a little of the astonishment of Pandrosos. While Kekrops is yet unaware of the divulging of the secret, Erichthonios, on his part, appears to be still oppressed with mystery, if we may judge so much from his mien and from his being closely wrapped up; the covering of his head is still conspicuous, though it has been pushed back as if to show the beginning of his awakening to reality. We have thus a better illustration, I think, than has yet been noticed of the lines where Euripides makes Ion hang up a piece of embroidery,³

¹ *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, pl. 63. Mr. Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 452, fig. 277, gives a statue of Cybele with Gaia holding up Erichthonios, and on the same page he speaks of a figure of Kekrops, also on a Cypriote statue. A vase in the British Museum, which has generally passed as a representation of the birth of Erichthonios, is now described as Athene receiving the infant Dionysos from the

nymph Dirke. See Robert, *Arch. Museum*, p. 190. It is the vase engraved in Gerhard's *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iii. pl. 151.

² In the Berlin terra-cotta Kekrops places a finger on his lips to indicate that he was aware of the secrecy which was to be maintained.

³ *Ion*, 1163.

κατ' εἰσόδου; δὲ Κέκροπα θυγατέρων πῆλας
σπείραισιν εἰλίσσοντ', Ἀθηναίων τινὸς
ἀνάθημα.

Ion being (line 54) χρυσοφύλακα τοῦ θεοῦ | ταμίαν τε πάντων πιστόν would have access to the stores of embroideries dedicated in the temple.

As regards the Satyr with his club and the female figure, possibly a Maenad, which occupy the spaces under the body of the Sphinx, there may not be any explanation of them beyond that of mere decorative effect. The Sphinx herself, however, suggests a train of thought appropriate to the secrecy of the birth of Erichthonios, no less than to what befel Pandrosos for her excess of curiosity. It is perhaps deserving of notice that in the same tomb with this vase were found (1) a deep cup with a scene of Demeter, Triptolemos and others at Eleusis, painted by Hieron,¹ (2) a hydria with Boreas pursuing Oreithyia, (3) another hydria with a somewhat similar subject, and (4) a kylix painted by Brygos² with scenes from the comic stage, one of them recalling Aristophanes, *Birds*, 1202, where Iris enters. So marked a consistency in the selection of Attic subjects may be held to prove what otherwise is very probable, that these vases had all been imported from Athens, as was the piece of embroidery at Delphi representing Kekrops and his daughters. The date of this importation would be earlier than the date of the *Ion* (Olymp. 89), but not much so; and we must therefore suppose that both Euripides and the painter of the Sphinx vase had derived a suggestion or impulse from a work of art conspicuous in Athens in their time. What that work was does not appear.

I may here mention, though it is not strictly necessary to the present purpose, that Euripides in the chorus of the *Ion* beginning (line 184) οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθέαις Ἀθήναις has been thought to have had in his mind a reference to newly executed sculptures on the temple at Delphi,³ and indeed it would seem hardly credible that he could have introduced those allusions to sculptures which follow on in this chorus without some

¹ *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 43: *Annali*, xlv. p. 294. Now in the *Annali*, xlv. p. 226. Now in the British Museum.

² *Mon. dell' Inst. Arch.* ix. pl. 46: 169.

³ Welcker, *Alle Denkmäler*, I. p.

occasion of public interest to make them acceptable to his audience. On the other hand, if the sculptures which he there mentions were really sculptures on the temple at Delphi, it is remarkable how appropriate they were to the subject of his drama, being all of them connected with creatures of a serpent or semi-serpent nature. First we have Herakles slaying the Hydra, then Bellerophon with the Chimaera, and again groups of deities slaying giants, which perhaps we may assume to have been anguipede. If we suppose, as has generally been done, that these groups were selected by him from among the metopes of the temple, he need not have had any purpose to serve in mentioning them other than to help to strike the keynote of his drama, to form a sort of prelude to the great plot of Kreusa with her drops of Gorgon's blood, in which case the argument as to these sculptures having been then freshly executed would not necessarily follow. To the pediment groups, representing, the one, Apollo, Leto and Muses, the other, Helios, Dionysos and the Thyiades, he only refers with the words ¹ *εἰδύμων προσώπων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς*. The mention of such subjects would not have helped to tune the minds of the audience for the drama that was to be evolved, as did such a phrase as *ἀκέφαι κλόνον ἐν τεύχεσι λαίνοισι Γεγῶντων* (line 206). It is commonly thought that the groups from the Gigantomachia which the chorus proceeds to notice had been sculptured in the form of metopes, like the groups of Herakles with the Hydra and Bellerophon with the Chimaera; but the phrase *ἐν τεύχεσι λαίνοισι* seems rather to indicate a transition from the metopes to the frieze of the temple sculptured with a continuous composition like the Gigantomachia on a large krater in the British Museum,² of the severe red-figure style.

To return to the vase, it should be noted that the body of the Sphinx is painted a soft, nearly creamy, white, which combines finely with the black, red, and vermilion of the rest of the

¹ Deonsted, *Festspiel drama in Greece*, II, p. 151, had argued from this allusion as to the subjects of the pediments that there had in fact not been sculptures in them at the date of the *Ion*, the groups by Praxias and Androsthenes, as we know them from Paus-

anias, x. 19, 4, having been later additions according to Brœsted. But Welcker seems to be right in rejecting this view, *Alte Denkmäler*, I, p. 169.

² Engraved in Heydemann's *Gigantomachia* (1831).

rhyton. The feathers of her wings are only faintly rendered by modelling, the contours of them being strengthened by lines of a yellowish colour; the small feathers in the breast are indicated in yellow colour; she wears a necklace formed of three Gorgon's heads of terra-cotta gilt suspended on a red line. Her lips and eyes are coloured. The hair over her forehead is gilt, the rest of it being inclosed in a vermilion cap on which is painted a pattern of fine zig-zag lines in white. Between her feet is a small spout connected with the interior of the vase, and possibly meant to facilitate the cleaning out of so irregularly shaped an interior. The Satyr and the female figure which occupy the spaces under the body of the Sphinx, one on each side, are in red with a black ground like the design round the cup. Both the drawing of the figures and the modelling of the Sphinx retain traces of the archaic manner, from which it may be inferred that the date of the rhyton would fall about B.C. 440.

A. S. MURRAY.

NUMISMATIC COMMENTARY ON PAUSANIAS.

III.

BOOKS IX. X., I. 1-38.

AND SUPPLEMENT.

[PLATES LXXIV—VIII.]

WITH this third part our *Numismatic Commentary* is completed. It consists of three sections:—

- (1) Boeotia and Phocis (Paus. IX. X.)
- (2) Athens (Paus. I. 1-38.)
- (3) Supplement; containing coins of Peloponnesus omitted in parts I. and II. of the *Commentary*.

The Athenian section of the work involved great difficulties, especially in view of the fact that it was difficult to treat of the Athenian coins without reference to reliefs and other works of art of Athens. This difficulty the compilers have met as best they could: the Athenian coin-lists were drawn up in the first instance by the Swiss colleague.

Special thanks are due to Herr Arthur Loebbecke and Professor Rhousopoulos of Athens for most liberal *envois* of casts: also to Professor Michaelis for valuable hints and corrections in the Athenian section.

F. IMHOOF-BLUMER.

PERCY GARDNER.

ΠΛΑΤΑΙΑ.

- 1.—PAUS. IX. 2, 7. Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ ναός ἐστιν Ἡρας, θεάς ἄξιον . . . τὴν δὲ Ἡραν Τελεῖαν καλοῦσι, πεποιεῖται δὲ ὑρβὸν μεγέθει ἄγαλμα μέγα· λίθου δὲ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Πεντέλῃσιον, Πραξιτέλους δὲ ἐστὶν ἔργα. ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἄλλο Ἡρας ἄγαλμα καθήμενον Καλλίμαχος ἐποίησε· Νυμφευομένην δὲ τὴν θεὸν ἐπὶ λόγῳ τοιῷδε ὀνομάζουσιν.

Head of HERA to right wearing stephaneos.

R Anton. Fourth century. Imh. Photiades, Paris.
B. M. Cat. pl. ix. 3.

Similar head, facing.

R Anton. Fourth century. Vienna. Imh.
B. M. Cat. pl. ix. 4.

Head of Hera in profile, wearing pointed stephaneos.

R Anton. Fourth century. Imh.
R Anton. Imh. *Nouv. Zelt.* III. pl. ix. 12.

The reverse of the bronze coin is a cow, which was sacrificed to Hera, as a bull to Zeus. See Paus. ix. 3, 8. An ox was a dedicatory offering of the Plataeans at Delphi: Paus. x. 15, 1, and 16, 6.

The two silver coins with the head of Hera are fixed by Mr. Head (*B. M. Cat.* l.c.) to B.C. 387–374. They are thus contemporary with the earlier activities of Praxiteles. We cannot with confidence assert that they are in any sense copied from his statue, but they will illustrate it as works of contemporary art.

THEBES.

- 1.—Paus. ix. 11, 7. 'Τπὲρ δὲ τὸν Σωφρονιστῆρα λίθον βωμός ἐστιν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐπὶ κλησιν Σποδίου, πεποιήται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν ἱερείων.

ix. 17, 2. Statue of Apollo Boedromius.

10, 2. Statue like that at Branchidae.

APOLLO seated on cippus, naked, holding bow; behind him, on the cippus, his tripod.

R Anton. Coin of Boeotia struck at Thebes. *B. M. Cat.* Pl. vi. 5.

- 2.—Paus. ix. 11, 4. 'Ἐνταῦθα Ἡράκλειόν ἐστιν, ἀγαλμα δὲ τὸ μὲν λίθον λευκοῦ Πρόμαχος καλούμενον, ἔργον δὲ Ξενοκρίτου καὶ Εὐβίου Θηβαίων· τὸ δὲ ξόανον τὸ ἀρχαῖον Θηβαῖοί τε εἶναι Δαίδαλου νενομίκασι καὶ αὐτῷ μοι παρίστατο ἔχειν οὕτω Θηβαῖοις δὲ τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς Πραξιτέλης ἐποίησε τὰ πολλὰ τῶν δώδεκα καλουμένων ἄθλων.

25, 4. Herakles Rhinocostus.

26, 1. Temple of Herakles Hippiodatus.

HERAKLES advancing with club and bow; carrying off tripod; shooting; stringing bow; or strangling serpents.

R Anton. Fifth century.

B. M. Cat. Pl. xii. 1–8. *Nouv. Zelt.* 1877. Pl. II.

These types, representing the exploits of Herakles, are given

in the *R. M. Cat.* to B.C. 440—426. In any case they are much earlier than the time of Praxiteles, and can have nothing to do with his pediments. The Herakles holding club and bow is the most interesting figure, and seems clearly to stand for the Herakles Promachos ascribed to Daedalus. But it can resemble that statue only in pose and attributes; in the execution the die-cutter followed the ideas and customs of his own time. Compare the Messenian coin **P** IV.

3.—Paus. IX. 12, 4. *πλησίον δὲ Διονύσου ἄγαλμα, καὶ τοῦτο Ὀνασιμήδης ἐποίησε δι' ὅλον πλήρες ὑπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τὸν βωμὸν δὲ οἱ παῖδες εἰργάσαντο οἱ Πραξιτέλους.*

IX. 16, 6. *καὶ ἐγγυτάτῳ τοῦ θεάτρου Διονύσου ναὸς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κλησὶν Λυσίου.*

Bearded DIONYSUS, in long chiton, standing, kantharos in right hand.

Æ Auton. First century, A.D. Photiades (**X** 1.)

Head, *Coinage of Boeotia*, p. 95.

Head of bearded Dionysus.

EL. R. Auton. Fifth and fourth centuries.

B. M. Cat. Pl. XIII. 5-9, &c. *Num. Zeit.* 1877, pl. II.

Head of young Dionysus.

Æ Auton. Third century A.C.

B. M. Cat. Pl. VI. 5.

The reading in the passage first cited is corrupt: Kayser has suggested *ἐπιχώριος* in the place of *πλήρες ὑπὸ τοῦ*. See Brunn, *G.K.* I. 297. The date of Onasimedes is unknown. The figure on the coin is certainly archaic, as is proved not merely by the beard and the long drapery, but by a certain stiffness of pose and hardness in the outline of the back. We may compare the Athenian coin **CC** VI.

4.—Paus. IX. 16, 1. Temple of Tyche:

25, 3 of Mater Dindymene.

Female head laureate and turreted, TYCHE or CYBELE; probably the former.

Æ late Auton. Photiades (**X** II.)

Head, *Boeotia*, p. 95.

We may compare the head probably of Messene, on the Messenian coin **P** II. At Messene there was a statue of Thebes of the time of Epaminondas.

5.—Paus. IX. 16, 5. Temple of Demeter Thesmophoros.

25, 5. Grove of the Cabeiri, Demeter and Cora.

Head of DEMETER facing, crowned with corn.

R. Æ Auton. *R. M. Cat.* Pl. VI. 6-8. Imh.

6.—OTHER TYPES at Thebes (see *B. M. Cat.*)

Poseidon seated and standing.

Head of Poseidon.

Head of Zeus.

Nike.

Athene standing, winged. See *Imh. Flügelgestalten*, *Num. Zeit.* III. pp. 1-50. This type must represent rather Athene Nike than Athene Zosteria (*Paus.* ix. 17, 3): the only Athene mentioned by Pausanias at Thebes.

TANAGRA.

- 1.—*Paus.* ix. 19, 6. Τοῦ δὲ Εὐρίπου τὴν Εὐβοίαν κατὰ τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς Βοιωτῶν διέρχοντος. . . . Ναὸς δὲ Ἀρτέμιδος ἐστίν· ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἀγάλματα λίθον λευκοῦ, τὸ μὲν δᾶδας φέρον, τὸ δὲ ἔοικε τοξενοῦσῃ. . . . φοίνικες δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ πεφύκασιν.

ARTEMIS huntress in a tetrastyle temple, spear in raised right hand, torch in left; on each side of it a palm-tree; below ship with sailors.

Æ Anton. Pius. Paria. (X III.)
M. S. III. 522, 119.

Artemis as above, without temple.

Æ Anton. Pius. Imh. (X IV.)
Mion. S. III. 522, 111 (dog beside her).

In a distyle shrine, Artemis on a basis advancing to right; holds spear and torch.

Æ Commodus. B. M. (X V.)

Artemis advancing to right, holding burning torches in both hands.

Æ Anton. Imh. *Num. Zeit.* 1877, p. 29, 194.

The temple of X III. containing a statue of the hunting Artemis and flanked by palm-trees is clearly the temple by the Euripus. The statue X V. is not greatly different from that on X III., and the difference in the number of pillars is not essential.

- 2.—*Paus.* ix. 20, 1. Ταναγραῖοι δὲ οἰκιστὴν αἴφισι Ποίμανδρον γενέσθαι λέγουσι. . . . Ποίμανδρον δὲ γυναῖκά φασιν ἀγαγέσθαι Τάναγρην θυγατέρα Αἰόλου· Κορίννη δὲ ἐστίν ἐς αὐτὴν πεποιημένα Ἀσωποῦ παῖδα εἶναι.

Head of POEMANDER: inscribed ΠΟΙΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

Æ Anton. Imh.
Num. Zeit. 1877; 29, 195.

Head of *Asopus*: inscribed *ΑΣΩΠΟΣ*.

Æ Auton. Imh. (X vi.)

Num. Zeit. 1877: 30, 108.

The head of *Asopus* is bearded; it does not appear to be horned, or present the distinctive type of a river-god.

3.—Paus. IX. 20, 4. Ἐν δὲ τοῦ Διονύσου τῷ ναῷ θέας μὲν καὶ τὸ ἀγάλμα ἄξιον, λίθον τε ὃν Παρίου καὶ ἔργον Καλάμidos, θαῦμα δὲ παρέχεται μείζον ἐπὶ ὁ Τρίτων.

Under a roof, supported by two *Atlantes* on pillars, young *Dionysus* wearing *nebris* and boots; holds *kantharos* and *thyrsos*: below *Triton* swimming to left looking back.

Æ Auton. Pius. B. M. (X vii.)

M. Aurel. Imh. (X viii.) Berlin.

Commodus. Rhomoponlos.

Num. Zeit. 1877: p. 32, 111. E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, 255.

P. Wolters, *Arch. Zeit.* 1885, 263.

Imhoof, followed by Curtius, published this coin as giving a representation of the statue by Calamis, as well as of the *Triton* in the temple. Wolters, however, maintains (1) that the *Triton* at Tanagra was no work of art but a specimen preserved by pickling; (2) that the type of *Dionysus* on the coin is certainly not earlier than the time of *Phedias*, and cannot represent a work of Calamis. There is force in these observations: perhaps a solution of the difficulty may be found in this direction; the *Triton* may be introduced as a sort of mint-mark or local symbol of the city of Tanagra of which the pickled *Triton* was the chief boast. And the building represented on the coin may not be the temple of *Dionysus*, but a shrine with roof supported by two *Atlantes*, and containing not the statue by Calamis, but one of later date.

The following may be a figure of *Dionysus*:—

Male figure standing to right, in raised right, sceptre or *thyrsos*, in left an object which looks like a huge ear of corn or bunch of grapes.

Æ Augustus. Imh. (X ix.)

This figure is on so small a scale that the details are obscure. The god seems to wear a *chlamys* or *nebris* over the shoulders: whether he is bearded or beardless is uncertain. This figure should from the analogy of the other small coins of Tanagra represent a statue; and it is more like what we should expect in a *Dionysus* of Calamis than the figure of the previous coin.

4.—PAUS. IX. 22, 1. Ἐν Ταναγρα δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου Θέμιδος ἐστίν, ὃ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης, καὶ ὁ τρίτος τῶν καθ' Ἀπόλλωνος, ὁμοῦ δὲ αὐτῷ [καὶ] Ἀρτεμίδι τε καὶ Ἀθηναίῳ.

X. 28, 6. Apollo at Delium. ἐδήλωσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Μῆδος Δάτις λόγοις τε, οὓς εἶπε πρὸς Δηλίους, καὶ τῷ ἔργῳ, ἥνίκα ἐν Φοινίσσῃ νηὶ ἄγαλμα εὐρών Ἀπόλλωνος ἀπέδωκεν αὐθις Ταναγραίοις ἐς Δήλιον.

Archaic APOLLO facing; holds in right hand a branch, in left a bow: hair in formal curls.

Æ Germanicus. Imh. (X x.) B. M. Eckhel, *Sylloge* pl. III. 10. Commodus (Germanicus I) *Mus. Sanctoni.*, pl. 24, 201.

This figure is of the usual archaic type, much like the Apollo of Tectaeus and Angelion at Delos (CC XI.—XIV.) and decidedly more archaic than that of Canachus at Miletus, since the legs seem to be parallel to each other as well as the arms. On the coin the hard outlines of chest and hips are conspicuous. This figure may be a copy of the statue at Delium, traditionally said to have come out of a Phoenician ship.

5.—PAUS. IX. 22, 1. Ἐς δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ τε Κριοφόρου καὶ ἐν Πρόμαχον καλοῦσι, τοῦ μὲν ἐς τὴν ἐπίκλησιν λέγουσιν ὡς ὁ Ἑρμῆς σφίσειν ἀποτρέφει νόσον λοιμώδη περὶ τὸ τεῖχος κρινὸν περιεπεγκών, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ Καλαμὶς ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα Ἑρμοῦ φέροντα κρινὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων. . . . Τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν λέγουσι τὸν Πρόμαχον Ἑρετρίων ναυσὶν ἐξ Εὐβοίας ἐς τὴν Ταναγραίαν σχόντων τοὺς τε ἐφήβους ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἄτε ἐφηβὸν στλεγγίδι ἀμυνόμενον μάλιστα ἐργάσασθαι τῶν Εὐβοέων τροπῇ. Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τοῦ Προμάχον τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς [τε] ἀνδράχονος τὸ ὑπόλοιπον τραφῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τῷ δένδρῳ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τούτῳ νομίζουσιν.

HERMES Criophorus; naked, facing.

Æ Anton. Imh. *Num. Zeit.* 1877. 20, 160-7. B. M. (X XI.) *Cat. Pl.* x. 12. Berlin. Imh. (X XII.) Prokesch-Osten, *Inschriften* 1854, II. 62.

Hermes Promachus facing, holds in right hand a strigil, in left a caduceus (!)

Æ Trajan. B. M. (X XIII.) See however B. M. *Cat.* p. 68.

Hermes naked, his feet winged, standing to right, caduceus in left hand; beside him a tree on which sits an eagle; right hand rests on hip, left on tree.

Æ Trajan and Ant. Pius. (X XIV.) Rhodosopolos.
M. Aurel. Imh. (X XV.) Vienna (X XVI.)
Num. Zeit. 1877, 32, 110.

The first of these types (XI., XII.) clearly reproduces the Hermes of Calamis. One arm of the god passes round the forefeet and one round the hindfeet of the ram; on one coin the hands seem to meet on the breast as in the well-known Athenian statue of Hermes carrying a bull; on the other coin one hand seems to be higher than the other. The pose of the god is stiff and his legs rigid: he is naked. He is also beardless, but whether his feet are winged, the scale of the coin makes it impossible to say.

The second type (XIII.) is identified by means of the strigil, if it be a strigil, with Hermes Promachos. This type seems to represent an original of the fifth century. The hair of the god is long, his left leg is advanced and bent, but he can scarcely be said to lounge.

The third type (XIV.—XVI.) is connected with the temple of Hermes Promachos by the tree whereon the eagle sits, which is doubtless the andrachnos of the story. At the foot of the tree is a curved object which may be a strigil. The figure is youthful and wears short hair, but the pose is somewhat stiff.

6.—OTHER TYPES at Tanagra.

Three nymphs draped, hand in hand.

Æ Augustus. *B. M. Cat.* Pl. x. 13. Vienna. (X XVII.)

Cf. the Athenian coin (EE VI.)

HALIARTUS.

- 1.—PAUS. IX. 26, 5. Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄρους τούτου πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα σταδίους πόλεως ἐρείπια Ὀγχηστοῦ. φασὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα οἰκῆσαι Ποσειδῶνος παῖδα Ὀγχηστόν. ἐπ' ἐμοῦ δὲ ναὸς τε καὶ ἄγαλμα Ποσειδῶνος ἐδείκτετο Ὀγχηστοῦ καὶ τὸ ἄλσος, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὀμηρὸς ἐπῆνισε.

POSEIDON naked, charging to right with raised trident.

Æ Anton. Fifth century Imh. B. M.

Num. Zeit. 1871, 335, 19.

Onchestus was in the territory of Haliartus.

THESPIAE.

- 1.—PAUS. IX. 26, 8. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ Διονύσου καὶ αὐθις Τύχης.

TYCHE standing: holds patera and cornucopiae.

Æ Domitian. *B. M. Cat.* pl. xvi. 13. (X XVIII.)

Mion. S. III. 533, 189 (turreted).

- 2.—PAUS. IX. 27, 5. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρωθι Ἀφροδίτης Μελαινίδος ἱερόν, καὶ θέατρον τε καὶ ἀγορὰ θεᾶς ἄξια· ἐνταῦθα Ἡσιόδος ἀνάκειται χαλκοῦς.

Head of APHRODITE, with one or two crescents in the field.

Æ Aetion. Fourth century A.C. Florence.

B. M. Cat. pl. xvi. 8-10. Imh.

Aphrodite standing draped; the end of her himation falling over her left arm, her right hand outstretched over a draped figure, apparently female, who holds flower and lifts her dress.

Æ Domitian. Imh. (X XIX.)

One is tempted to bring this group into connexion with the statues of Athene Ergane and of Plutus standing by her, mentioned by Pausanias (26, 8). But the taller figure has none of the attributes of Athene, and the shorter figure is clearly a draped goddess and no representation of Plutus. The statues of Aphrodite resting on a draped archaic female figure are collected by Gerhard in his paper *Venera Proserpina*, plates vii.-xii. See also R. Schneider, *Statuette der Artemis*, Vienna, 1886.

3. OTHER TYPES at Thespiæ.

Apollo with hair in queue seated to right on cippus, in citharoedic costume; holds lyre.

Æ Domitian. B. M. (X XX.) Rhensopontus.

Here again we are at first sight tempted to see a copy of a monument described by Pausanias, the seated statue of Hesiod thus described by Pausanias (30, 3): Κάθηται δὲ καὶ Ἡσιόδος κιθάραν ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασιν ἔχων, οὐδέν τι οἰκεῖον Ἡσιόδῳ φόρημα. But the figure is clearly beardless, which we can scarcely suppose Hesiod to have been. It is, however, open to question whether Pausanias may not have taken an Apollo Citharoedus for a Hesiod.

Apollo draped, facing, holds plectrum and lyre.

Æ Domitian. B. M. (X XXI.) Rhensopontus.

Veiled female head, wears calathos.

Æ Anton. B. M. Cat. pl. xvi. 12-13.

Veiled female figure, right hand raised.

Æ Domitian. B. M.

CORONEIA.

- 1.—PAUS. IX. 34, 1. Πρὶν δὲ εἰς Κορινθίαν ἐξ Ἀλαλκομενῶν ἀφικέσθαι, τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηναῖς ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. . . Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα Ἀθηναῖς Ἰτωνίας καὶ Διός

ἐστὶν ἀγάλματα τέχῃ δὲ Ἀγορακρίτου, μαθητοῦ τε καὶ ἱρωμένου Φειδίου, ἀνέθεσσαν δὲ καὶ Χαρίτων ἀγάλματα ἐπ' ἑμοῦ. Λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιούτῳ, Ἰοδάμαν ἱερωμένην τῇ θεῷ νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐσελθεῖν, καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φανῆναι, τῷ χιτῶνι δὲ τῆς θεᾶς τὴν Μεδούσης ἐπείναι τῆς Γοργόνης κεφαλὴν.

Head of ATHENE facing, and in profile.

R. Antiqu. B. M. Cat. Pl. VII. 10-11.

Imh. Num. Zeit. 1877, 29, 57.

Gorgoneion.

R. Antiqu. B. M. Cat. pl. VII. 6-9.

Imh. Num. Zeit. 1877, 19, 56-57.

PHOCIS.

- 1.—Paus. x. 2, 5-7. Mention of Onomarchus and Phalaecus. Both names are found on autonomous copper of Phocis *B. M. Cat.* p. 23, &c.

DELPHI.

- 1.—Paus. x. 5, 1. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἀνοδος διὰ τῆς Δαυλίδος ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασοῦ, μακροτέρα τῆς ἐκ Δελφῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτά χαλεπή.

PARNASSUS within wreath; inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ.

R. Antiqu. Millingen, Réveil II. 11. *Mus. Sanctem.* I. 179.

In the engraving of Millingen, Parnassus appears to be depicted on the coin much in the style of modern landscape-painting, a mountain with three summits. This is for Greek art a most unusual mode of representation, the nearest parallel being the type of Mons Argæus on the coins of Caesareia in Cappadocia, and the mountains on two coins of Amisus, struck by Trajan and Hadrian (*Imh.*)

- 2.—Paus. x. 5, 13. τὸν δ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ᾠκοδόμησαν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν οἱ Ἀμφικτυόνες χρημάτων, ἀρχιτέκτων δὲ [τις] Σπίνθαρος ἐγένετο αὐτοῦ Κορίνθιος.

x. 19, 4. Τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἐστὶν Ἀρτεμις καὶ Λητώ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Μοῦσαι . . . τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα αὐτῶν Ἀθηναῖος Πραξίας μαθητὴς Καλάμιδός ἐστιν ἐργασάμενος.

24, 1. Ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖς γεγραμμένα ἐστὶν ὠφελήματα ἀνθρώποις ἐς βίον. ἐγράφη δὲ ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν οὓς γενέσθαι σοφοὺς λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες.

24, 4. ἔστηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο· ἀπὸ δὲ

αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης. Ζεὺς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Ἀπόλλων
σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης.

24, 5. Ἐς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἐσωτάτω παρίασί τε ἐς αὐτὸ
ἐλθόντες, καὶ χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος ἕτερον ἄγαλμα ἀνά-
κεῖται.

Front of tetrastyle temple, with pediment containing standing
figures: Ε (Delphic Ε) between pillars.

Æ Hadrian. Copenhagen. (X xxiii.)

Faustina Seb. Imh. (X xxii.) *Zeitschr. f. Num.* i. 115 (hexastyle).

The pediment is variously represented on these two coins:
on No. xxii. there seems to be a standing figure with hand
raised between two crouching animals; on No. xxiii. there
seem to be several figures.

TEMPLE OF APOLLO with six columns at side: in the entry
statue of Apollo naked, standing, resting left elbow on
a pillar, his right hand advanced; at his feet omphalos
or altar.

Æ Faustina Seb. B. M. (X xxiv.) Rhodopoulou (X xxv.) cf. M. S. III. 500, 49.

Similar figure of Apollo without temple or omphalos—

Æ Hadrian. Mus. Parma (X xxvi.) Paris. Rhodopoulou.

Apollo naked, standing to left, his right foot supported on a
square basis, holds in right hand lyre which rests on
knee, in raised left branch of laurel, left elbow rests on
tripod, on the basis of which is inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ.

Æ Hadrian. Sestini, *Mus. Haders.* pl. x. 2.

For this coin our only authority is the plate of Sestini's work,
which is not altogether trustworthy; the lyre seems impossibly
small, and the letters ΠΥΘΙΑ may be suspected; in fact it is
not unlikely that the figure described by Sestini may be
identical with that in the next description.

Apollo naked, standing, in his right hand a branch, his left
hand raised; behind him, tripod on basis: at his feet,
river-god (Pleistus, Paus. x. 8, 8).

Æ Hadrian. Berlin (Y t.)

Berl. Mänter, v. pl. lvi. 3. *Zeit. f. Num.* vii. 217.

There is an appearance of a staff in the left hand of Apollo.
Tripod on stand.

Æ Hadrian. *Ramus*, i. pl. iii. 12.

Antinous. Pholidas (Y ii.) Cf. *Zeit. f. Num.* xiii. pl. iv. 3, where the
tripod is inverted.

Altar bound with laurel.

Æ Hadrian. B. M.

Apollo standing; in right hand branch or patera; left arm resting on pillar and holding lyre.

Æ Hadrian. *Mion.* S. III. 499, 28 (Vaillant).

Caracalla. *Mion.* II. 98, 31 (Vaillant).

The types thus far described are such as can with reasonable probability be supposed really to represent the temple at Delphi and objects contained in it. First we have the front of the temple (X XXII.) supported by six Ionic columns and surmounted by a pediment, in which may be discerned a standing figure with arm raised as if to strike, and two animals crouching in the corners. Steps lead up to the temple. The letter E, which occupies the intercolumniation, is no doubt the mysterious Delphic ϵ as to which Plutarch has written: it here stands, in the shorthand usual in Greek art, for all the wise and witty sayings set up in the pronatis. Next comes a side view of the same temple (X XXIV.), the pediment occupied by a mere disk. In the front appears a naked standing figure of Apollo, his elbow resting on a column. This figure repeated in X XXVI. would seem to be the principal statue of Apollo in the Temple. Two other sets of coins present to us a figure in general pose closely like this, but varied in attribute and detail. Of one set, only known from the descriptions of Vaillant, we are unable to figure a specimen. The other type appears as Y 1. Here the figure of Apollo is doubly localised, by the presence of the river-god, and by the tripod on a stand in the background, which tripod is the type of Y II. It has been wrongly supposed that this tripod stands for that dedicated by the Greeks after Plataea and placed on the brazen serpents still preserved at Constantinople (cf. Paus. x. 13, 9), wrongly, since in Pausanias' time the tripod had already disappeared and only the stand remained. Rather it stands for the sacred tripod whereon the soothsaying priestess, the Pythia, sat to deliver her oracles. On the coin published by Sestini it is inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ; this inscription, supposing it really to exist, is somewhat ambiguous: it may indicate that the tripod was dedicated in memory of a victory in the Pythian games, or it may have a more local signification.

When we reach the question in what part of the temple the statues copied on these coins existed we land in great difficulties. The two statues mentioned by Pausanias are that of Apollo Moeragetes, and a golden statue undescribed, kept in the

adytum. The latter statue is mentioned by various writers, but not described. Wieseler (*Denkm.* ii. 134) observes that the statue probably held a lyre, but even this is not completely established by the passages he cites, Plutarch, *de Pyth. orac.* 16, *Sulla* 12. It is therefore not improbable that the figure on the coins above mentioned may be the Apollo of the adytum, though we must mention as an alternative possibility that that statue is repeated rather on some of the coins mentioned below which bear the type of a Citharoedic Apollo.

The golden statue can scarcely be supposed to be of earlier date than the times of Onomarchus, or it would probably have been seized by him.

Paus. x. 16. 3. Τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ Δελφῶν καλούμενον ὀμφαλόν, λίθου πεποιημένον λευκοῦ, τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ γῆς πάσης αὐτοὶ τε λέγουσιν οἱ Δελφοί, κ.τ.λ.

Gbe. Tripod.

Rev. Omphalos; thus represented ☉.

Æ early Anton. Imb. B. M. *Rev.* *Zelt. f. Num.* i. 294.

Æ Anton. Bonna, i. pl. iii. 12.

Faustina Sen. B. M.

Omphalos, entwined by snake, and covered with net-work.

Æ Anton. Berlin. *Rev. Num.* 1860, pl. xii. 8.

Æ Hadrian.

Omphalos on basis.

Æ Hadrian. Imb.

Omphalos on rock.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. *Cat.* pl. iv. 29.

Apollo naked, standing, right hand resting on head, left hand half raised.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (Y iii.)

Apollo Citharoedus, in long chiton, advancing to right, playing on lyre.

Æ Anton. Millingen, *Musei*, ii. 10 and 11.

Hadrian. H. M. Copenhagen (Y iv.) Berlin. Rhossopoulos. Overbeck, *Berichte der Köln. Städt. Ges. der Wissensch.* 1869.

Apollo Citharoedus facing, clad in long chiton, holds plectrum and lyre.

Æ Faustina Sen. Rhossopoulos.

Apollo, wearing himation, seated on omphalos; right hand raised.

Æ Hadrian. Berlin. (Y v.)

Apollo laur., naked to waist, seated to left on rock, on which lyre; his right hand rests on his head.

Æ Faustina Sen. Vienna, Schottenstift (Y vi.)

Coin struck by Amphictyons (x, 8, 1). *Obv.* Head of Demeter veiled and crowned with corn. *Rev.* Apollo, laur., clad in long chiton, seated to left on omphalos; right hand raised to his chin, in left, laurel-branch; lyre beside him.

Æ Fourth cent. B. M. (Y VII.)

Imh. Berlin.

Inscription ΠΡΟΠΟΛΟΙ ΑΜΦΙΚΤΥΟΝΕΣ.

Æ Antonina. Imh. *Zeit. f. Num.* XIII, pl. IV, 3.

Head of Apollo, laureate.

Æ Anton. Berlin. (Now before head.)

Æ Faustina Sen. B. M. (Y VIII.) Rhensopoulos, (Y IX.) Imh.

We have here a large group of types of Apollo the origin of which we cannot refer to any known statue at Delphi. The first type (Y III.) certainly has a statuesque appearance, and Y IV. belongs to that class of representations of Apollo Citharoedus of which the origin is attributed to Scopas. As to these see Overbeck in the *Berichte* of the Saxon Academy, 1886. Wieseler (*Denkmaeler*, II. 134a) regards the figure on the coin as a copy of a statue in the theatre of Delphi. The seated figures of Apollo cannot be traced back to a sculptural original; one of them (Y VII.) belongs to a period when we should expect the die-sinker to invent a type for himself, and not to copy a statue; the other two are of imperial times, but cannot be identified. The latter of the two heads of Apollo (Y VIII., IX.) is probably copied from a statue; the queue falling on the neck of the god behind, and the severe features seem to indicate a work of early art.

Laurel wreath inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ (Paus. x, 7, 8).

Æ Anton. Hadrian. Anton. Pius. Faustina Sen. Caracalla.

Tripod with ΠΥΘΙΑ.

Æ Anton. Brøndsted, *Reisen* I, p. VI. (*Obv.* Apollo Citharoedus.)

Table with ΠΥΘΙΑ.

Æ Faustina Sen. B. M. Mus. Civica, Venice.

3.—Paus. x, 8, 6. Ἑσέλθοντι δὲ ἐκ τὴν πόλιν εἰσὶν ἐφεξῆς ναοί. . . . ὁ τέταρτος δὲ Ἀθηναῖς καλεῖται Προνοίας. Τῶν δὲ ἀγαλμάτων τὸ ἐν τῷ προνίῳ Μασσαλιωτῶν ἀνάθημά ἐστι, μέγθει τοῦ ἔνδον ἀγάλματος μείζον.

ATHENE standing; spear in her raised right hand, shield on left arm.

Æ Hadrian. Paris, (Y x.)

Faustina Sen. Imh. (Y xi.)

Mion. S. III. 500, 50-51.

This type may be compared with those of Athens (**AA** xv., xvi.). The pose and attributes of the goddess belong to the time when the stiff archaic Palladía had been superseded by statues of softer outline and gentler movement, but before Phaidias had entirely recreated the ideal of the deity.

4.—Paus. x. 32, 7. Τὸ δὲ αὐτρου τὸ Κωρύκιον μεγέθει τε ὑπερβάλλει τὰ εἰρημέρα, καὶ ἔστιν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὁδεῦσαι δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνευ λαμπτήρων ὅ τε ὁρόφος ἐς αὐταρκές ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀνέστηκε, καὶ ἔδωρ τὸ μὲν ἀνερχόμενον ἐκ πηγῶν, πλέον δὲ ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁρόφου στάζει, ὥστε καὶ δῆλα ἐν τῷ ἐδάφει σταλαγμῶν τὰ ἴχνη διὰ παντός ἐστι τοῦ αὐτρου. Ἱερὸν δὲ αὐτὸ οἱ περὶ τὸν Παρνασσὸν Κωρύκιον τε εἶναι Νυμφῶν καὶ Πανὸς μάλιστα ἡγνῆται.

PAN naked, in human form, seated on rock, in right hand pedum, which rests on another rock.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. (Y xii.)

Pan seated to left in Corycian cave.

Æ Hadrian. Imb. (Y xiii.) *Zsch.* f. *Nem.* i. pl. iv. 9a.
Baumeister, *Dachstein der Cl. Alt.* p. 961.

Pausanias does not speak of a statue of Pan; the representations on the coins seem to be rather of the class which indicate the presence of deities at certain localities than of the class which reproduce works of art.

6.—OTHER TYPES at Delphi:

Altar wreathed, on basis.

Æ Hadrian. Imb. B. M.

Raven on olive-branch.

Æ Hadrian. B. M. Paris.

Lyre on rock.

Æ Hadrian. Munich.

Artemis as huntress, clad in short chiton.

Æ Faustina Sen. Paris. (Y xiv.)

Mion. ii. 97, 20: Sup. iii. 591, 55.

Several figures of Artemis are mentioned among the *donaria* at Delphi.

ΕΛΑΤΕΙΑ.

1.—Paus. x. 34, 6. Ἐπὶ τῷ πέρατι δὲ τῷ ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς πόλεως θέατρον τέ ἐστι καὶ χαλκοῦν Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλμα ἄρχαϊον ταύτην τὴν θεὸν λέγουσι ἀμύναι σφισιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοῦ Ταξίλη βαρβάρους.

Ἐλατείας δὲ ὅσον σταδίων εἰκοσιν ἀφέστηκεν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ κλησιν Κραναίας ἱερὸν.

8. Τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ἐποίησαν μὲν καὶ τοῦτο οἱ Πολυκλῆους παῖδες, ἔστι δὲ ἱσκευασμένον ὡς ἐς μάχην, καὶ ἐπείργασται τῇ ἀσπίδι τῶν Ἀθηήσιν μῆμα ἐπὶ τῇ ἀσπίδι τῆς καλουμένης ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων Παρθένου.

ATHENE in form of Palladium.

Æ Auton. B. M. (Y xvi.) &c.

Similar; in field, tripod.

Æ Auton. B. M. 1mh.

Athene charging to right with spear advanced, shield on left arm.

Æ Auton. B. M. (Y xv.)

Head of Athene.

Æ Auton. Paris.

We meet here with a difficulty: Pallas appears fighting in two different attitudes; and it is impossible to say with certainty which is nearer to the sculptural work of the sons of Polycles, Timocles and Timarchides. But the date of these artists is later than that of the coins, 3rd century B.C.

ANTICYRA.

- 1.—PAUS. X. 36. 8. Ἔστι δὲ σφισιν ἐπὶ τῷ λιμένι Ποσειδῶνι οὐ μέγα ἱερὸν, λογάσιν ᾠκεδομημένον λίθοις κεκοιῖσται δὲ τὰ ἐντός. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦ πεποιημένον, βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ δεξιῇ τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν ποδῶν κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἔχει καὶ τὴν χεῖρα ἐπὶ τῷ μηρῷ, ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐτέρᾳ χειρὶ τρίαῖνά ἐστιν αὐτῷ.

Head of POSEIDON.

Æ Auton. Berlin.

Zeit. f. Num. vi. 15. *Rev. Num.* 1843, pl. x. 2.

- 2.—PAUS. X. 37. 1. Τῆς πόλεως δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ, δύο μάλιστα προελθόντι ἀπ' αὐτῆς σταδίους, πέτρα τέ ἐστιν ὑψηλή, μοῖρα ὄρους ἢ πέτρα, καὶ ἱερὸν ἐπ' αὐτῆς πεποιημένον ἐστὶν Ἀρτέμιδος ἔργον τῶν Πραξιτέλους, δάδα ἔχουσα τῇ δεξιᾷ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ὀμων φερέτραν· παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν κύων ἐν ἀριστερᾷ· μέγεθος δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγίστην γυναῖκα τὸ ἄγαλμα.

ARTEMIS clad in short chiton advancing to right, quiver at shoulder; in her right hand bow, in her left torch; dog beside her.

Æ Auton. Berlin. (Y xvii.)

Zeit. f. Num. l.c. *Rev. Num.* l.c.

This type and the head of Poseidon are two sides of the same coin. The torch borne by Artemis is distinctive, and gives us reason to think that the figure of the coin is, if not exactly a

copy, at all events a free reproduction of the Anticyran statue of Artemis by the sons of Praxiteles, Cephisodotus and Timarchus. The old reading was *ἔργων τῶν Πραξιτέλους*, and the statue is cited by Brunn (*G. K.*) and other writers as a work of Praxiteles himself. And in fact the reading of our text does not exclude Praxiteles as the artist, cf. the phrase *ἔργον τῶν Μύρωνος* (ix. 30, 1) and compare *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 167.

ATHENS.

1. (a) Paus. i. 1, 1. Athene Sunias: temple on the top of the promontory of Sunium.
- (b) i. 1, 3. Athene in Piræus, bronze statue holding lance.
- (c) i. 1, 4 and 36, 4. At Phalerum. Temple of Athene Sciras.
- (d) i. 2, 5. Near Cerameieus. Statue of Athene Pasomia.
- (e) i. 8, 4. In the temple of Ares, statue of Athene by Locrus of Paros.
- (f) i. 14, 6. In or near the temple of Hephaestus. Statue of Athene with blue eyes, *γλαυκοὺς ἔχον τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς*.
- (g) i. 23, 4. On the Acropolis. Statue of Athene Hygieia (by Pyrrhus of Athens).
- (h) i. 24, 1. On the Acropolis. Athene striking Marsyas, for picking up the flutes thrown away by her.
- (i) i. 24, 2. On the Acropolis. Athene springing from the head of Zeus.
- (j) i. 24, 3. On the Acropolis. Athene producing the olive, and Poseidon waves.
- (k) i. 24, 5. The Parthenon. Subject of west pediment birth of Athene, of east pediment contest of Athene and Poseidon for the land.
- (l) i. 24, 5-7. In the Parthenon. Chryselephantine statue, standing, in long chiton; on her breast, Medusa-head; holding Nike and spear, shield at her feet, by her spear, snake.
- (m) i. 26, 4. On the Acropolis. Seated statue by Endoeus.
- (n) i. 26, 6. On the Acropolis. Athene Polias, very sacred statue said to have fallen from heaven.
- (o) i. 28, 2. On the Acropolis. Bronze statue by Pheidias (Promachos). Lance-point and helmet visible on the way from Sunium: shield decorated by Mys.

- (p) L. 28, 2. On the Acropolis. Athene Lemnia, most remarkable of Pheblias' works.
 (q) L. 30, 4; 31, 6. At Colonus. Altar of Athene Hippias, also at Acharnae.
 (r) L. 32, 2. On Pentelieus. Statue of Athene.
 (s) L. 37, 2. Temple of Demeter on sacred way. Athene and Poseidon honoured there.
 (t) L. 37, 6. Temple of Apollo on sacred way. Statue of Athene.

In the following classification of the various types of Athene we would not be understood positively to endorse the identifications inserted in the text of coin-types with ancient works of art. But for the identifications there is, in each case, much to be said, and as we have not space to discuss them at length, we accept them provisionally in order to obtain a basis for arrangement. If any of them be hereafter disproved, it will not destroy the value of our work.

1. ATHENE PARTHENOS (*h*).

Athene standing, aegis on her breast; holds in right hand Nike, in left, spear; left hand rests on shield represented in profile.

Æ Imp. B. M. Loebbecke. (Y xviii.)

Hunter Coll. Pl. x. 22, 27.

As last, shield bearing Gorgoneion partly conceals her body.

Æ B. M. (Y xix.) Beulé 253, 1.

As last but one; snake at her feet.

Æ B. M. (Y xx.) Beulé 253.

Æ B. M. (Y xxi.) Beulé 253.

With these coins we may compare the following type on a Cilician coin of the fourth century B.C. which seems also a reproduction of the Athenian Parthenos.

Athene facing, holds in right hand Nike, left hand rests on shield, right elbow supported by trunk of tree.

Æ B. M. Gauthier, *Types*, pl. x. 28. De Layard coll. (Y xxii.)

Also tetradrachms of Alexander I. and Antiochus VII., Evergetes, of Syria (Wieseler, *Denkm.* II. 203; *Br. Mus. Cat.* Seleucidæ, pl. xv. 5; pl. xx. 6, &c.).

Paus. i. 24, 5. Μέγαν μὲν οὖν ἐπικείται οἱ τῷ κράνι Σφηγγὸς αἰκῶν, . . . καθ' ἑαυτὸν δὲ τοῦ κράνους γρύπες εἰσιν ἐπιεργασμένοι.

Head of Athene in three-crested Athenian helmet; on the

side of it Pegasus running; over the forehead foreparts of horses.

R. Auton. B. M. (Y xxiii.)

Bust of Athene in crested Athenian helmet, of which the ornamentation is obscure, but there seems to be an owl (?) on the neck-piece; wears necklace and aegis.

R. Auton. Loebbecke. Parma. (Y xxiv.) Berlin.

With these may be compared coins of Alexandria struck under Julia Mamaea.

Bust of Athene in three-crested Athenian helmet: on the top, sphinx, on the side a Pegasus or griffin, over the forehead heads of four horses.

Potin. B. M. (Y xxv.)

The literature which treats of the Parthenos statue of Pheidias and its reproductions in statuette relief and coin is so extensive that it is quite impossible here to summarise the results which it establishes. The coins add little to our knowledge; but on one or two points their testimony is important:—

(1) the prop which on the Athenian statuette discovered in 1881 supported the right hand of Athene does not appear on the Athenian coins; but it does on a leaden tessera at Berlin, which bears the inscription $\Lambda\Theta\epsilon$ and reproduces the Parthenos statue (v. Sallet, *Zeit. f. Num.* x. p. 152.) On the Cilician coin above cited, the stump of a tree is similarly introduced as a support. In our plates will be found several instances in which a prop appears to have been placed under the arm of a statue, see **E** LXXXVII., **N** XXIV., **O** IX., **T** VII., and more particularly the reproductions of the early statue of Artemis Laphria at Patrae on pl. **Q**, and the seated female figure, pl. **EE** XVI., XVII., who rests her hand on a column.

(2) The animal on the side of the helmet of Athene on late silver coins of Athens is generally quite clearly a Pegasus (as in XXIII.) but sometimes, though rarely, certainly a griffin. The coin of Imperial times (XXIV.) gives us a nobler, and in some respects truer, representation of the original, but the details cannot be made out. The coin of Alexandria (XXV.) adds the Sphinx as a support of the crest, and distinctly confirms the probability, established by coins and gems, that the visor of Athene's helmet was adorned with foreparts of four horses. Schreiber (*Arch. Zeit.* 1884, p. 196) remarks that owls are sometimes found on the coins in the place of the fore-

parts of horses; such coins are entirely unknown to us; the foreparts of horses are universal, and it can scarcely be doubted that they represent something which existed over the forehead of the Parthenos statue. A curious variant, however, occurs in the gold reliefs of St. Petersburg which give the head of the Parthenos (*Athen. Mittheil.* 1883, pl. xv., p. 291). In this case a sphinx supports the crest, flanked by Pegasus on each side; but over the forehead, in the place of the foreparts of horses, are foreparts of griffins and stags alternately.

2. ATHENE PROMACHOS (c).

Athene facing, head left, spear transversely in right hand, shield on left arm, aegis on breast.

A. B. M. (Z I.) Isth. Loebbecke (Z II.)

Beulé 390, 7. Lange in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, 147.

Similar; before her, snake.

A. Hunter, pl. x. 39.

On the whole, Lange's identification of this type as a reproduction of the Promachos of Pheidias seems sound. He maintains that the turn of the head visible on the coin reproduces a turn of the statue's head which was directed towards its right shoulder. He considers that the relief and statues published by von Sybel in the *Athenian Mittheil.* 1880, p. 102, also represent Athene Promachos.

3. THE ACROPOLIS.

The Acropolis-rock; on it to the left the Parthenon, to the right a staircase leading up to the Propylaea; between these, figure of Athene on basis; below, cave in which Pan seated to left.

A. B. M. (Z III.) Isth. (Z IV.) Paria (Z V.)

Beulé, 394. Lange in *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, p. 197.

Similar; Propylaea lower down, and type of Athene different.

A. Vienna (Z VI.) Rhomopoulos.

Similar, right and left transposed.

A. Beulé, 394, 2. Berlin, *Michaelis Fests. descr. med.*, p. 1, 3.

Loebbecke (Z VII.)

III. IV. and V. of the plate represent roughly the Acropolis as seen from the north-west angle, in which aspect the marble staircase leading up to the Propylaea would appear on the extreme right, next, the Propylaea themselves, next, the bronze Athene, and next, the Parthenon; the Panceion being somewhat to the left of the staircase. The staircase is the principal feature of the view, this *ἔργον τῆς ἀναβάσεως* was executed in the

reign of Caius (*C.I.A.* iii. 1284-85). The coins are all of the age of the Antonines. When, however, we come to a consideration of details we find much want of exactness. The Propylaea are very inadequately represented, and the orientation of the Parthenon is incorrect. M. Beulé thinks that Pan is in the act of playing on the flute; but this is very doubtful.

But the most important point is the type and attitude of Athene. It is clear from the position of the statue that the intention of the die-cutter was to represent the bronze colossus of Phædias which stood in the midst of the Acropolis, and we ought thus to gain some evidence as to the details of that colossus. But any such hope is destined to failure. On some of the coins such as Z IV., as Lange has already observed, the type represented is clearly that of the Parthenos. On others (as Z III.) she clearly holds Nike in her right hand, but her left seems to be raised. It is further a doubtful point whether the apparent differences between Z III, and Z IV. do not arise from mere oxidation.

4. ATHENE IN PEDIMENTS (k).

Athene running to right; in left shield and spear; right hand extended, beneath it olive entwined by snake; in front, owl.

E. B. M. &c. Imh. (Z viii.)

Beulé, 390, 12. *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, pl. xxx. 3.

E. A. Gardner in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* iii. 252.

Schneider, *Die Geburt der Athene*, 1880, pl. 1.

Similar figure; no olive, but to right snake or snakes.

E. Loebbecke (Z ix.) Rhomopoulos.

Beulé, 390, 10 and 11.

Similar figure; no olive, but to left snake.

E. Loebbecke (Z x.)

With these we may compare the following:—

Similar figure, plucking with right hand twig from olive; under olive, owl on pillar; to right, altar.

E. Roman medallion of Commodus. B. M. (Z xiii.)

Prüner, p. 137.

Similar figure, holding in right hand Nike.

A. of Tarsus: Balbinus, &c.

R. Schneider (*op. cit.*) discusses the origin of this type which is widely copied in sculpture (*e.g.* Clarac, pl. 462a, No. 858a, a small statue of Pentelic marble in the Capitoline Museum) and in reliefs, as well as on coins and gems. By the aid of a puteal

discovered at Madrid (engraved also in L. Mitchell's *History of Sculpture*, p. 350) he traces the running figure of Athene back to the east pediment of the Parthenon, where the birth of the goddess is depicted. The resemblance of the coin-type to Athene on the puteal is very striking; but on the other hand we lack any satisfactory proof that the design on the puteal closely reproduces that of the pediment. Other writers, as Friederichs (*Bausteine*, 401) and Mr. Ernest Gardner (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* III. 252) have seen in the type reproduced in statues and coins of this group Athene from the west pediment. Certainly she is closely like the goddess in Carrey's drawing of that pediment, only turned in the opposite direction. The attitude of the right hand is enigmatic. Mr. E. Gardner sees in it a gesture of triumph as the goddess points to the olive of her creation, but on the Roman medallion the goddess is distinctly plucking an olive-spray from the tree.

Thus it cannot be considered certain which of the pediments has furnished the prototype of this running Pallas; but it is not improbable that she may be traced to one or the other; her likeness to the extant figure called Iris in the eastern pediment strengthens the presumption.

A figure closely similar occurs in a round temple on a gem, in Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, II. 216c. This may be regarded as telling against the identification here proposed, but not with great force.

4. ATHENE AND POSEIDON (*k* and *j*).

Olive-tree entwined by snake, owl seated in the branches. To left of it Poseidon, in whose raised right hand trident pointed to the ground, and on whose left arm chlamys; at his feet dolphin. To right of it Athene, right hand advanced, in left shield and spear.

Æ B. M. Rhinocerosion (Z xi.) Vienna (Z xii.) Paris. Loebbecke (Z xiv.)
 Stophani, *Comptes Rendus*, 1872, p. 5, 3; p. 125, 1.

Similar, owl and dolphin wanting.

Æ Imh. (Z xvi.)

Athene standing to right; shield behind her, her left stretched towards olive, round which snake twines; owl on olive. On the other side of the tree Poseidon standing to left, his right foot resting on a rock, left hand resting on trident, right hand advanced.

Æ Loebbecke (Z XVII.) Rhonopouloa.
cf. Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, No. 234.

Athene standing to left, grasping with right hand olive-tree, against which her spear leans, behind her shield and snake: on the other side of the tree Poseidon to right, his left foot resting on rock, right hand resting on trident, left hand advanced.

Æ Roman medallion of M. Aurelius.
Prov. Museum, Bonn (Z XV.)
cf. the relief published by Robert in the *Athens Mittheilungen* for 1882.

We have here two entirely distinct groups, each comprising Athene, Poseidon, and an olive-tree entwined by a snake. The first group (XI., XII., XIV., XVI.) is closely like the celebrated group on the vase of St. Petersburg published by Stephani (*C.R.* 1872) and repeated in this Journal (III. p. 245), where some account is given of the various interpretations to which the group has given rise. In the other group (XV., XVII.) Athene and Poseidon are not in conflict but at rest, and apparently engaged in colloquy. One is naturally tempted to bring the former group into connexion with the west pediment of the Parthenon, and to regard the latter group as connected with the anathema on the Acropolis mentioned by Pausanias in passage *j*. A noticeable point in the coins of the first group is that the snake is in all cases distinctly hostile to Poseidon.

5. ATHENE STANDING BY OLIVE.

Athene standing to left before olive-tree; in her right hand spear held transversely, in her left shield which rests on the ground.

Æ B. M. Rhonopouloa, Bibl. Paris. (Z XVIII.) Snake twined round tree.
B. M. (Z XIX.) Owl perched in tree.
Loebbecke. Owl at foot of tree.
Beulé, 390, 3. Owl in tree, snake at foot.

This Athene may perhaps be part of a group, which, when complete, would include Poseidon on the other side of the tree. On one specimen (Z XVIII. B. M.) the snake which is twined round the tree seems to be looking at an enemy, who can scarcely be other than Poseidon. On the other hand the Athene of these coins is not exactly like the Athene of the groups above cited; more, however, like the goddess in the second than in the first group.

6. OLIVE-TREE.

Paus. i. 27, 2.—Olive-tree in temple of Athene Polias:—

Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐλαιᾶς οὐδὲν ἔχουσιν ἄλλο εἰπεῖν ἢ τῇ θεῷ
μαρτύριον γενέσθαι τοῦτο ἐς τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ
χώρῃ.

Olive-tree with snake and owl.

Æ B. M. &c.

Boulé, 391, 7-11.

Olive-tree with owl and amphora.

Æ B. M. Leobbecke, &c.

Boulé, 391, 10.

Olive-tree, owl, amphora, palm-tree.

Æ Rhonssoponlos.

Ramus, i. pl. III. 18.

Olive-tree, snake, and dice-box.

Æ

Boulé, 392, 2.

Olive-tree, snake, owl, and dice-box.

Æ

Boulé, 154.

7. ATHENE AND MARSYAS (A.)

Athene standing, dropping the flutes; before her Marsyas in an attitude of surprise.

Æ Athens Mus. Rhonssoponlos (Z xx.)

Boulé, p. 393. Z. f. Num. VII. 218.

Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*. i. p. 209.

Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, No. 2395.

Athene to left, right hand advanced, at her feet serpent; before her Marsyas in an attitude of surprise.

Æ Bhl. Turin (Z xxi.)

This is an interesting group, and we find in it traces of sculptural origin, although Athene is not, as in the group described by Pausanias, striking Marsyas. Wieseler suggests (*Nachrichten der k. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen*, 1885, p. 324) that the reading *Μαρσύαν παύουσα* is corrupt, and that a better would be *Μαρσύαν ἀνελούνη ἀναπαύουσα*. Cf. however Michaelis, *Paus. descr. arcis*, p. 9, and Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, who explains the phrase of the text.

Several writers whose opinions are summed up by Overbeck (*Gr. Plastik*. i. 209, and note 165) agree in regarding the Marsyas of the coin, which is like a marble statue in the Lateran and a bronze statuette in the British Museum, as copied from the Marsyas of Myron. The attitude of Athene is on the two coins different, and as they are too ill-preserved for

us to judge of it in detail, we must content ourselves with saying that she is in a quiet attitude, indicating neither anger nor hostility. Pliny speaks of a group by Myron thus, (*fecit*) *satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam*, which phrase applies far better to the group of the coin than the phrase of Pausanias; it thus appears not unlikely that we may have here a reproduction of the group of Myron, which may have been preserved at Athens.

We next reach a number of types of Athene which cannot be definitely traced back to a sculptural original: some are mere varieties of the types already described, some are new, and offer a field to investigation in future.

8. ATHENE NIKEPHOROS.

Athene standing to right; spear in raised right hand, Nike in left, himation round waist.

Æ D. M. Loebbecke, Paris (Z xxii.)
Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 702.
Beulé, 299, 6.

Athene standing to left; holds in right Nike, in left spear, shield slung on left arm.

Æ Loebbecke (Z xxiii.)

Athene standing to right; in right hand Nike, in left spear; at her feet snake to right; behind her, owl on pillar.

Æ Naples (Cat. No. 7156) (AA i.)

The first coin under head 8 belongs to the class of figures of which the Pallas of Velletri is the most noteworthy specimen. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 702 describes the class, which seems to have originated in the fourth century.

9. ATHENE HOLDING OWL.

Athene standing to right; owl in left hand, patera (?) in right; clad in long chiton

Æ Imh. B. M. Loebbecke (AA ii.)
Beulé, p. 287, 1, 2.
(Obs. Head of Zeus or Head of Artemis.)

Athene standing to left; owl in right hand, spear in raised left; himation over shoulders.

Æ B. M. (AA iii.)

Athene standing to right; owl in her right hand, in her left spear held transversely; coiled snake at her feet.

Æ Imh. Loebbecke, Rhousopoulos (AA iv.)
Hunter, pl. x. 33.

Athene standing to right; owl in right hand, spear in left hand, shield on left arm, himation over shoulders.

Æ B. M. (AA v.)

Athene standing to right; in raised right hand owl; behind her owl on pillar.

Æ Rhonspoulos. Loebbecke.

cf. Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler*, II. No. 221, where the object in the hand of Pallas is identified as a pomegranate.

The first described of these types is the most important, and seems clearly to portray a sculptural original of the early period; there is in the pose something of archaic stiffness. Beulé suggests that it may portray the Athene Archegetis, of which the scholiast to Aristophanes (*Aves*, l. 515) says *γλαῦκα εἶχε ἐν τῇ χειρὶ*. But this phrase is not distinctive, the owl being a usual attribute of Athene: we are equally likely to be right in considering the present type as Athene Paconia. Athene Hygieia it cannot be, as that statue held a spear in the left hand: cf. Michaelis in *Athenian Mittheil.* I. 289.

10. ATHENE HOLDING PATERA.

Athene facing, head to left; patera in right hand, spear in left; shield on left arm.

Æ Loebbecke. Rhonspoulos (AA VI.)

Athene facing, head to left; in right holds patera over altar, in left spear; shield on left arm.

Æ Hunter, pl. XI. 4.

Beulé, 253, 3.

As last, but left hand rests on shield; to left of altar, olive, with snake and owl.

Æ Beulé, 254, 2.

11. ATHENE STANDING, ARMED.

Athene standing to left, her raised right resting on spear, shield behind her; wears himation.

Æ Beulé, 250, 8. Imhoof (AA VII.)

Athene standing to right; holds in raised right hand spear, left rests on shield before her.

Æ Loebbecke (AA VIII.)

Athene standing to right; holds in raised right hand spear, on left arm shield; snake at her feet.

Æ Loebbecke (AA IX.)

12. ATHENE ARMED, RUNNING.

Athene running to right, looking back, right hand outstretched, in left shield and spear; drapery flying from her shoulder; before her, snake to right.

Æ Paris (AA x.)

Athene running to right, right hand outstretched, on left arm shield; before her, snake to right.

Æ Loebbecke (AA xi.)

The former of these two types is closely like the above-described figure of Athene from a pediment (Z viii.-x.), the only noteworthy difference being in the position of the right arm, which in the pediment type is extended backward, in the present type is stretched to grasp the edge of Athene's shield. This latter type is remarkably like Athene (or Enyo) on the coins of the Lucanians and Bruttians of the third century.

Athene moving to left, spear transversely in right hand, on left arm shield; before her, snake to left.

Æ Loebbecke (AA xii.) Rhinocypselon.

Athene moving to left, right hand advanced, in left shield and spear; before her snake, behind her owl.

Æ Loebbecke (AA xiii.)

13. ATHENE FIGHTING.

Athene fighting to right; in raised right hand thunderbolt, on left arm shield.

Æ B. M. (AA xiv.) &c. Before her snake, horse's head or other symbol.
Beulé, 386, 1-3.

Athene fighting to right; in raised right hand spear, on left arm shield.

Æ B. M. (AA xv.)

Similar figure; behind her, olive-tree entwined by snake; before her, owl.

Æ B. M. (AA xvi.)

Beulé, 390, 13.

Similar figure, charging rapidly to right.

Æ B. M. (AA xvii.)

Athene charging to right; in right hand spear outstretched, on left arm aegis.

Æ Loebbecke (AA xviii.) B. M. (AA xix.)

Beulé, 390, 1; 346, 3.

At her feet snake, owl, or other symbol.

These types seem to represent successive stages in the development of the normal Athene Polias.

14. ATHENE HOLDING OLIVE-BRANCH.

Athene standing to left, holds in right olive-branch over coiled snake, on left arm shield.

Æ Beulé, 390, 4. Hunter, xi. 19.

This type closely resembles some of those ranged under Athene running. Compare especially **AA** xiii.

15. ATHENE VOTING.

Athene facing; left hand on hip, in right, vote which she drops into amphora; beside her, shield.

Æ Rhomaeponlos.

This coin is very obscure in details; it may represent Athene Arcia, of the Areiopagus, cf. Paus. i. 28, 5.

16. ATHENE SEATED.

Athene seated to left on throne; Nike in right hand, spear in left; shield behind seat.

Æ Loebbecks (**AA** xx.) Imh. ke.

Beulé, 390, 1.

Athene seated to left on throne; patera in right hand, spear in left; shield behind seat; before her olive-tree.

Æ B. M. (**AA** xxi.) Loebbecks.

17. ATHENE IN CHARIOT.

Athene, holding spear advanced, in galloping biga to right.

Æ B. M. (**AA** xxii.) Imh. Rhomaeponlos (small size.)

Beulé, 390, 14 and 15.

Similar figure in quadriga.

Æ B. M. Loebbecks (**AA** xxiii.)

Athene, with spear in raised right, in galloping biga.

Æ B. M.

18. ATHENE-NIKE. Cf. Paus. i. 22, 4. Temple of Nike Apteros.

Athene or Nike winged facing, clad in chiton and helmeted, holds in left hand a standard surmounted by an archaic Palladium.

Æ Copenhagen (**AA** xxiv.)

Rev. Num. 1858, p. 357; Wieseler, *Dankm.* ii. 220.

(Reverse, **A** ♂, Owl.)

This is a remarkable and unique drachm, assigned by M. Beulé in the *Revue* to the time of Conon. It was perhaps intended to circulate in Asia, and in fact was probably issued from an Asiatic mint. It cannot be said with certainty whether the representation should be called Athene or Nike: the helmet and the Palladium are in favour of the former attribution. We have no reason to think that it reproduces a statue; certainly not that of Athene Nike on the Acropolis.

2. (a) Paus. i. 1, 3. At Peiraeus. Bronze statue of Zeus, holding sceptre and Nike.

- (b) l. 1, 3. At Peiræus. Statues of Zeus and Demos by Leochares.
- (c) l. 1, 4. At Phalerum. Temple of Zeus.
- (d) l. 2, 5. In the gymnasium of Hermies. Statue of Zeus.
- (e) l. 3, 2. Near the royal stoa. Zeus Eleutherius.
- (f) l. 3, 5. In the senate-house. Xoanon of Zeus Bulaeus.
- (g) l. 18, 6. In the Olympieum. Colossus of Zeus in ivory and gold, set up by Hadrian.
- (h) l. 18, 7. In the Olympieum. Zeus in bronze.
- (i) l. 18, 9. Temple of Zeus Panhellenius and Hera, founded by Hadrian.
- (j) l. 24, 4. On the Acropolis. Statue of Zeus by Leochares.
- (k) l. 24, 4. On the Acropolis. Zeus Polieus.
- (l) l. 32, 2. On Hymettus. Zeus Hymettius.
- (m) l. 32, 2. On Parnes. Bronze statue of Zeus Parnethius.
- (n) l. 32, 2. On Anchestmus. Zeus Anchestmus.

ZEUS naked, thundering, left hand advanced; archaic treatment of hair and beard; at his feet, eagle; sometimes symbols in field.

Æ B. M. Ac. Imh. (BB l.)

Bœult, 249, 281, 357, 368.

Zeus naked, standing, thunderbolt in right hand which hangs down, left hand advanced.

Æ Munich. B. M. Imh. (BB II.)

Zeus naked, standing, thunderbolt in right hand which hangs down, in left patera over altar entwined by snake.

Æ B. M. (BB III.)

Bœult, 396, 1.

Zeus seated, naked to waist, Nike in right hand, sceptre in left.

Æ B. M. (BB IV.)

Bœult, 396, 2.

Jahn has proposed the theory (*N. Memor. delf Inst. A.* p. 24) that the more archaic Zeus (I.) on the coins is a copy of the archaic statue of Zeus Polieus (k), and the later Zeus of a similar type (III.) is a copy of the statue by Leochares which stood beside it (j). On this theory Overbeck (*K. M.* p. 54) remarks that Jahn's identification of the archaic statue of Zeus Polieus though not certain is probable; and certainly its parallelism with the recognized type of Athene Polias (AA XIV.) is in favour of such identification. To Jahn's argument as to

the statue by Leochares; Overbeck adds that the altar in front of the figure on the coin (III.) may stand for the altar which stood before Zeus Polieus, where was performed the annual ceremony of the Buphenia or Diipolia (Paus. i. 28, 11.)

The seated figure of Zeus (IV.) is very probably copied from the colossal statue set up by Hadrian in the Olympieum (*g*) which would naturally be a copy of the chryselephantine statue by Pheidias at Olympia.

3. (*a*) Paus. i. 1, 3. At Peiraena. Temple of Aphrodite, founded by Canon, after his victory at Cnidus.

(*b*) i. 1, 5. Promontory Colias. Statue of Aphrodite Colias and the Genetyllides.

(*c*) i. 8, 4. In the temple of Ares. Two statues of Aphrodite.

(*d*) i. 14, 7. Near the Cerameicus. Temple of Aphrodite Urania: statue by Pheidias of Parian marble.

(*e*) i. 19, 2. In the gardens (*κήποι*). Temple of Aphrodite, and heron of Aphrodite near, called Urania, eldest of the Moerae.

(*f*) i. 22, 3. South of Acropolis. Statues of Aphrodite Pandemos; new, but good.

(*g*) i. 23, 2. On the Acropolis. Statue of Aphrodite by Calamis, dedicated by Callias.

(*h*) i. 37, 7. In the pass to Eleusis. Temple of Aphrodite.

(*i*) i. 20, 2. In Street of Tripods. Standing Eros and Dionysus by Thymilus.

Aphrodite does not seem to occur on coins of Athens. The figure described by Beulé (p. 225) as the Syrian Aphrodite is Isis; that figured as Aphrodite with the Genetyllides is the Delian Apollo.

Eros facing, with right hand crowns himself; in his left a palm.

R. Imh.

Beulé, 222.

Biggs, *Eros and M.* p. 8.

4. (*a*) Paus. i. 1, 4. At Munychia. Temple of Artemis Munychia.

(*b*) i. 19, 6. At Agrae. Temple of Artemis Agrotera: *καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα διὰ τοῦτο ἔχει τόξον, κ.τ.λ.*

(*c*) i. 23, 7. On the Acropolis: *καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἔστι Βραυρωνίας, Πραξιτέλους μὲν τέχνη τὸ ἄγαλμα, τῇ*

θεῶ δέ ἐστιν ἀπὸ Βραυρωνος δῆμον τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ξόανόν ἐστιν ἐν Βραυρωνί, Ἀρτεμις, ὣς λέγουσιν, ἡ Ταυρικῇ.

(d) I. 26, 4. On the Acropolis: Τῆς δὲ εἰκότος πλησίον τῆς Ὀλυμπιοδόρου χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος ἀγάλμα ἐστηκεν ἐπὶ κλησιν Λευκοφρυγῆς, ἀνέθεσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες οἱ Θεμιστοκλέους.

(e) I. 33, 1. At Brauron. Archaic xoanon of Artemis.

(f) I. 29, 2. By the Academy: περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης.

(g) I. 38, 6. At Eleusis. Temple of Artemis Propylaea.

Archaic ARTEMIS facing, clad in chiton with diplois, hair in formal curls; holds patera and bow; beside her, stag looking up.

J. B. M. (BB v.) Paris (De Layons) (BB vi.)
Beulé, p. 287.

If the archaic figure of Artemis at Brauron was a copy of the ancient xoanon carried off by the Persians to Susa and given by Seleneus (Paus. III. 16, 7) to the people of Selencia in Syria, on whose coins (N XL XII.) we find copies of it, the present representation does not reproduce the Brauronian statue as Beulé supposed, being of another type. It is far more probably an Artemis Leucophryne. The statue dedicated by the sons of Themistocles would in all probability be modelled more or less closely on the cultus-statue of that deity in her temple at Magnesia in Ionia, where Themistocles was dynast. This cultus-statue is often reproduced on late coins of Magnesia; the goddess was represented in nearly the same form at Magnesia as at Ephesus, with polos on head, the body in term-like shape, pendent fillets hanging from the outstretched hands. The figure on our coin does not fully conform to this description; the feet are articulate, and in the outstretched hands are patera and bow; nevertheless the scheme seems rather Asiatic than European, and it seems not unlikely that the sons of Themistocles may have innovated in details on the fixed traditional type.

Archaic Artemis facing, clad in long chiton, holds torch in each hand.

J. B. M. (BB vii.)
Beulé, 380.

Artemis (not archaic) or Demeter facing, clad in long chiton,

holds torch in each hand: beside her seated Dionysus,
q.v.

R. B. M. (CC VII.)

Beulé, 202.*

Artemis running to right, clad in long chiton, holds two torches
—quiver at shoulder.

Æ Loebbecke (BB VIII.) R. M. (BB IX.) Rhousopoulos (BB X.)

Æ Loebbecke (BB XI.) Rhousopoulos. (Figure to left.)

Artemis Agrotera in short chiton, running, spear in her raised
right hand, her left outstretched; beside her, hound.

R. B. M. (BB XII.)

Beulé, 214.

Artemis clad in short chiton, running, torch in both hands.

R. B. M. Imh. (BB XIII.) Æ Imh. (BB XV.) Loebbecke. (BB XIV.)

Beulé, 275.

Artemis clad in short chiton, running, a torch in each hand:
beside her Demeter standing, clad in long chiton, holding
a torch.

R. B. M. (BB XVI.)

Beulé, 325.

On Athenian coins, Artemis, when she bears one or two
torches, is not easily to be distinguished from Demeter. The
figure with short skirts is of course Artemis; as to the figure in
long skirts we may hesitate; but on some coins, notably X, a
quiver is distinctly visible, which can of course belong only to
Artemis. When Artemis appears in company with Demeter
(XVI.) Beulé (p. 325) calls her Propylaea, there being a temple
of Artemis Propylaea at the sanctuary of Eleusis.

5. (a) Paus. i. 1, 4. At Phalerum. Temple of Demeter.

(b) i. 2, 4. Within the Peiræan gate: *καὶ πλησίον ναὸς
ἐστὶ Διμήτρος, ἀγάλματα δὲ αὐτῇ τε καὶ ἡ παῖς καὶ
δᾶδα ἔχων Ἰακχος· γέγραπται δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ τοίχῳ ἡρίμ-
μασιν Ἀττικοῖς ἔργα εἶναι Πραξιτέλους.*

(c) i. 14, 1. *ναοὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Διμήτρος
πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης. ἐν δὲ τῷ Τριπτολέμον κείμενόν
ἐστὶν ἄγαλμα.*

(d) i. 22, 3. At entrance to Acropolis. Temple of Demeter
Chloe.

(e) i. 31, 1. In the Halimusian deme. Temple of Demeter
Thesmophoros and Corn.

(f) i. 31, 1. In the Prospaltian deme. Temple of Demeter
and Corn.

DEMETER or Cora standing; holds two torches turned downwards.

A. B. M. (BB XVII.)

A. Munich. (BB XVIII.)

Beulé, 198.

Demeter standing to left clad in chiton and over-dress; holds in right ears of corn, left rests on hip.

A. Oxford. (BB XIX.)

Beulé, 210.

Demeter facing, head bound with ears of corn, clad in chiton with diplois, over-dress over arms; holds in left long sceptre, with poppy at top (?); right hand extended.

A. Paris. (BB XX.)

Beulé, 253, 1.

Demeter seated to left crowned with corn; holds in right two ears of corn, in left torch.

A. B. M. (BB XXI.)

Beulé, 334.

Demeter seated to left on throne; holds in right hand two ears of corn, left rests on sceptre.

A. B. M. Loebbecke. (BB XXII.)

Demeter seated in chariot of snakes; ears of corn in her hand.

A. B. M.

Overbeck, *Demeter*, pl. ix. 2* and 2b. *Imh. M. Gr.* pl. c. 26.

Demeter as above; torch in left hand.

A. B. M. Beulé, 289, 6; 322-23.

Demeter standing in chariot of snakes; holds ears of corn and cornucopiae.

A. A.

Beulé, 289, 2 and 4; 291, 1.

Demeter as above, holds ear of corn and torch.

A. Paris. (cf. Beulé, 289.)

A. Imh. (BB XXIII.)

Overbeck, *Demeter*, pl. viii. 38.

Demeter, holding torch, standing in chariot of snakes: before her Cora holding long torch, behind her Artemis (?) who also holds torch.

A. Parma. (BB XXIV.) Rhousopoulos.

Beulé, 291, 2. Overbeck, *Demeter*, pl. viii. 39.

Triptolemus naked, standing in chariot of snakes.

A. Beulé, p. 291, 8.

Triptolemus naked to waist seated in chariot of snakes; holds ears of corn.

A. B. M. Loebbecke.

In the above list we have not attempted to distinguish types which represent Demeter from those which represent Cora. Nor

is it possible to determine which of the types represent sculptural originals. Most of them are discussed by Overbeck (*K. M.* iii 497); and we have not space for so long a discussion as would be necessary if we attempted to discriminate them properly.

(b) (a) Paus. i. 2, 5. In the Gymnasium of Hermes. Dionysus Melpomenus.

(b) 1. 14, 1. In the Odeium. A Dionysus *θεὸς ἄξιος*.

(c) 1. 20, 2. In the Street of Tripods. Temple with statue by Thymilus.

(d) 1. 20, 3. Near the Theatre: Τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ ἐστὶ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ τὸ ἀρχαιότατον ἱερόν. δύο δὲ εἰσιν ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου ναοὶ καὶ Διόνυσοι, ὃ τε Ἐλευθερεὺς καὶ ὃν Ἀλκαμένης ἐποίησεν ἑλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ.

(e) 1. 29, 2. At the Academia. Temple to which on set days was brought the statue of Dionysus Eleutherens.

(f) 1. 31, 6. At Acharnae. Dionysus Melpomenus and Dionysus Cissus.

Bearded DIONYSUS; arms and shoulders bare, seated on throne, holds wine-cup and sceptre; hair hanging in long tresses, and crowned with ivy.

R. Paris. (CC i.)

A. Imh. (CC ii.) *B. M.* (CC iii.)

Bouli, 261, 1—3.

Similar figure; before him incense-altar on table.

A. Imh. *Photisaden.* (CC iv.)

Bouli, 261, 4.

Head of bearded Dionysus, crowned with ivy, hair falling in long tresses.

A. Loebbecke. (CC v.)

Bouli, 276, 1 and 3.

There can be little doubt that the figure reproduced on these coins is, as Bouli has suggested, the Dionysus of Alcmanes. His likeness to the Pheidias Zeus is conspicuous in regard to his general attitude and the fashion of his outer garment, which does not cover the upper part of his body, but is brought over the left shoulder. There does not seem to have been a chiton under it. He is well adapted for a great cultus-statue, and that he served as such is proved by the table and altar of the coin iv. The head on the coin last described seems to be an exact enlargement of the head of the seated figure. It is certainly of noble type, but we may be somewhat surprised to find Alcmanes perpetuating so archaic a fashion of doing the hair.

Bearded Dionysus standing, clad in long chiton; hair in archaic fashion; holds wine-cup and thyrsus transversely, the latter bound with fillet.

A. B. M. (CC vi.)
Beulé, 376.

Young Dionysus standing, clad in short chiton, holds wine-cup and rests on thyrsus.

A. B. M. (CC vii.) *Nouv. Chron.* 1881, pl. iv. 4.

Young Dionysus, standing in long chiton; holds in right hand mask, in left thyrsus.

A. B. M. (CC vii.)
Beulé, 373.

Dionysus seated, facing, clad in long chiton, two torches over shoulders; beside him Demeter or Artemis standing, holding torch in each hand.

A. B. M. (CC viii.)
Beulé, 392.

Of these figures the first (CC vi.) seems undoubtedly a copy of an archaic statue, of about the time of Calamis. The figure holding a mask may be copied from one of the statues of Dionysus in the Theatre or its neighbourhood. The female figure in company with Dionysus should be Demeter rather than Artemis; the artistic type, however, would do for either.

PAUS. I. 21. THEATRE OF DIONYSUS.

The Theatre of Dionysus; above, the wall of the Acropolis, over which the Erechtheum, the Parthenon and the Propylaea of the Acropolis.

A. B. M. (CC x.) Photiadus. (CC ix.) &c.
Beulé, 394; Donaldson. *Architectura Numismatica*, No. 2.

It seems probable that this Theatre was chosen as a type for coins in consequence of the great improvements effected in it about the time of Hadrian, notably the erection of an elevated logeion. See *C.I.A.* iii. 239. Donaldson has called attention to the openings or niches which appear on the coin at the top of the cavea and at the foot of the Acropolis rock, and has cited in connexion with them the words of Pausanias, I. 21, 3, who says that at the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks, wherein is a tripod, and in it Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. In Michaelis' plan of the Acropolis a cave is indicated at the same spot, which was formerly blocked by the choragic monument of Thrasyllus (*Descr. Arcis Athenarum*, 1880.) On the Brit. Mus. coin (x.) there is an appearance of a monument

over one of the caves, but this appearance is probably due to accident only.

7. (a) Paus. i. 2, 5. In a sanctuary of Dionysus. Apollo made and dedicated by Eubulides.

(b) i. 3, 4. In or near the temple of Apollo Patrons. Apollo Patrons, by Euphranor; Apollo, by Leochares; Apollo Alexicacus, by Calamis.

(c) i. 3, 5. In the Senate-House. An Apollo, by Peisias.

(d) i. 8, 4. By the temple of Area. Ἀπόλλων ἀναδούμενος ταινία τῇν κόμην.

(e) i. 19, 1. Near the Olympieum. Statue of Apollo Pythius.

(f) i. 19, 1. Near the same place. Temple of Apollo Delphinus.

(g) i. 19, 3. Lyceum. Temple of Apollo Lyceus.

(h) i. 21, 3. Cave in Acropolis-rock. Apollo and Artemis slaying the Niobidae.

(i) i. 24, 8. Near the Parthenon. Statue in bronze of Apollo Parnopius, by Pheidias.

(k) i. 28, 4. On the north-west of the Acropolis. Sanctuary of Apollo in a cave.

(l) i. 31, 2. At Prasinae. Temple of Apollo; connected with Hyperboreans.

(m) i. 31, 6. At Acharnae. Worship of Apollo Aguiens.

(n) i. 37, 6. The pass to Eleusis. Temple and statue of Apollo.

Archaic APOLLO, naked, polos on head, holding in right hand the three Charites on a sort of frame, in his left, bow.

St. Copenhagen.

St. Ind. (CC xl.) Loebbecka. (CC xii.)

Boulé, 364.

Wisseler, Denkmäler, No. 126, &c.

Similar figure, griffin rearing against him on each side.

St. Paris. (CC xiii.) B. M. (CC xiv.)

Boulé, 364.

Furtwängler, Arch. Zeit. 1892, p. 331.

This figure has long been recognized as a copy of the Delian statue of Apollo by Tectaeus and Angelion, which held the Charites in its hand. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* was the first to identify the griffins.

Apollo standing, naked, right hand outstretched, in left, bow.

St. B. M. (CC xv.)

Boulé, 371, 1-2.

Similar figure, holds branch and bow.

Æ B. M. (Facing.) (CC XVI.)

Lambros. (To right.) CC XVII.)

Boulé, 271, 3.

Apollo standing, naked, his right hand on his head, in his left, bow.

Æ B. M. (CC XVIII.) (Beside him tripod on stand.)

Boulé, 285.

Æ Boulé, 285. (Behind him laurel.)

Apollo standing, naked, his right hand on his head, his left rests on lyre.

Æ B. M. (CC XIX.) Rhousopoulos.

Boulé, 285, 3.

Apollo to left, clad in long chiton, holds patera and lyre.

Æ B. M. (CC XX.) Loebbecke. (CC XXI.)

Boulé, 388, 2.

The descriptions of Pausanias are not sufficiently exact to enable us to identify with certainty any of these figures of Apollo. But the early figure CC XV.-XVII. is connected by Furtwängler (Roscher's *Lexicon*, p. 456) with the so-called Omphalos Apollo of Athens and the Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo of the British Museum. T. Schreiber (*Athen. Mittheil.* 1884, p. 248) maintains that it is probably a copy of the statue in the Daphnephoreion at Athens (Athenaeus, x. p. 424 F). That in which the hand rests on the head (XVIII. XIX.) seems from the description of a statue of Apollo Lyceus (above, 9) in Lucian (Anacharsis, 7) to be meant for a copy of the statue in the Lyceum. The tripod and the laurel would very well represent such a locality as the Lyceum.

8. (a) Paus. I. 8, 4. Near the temple of Ares. Statues of Theseus and Herakles.

(b) I. 17, 2-6. Temple of Theseus. Paintings of battles with Centaurs and Amazons.

(c) I. 24, 1. On Acropolis. Fight of Theseus and the Minotaur.

(d) I. 27, 8. Story of people of Troezen that Aegeus hid sword and sandals under a rock for Theseus to lift. On Acropolis, group in bronze embodying the tale.

(e) I. 27, 9. On Acropolis. Dedicated group of Theseus driving the bull of Marathon.

Also 3, 1 and 15, 2.

THESEUS standing, naked, right arm outstretched, left resting on club.

Æ Boulé, 393, 1.

Theseus standing, right hand extended, club in left.

Æ Loebbecke. (DD 1.)

Theseus naked, raising with both hands rock, beneath which are sword and sandals.

Æ B. M. Loebbecke. *Inv.* (DD 11.) Rhousopontos.

Bonlté, 398, 2.

Wimmer in *Zeitschrift f. Ges. d. Wiss.* Gottingen, 1886, p. 71.

Theseus, holding in right hand club, seizing with left prostrate Minotaur.

Æ R. M. *Inv.* Rhousopontos. (DD 111.)

Bonlté, 398, 4.

Theseus, club in raised right, lion's skin on left arm, rushing on sinking Minotaur.

Æ B. M. (DD v.) Loebbecke.

Bonlté, 398, 5.

Theseus as in last, without Minotaur.

Æ B. M. (DD v.) Loebbecke. Bonlté, 398, 3.

Theseus holding Minotaur by the horn, and striking him with club.

Æ B. M. (DD vi.) Sautzo.

Bonlté, 398, 6.

Theseus (?) driving a bull before him (the Marathonian bull?).

Æ B. M. Loebbecke. (DD vii.) Rhousopontos, Vienna. (DD viii.)

Bonlté, 392, 1.

Head of Theseus, beardless, club on shoulder.

Æ B. M. &c.

It is remarkable that the only sculptural records of Theseus mentioned by Pausanias are: his statue beside that of Herakles (a); his fight with the Minotaur (c); his lifting the stone (d); and his driving the bull of Marathon (e). The subjects of all these four representations appear on coins, but no other deed of Theseus, none of the exploits, for instance, which were depicted in the metopes of the so-called temple of Theseus. This is an interesting fact, and shows that many people at Athens were, like Pausanias, more impressed by separate groups than by those which merely formed part of the decoration of a temple. It is likely that one of the coins (DD 1.) gives us the type of the statue of Theseus; and the group of Theseus raising the stone, as it appears again quite similarly treated on coins of Troezen (M xi.), is probably a copy of the bronze group on the Acropolis. As to the other types we cannot say whether they are original or copies; but the tameness with which the bull walks before the hero seems scarcely worthy of a sculptural group.

9.—PAUS. I. 8, 2. Near the Tholos, *Εἰρήνη φέρουσα Πλαῦτον παῖδα*. (A work of Cephisodotus.)

EIRENE clad in long chiton with diplois, over-dress at her back, holds in right long sceptre, on left arm young Plutus, who extends his right hand, and holds in his left cornucopiae; her head turned towards the child.

Æ. R. M. (DD ix.) Munich. (DD x.) &c.
 Beulé, 302. (Demeter and Dionysia.)
 Friedrichs, *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, 1-14 (Gaea Curotrophos.)
 Brunn, *Ueber die sog. Leucothea*, 1867 (Eirene and Plutus.)
 Friedländer, *Zeit. f. Num.* v. pl. 1. 5.
 Köhler, *Athen. Mitth.* vi. 303-71.

The identification of the group here presented has been attempted by many archaeologists, with varying results, which are above slightly indicated. The view usually accepted is that of Brunn, who sees in it a copy of the Eirene and Plutus of Cephisodotus, of which he supposes a sculptural copy to exist at Munich. Wieselner (*D.A.K.* II. 99b) is disposed to find difficulties in this view. He remarks that the sceptre does not properly belong to Eirene [she does, however, hold it on late Roman coins], and further that the statue of Cephisodotus was in marble while the original of the Munich group was in bronze. He therefore prefers the attribution of Cora and the child Iacchus. Overbeck (*Gr. Plastik.* II. 8) remarks that on the coin Eirene holds the end of the cornucopiae: this, however, does not seem to be the case in the specimens we have examined.

10.—PAUS. I. 8, 4. Near the temple of Ares. Statues of Herakles and Theseus.

I. 19, 3. Cynosarges. A temple of Herakles.

I. 24, 3. On the Acropolis. Herakles strangling serpents.

I. 31, 6. At Acharnae. Herakles worshipped.

I. 32, 4. At Marathon. Herakles worshipped.

HERAKLES standing, naked, right hand resting on side; left hand, wrapped in lion's skin, rests on club.

Æ. Lockbecker. Rhomaeopolos. (DD xi.)
 Beulé 397, 1.
 (Beulé 397, 3, is of Usentum in Calabria.)
 Köhler, *Athen. Mitth.* vi. p. 365.

Herakles clad in long chiton; right hand rests on club, in left, cornucopiae. The coin thus described by Beulé (397, 2) is identical with the following:—

Herakles as a term, lion's skin over shoulders, right hand rests on club, in left, cornucopiae.

A. Munich. (DD XII.) Cf. Hartwig, Herakles m. d. Füllhorn, p. 51.

The Herakles first described (XI) is exactly in the attitude of Glycon's statue.

Herakles naked, standing to left; right hand advanced, in left, club, which rests on ground.

A. Rhodospouleas. (DD XIII.)

- 11.—Paus. I, 8, 5. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστᾶσιν Ἀρμόδιος καὶ Ἀριστογείτων οἱ κτείναντες Ἰππαρχον . . . τῶν δὲ ἀνδριάντων οἱ μὲν εἰσι Κριτίου τέχνη, τοὺς δὲ ἀρχαίους ἐποίησεν Ἀττήνωρ. Ξέρξου δέ, ὡς εἶλεν Ἀθήνας ἐκλιπόντων τὸ ἄστυ Ἀθηναίων, ἀπαγαγομένου καὶ ταύτους ἄτε λάφυρα, κατέπεμψεν ὕστερον Ἀθηναίοις Ἀντίοχος.

HARMODIUS and ARISTOGEITON charging: Aristogeiton bearded, holding sheath in left hand, chlamys over left arm: Harmodius beardless, naked, sword in raised right.

A. B. M. (DD XIV.) Paris. (DD XV.)

Beulé 235; Friedrich, Arch. Zeit. 1859, p. 64-71, pl. XXXVI.

Harmodius naked, facing, holds sword raised, and sheath.

A. Athens.

Köhler in Zeit. f. Num. XII. 102.

Harmodius naked, charging, to left, right hand raised with sword.

A. Loebbecke. (DD XVI.)

Aristogeiton advancing to right, sword in right hand, chlamys on left arm.

A. Loebbecke. (DD XVII.)

Aristogeiton (f) advancing to right, holds sword and chlamys.

A. Loebbecke. (DD XVIII.)

This group from the statues of Critius and Nesiotes has so often been discussed that it is unnecessary to say anything more about it. See Overbeck, *Gr. Plastik*, I. p. 118, and Michaelis in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* v. 146. The three coins of Mr. Loebbecke (XVI-XVIII) seem to be unpublished, and the two first of them are decidedly interesting in point of style; the powerful forms of the heroes remind us of the Naples statues.

- 12.—Paus. I, 15, 1. Ἰοῦσι δὲ πρὸς τὴν στοὰν ἦν Ποικίλην ὀνομάζουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν γραφῶν, ἐστὶν Ἑρμῆς χαλκοῦς καλούμενος Ἀγοραῖος καὶ πύλη πλῆσιον.

1. 22, 8. At entrance to Acropolis. Hermes Propylæus.

1. 27, 1. Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον.

1. 28, 6. On the Acropolis. A Hermes.

HERMES as terminal figure, caduceus in left hand.

R Paris. (DD XIX.)

Boult 152.

Archaic Hermes bearded standing to right, holds caduceus in left hand.

R (DD XX.)

Boult 348 (Boult mistakes the caduceus for a wreath, and calls the figure the hero Stephanophoros.)

Hermes running, chlamys flying, holds purse and caduceus.

Æ Loebbecke. (DD XXI.) Rhonaeopoula.

Boult 362, 1.

Hermes naked, standing, holds strigil and caduceus (?)

Æ Vienna. (DD XXII.) Loebbecke. (DD XXIII.)

Boult 362.

The archaic figure of Hermes (XX.) may be a copy of the Hermes Agoraeus set up before the Persian wars. See *Hermes*, XXI. pp. 493, 600. The figure carrying a purse (XXI.) would seem to be a later Hermes Agoraeus. The third figure (XXII. XXIII.) we cannot positively identify; the strigil is clear and this seems to indicate Hermes if we compare the Hermes Promachus at Tanagra (X. XIII.); but the caduceus is not certain; in fact the object looks more like a club. Perhaps the figure may be Theseus or Herakles.

13.—Paus. i. 18, 1. Τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν τῶν Διοσκούρων ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον· αὐτοὶ τε ἐστῶτες καὶ οἱ παῖδες καθήμενοι σφισιν ἐφ' ἵππων.

I 31, 1. The Dioscuri worshipped at Cephalae.

The DIOSCURI, naked, their arms about one another, one holds patera, the other spear.

R (EE I.)

Boult, 339.

This type of the Dioscuri seems to be a copy of an archaic work; they embrace one another like Dermys and Citylus on the Boeotian monument. Hegias an Athenian artist of early times made statues of the Dioscuri, which were afterwards carried to Rome. See Pliny, *N.H.* XXXIV. 78.

14.—Paus. i. 20, 3. Ἦν Ἀριστίων Ἀθηναῖος, ᾧ Μιθριδάτης πρὸςβένειν ἐς τὰς πόλεις τὰς Ἑλληνίδας ἐχρήτο· οὗτος ἀνέπεισεν Ἀθηναίους Μιθριδάτην θέσθαι Ῥωμαίων ἐπίπροσθεν.

Coins of Athens of the late type bearing the name of Aristion,

and the name of Mithridates, as well as his badge, a star between two crescents.

Ac B. M. Ac. Beulé, 227. *M. Berlin, Zeit. f. Num.* IV. D.

15.—Paus. I. 21, 4. Τοῦ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐς τε τὰ ἀγάλματά ἐστιν, ὅπόσα τοῦ θεοῦ πεποιήται καὶ τῶν παίδων, καὶ ἐς τὰς γραφὰς θείας ἀξιον.

I. 23, 4. θεῶν ἀγάλματά ἐστιν Ὑγίειας τε, ἣν Ἀσκληπιοῦ παῖδα εἶναι λέγουσι, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπίκλησιν καὶ ταύτης Ὑγίειας.

ASKLEPIOS clad in himation; his right hand rests on serpent-rod, his left on his side.

Ac B. M. (EE II.) *Ac* Loebbecke (EE III.) Rhomaeopolos (EE IV.)
Beulé, 331 and 401.

Similar figure, but left hand raised.

Ac Beulé, p. 331.

Hygieia; holds in left hand patera, snake rising over her shoulder.

Ac B. M. (EE V.)
Beulé, 259.

Hygieia; holds in left hand patera; behind her, stem of tree whence snake rises over her shoulder; her right resting on her side.

Ac Beulé, 259.

16.—Paus. I. 18, 9. Hadrian builds a gymnasium at Athens.

Table surmounted by head of Athens wreath and owl; beneath it sometimes amphora, or in field, palm.

Ac B. M. Ac.

Similar; side of table inscribed ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ.

Ac Berlin. Rhomaeopolos.

Similar table; on it small figure of Pallas and owl; beneath, amphora; to the left, palm.

Ac B. M. Rhomaeopolos.

The Berlin coin proves that this agonistic table has reference to games established by Hadrian.

17.—Paus. I. 22, 8. Charites by Socrates, at the entry to the Citadel.

Three female figures clad in long chitons, moving hand in hand; the foremost with outstretched hand.

Ac B. M. de Hirsch (EE VI.)

Beulé, 207.

Reischardt in *Arch. Z.* 1869, 61.

Blümmner in *Arch. Z.* 1870, 83.

This coin does not unfortunately help us in the interpretation of this much discussed group, which appears frequently on

Athenian reliefs. Whether the figures represented are three nymphs, three Charites, or the three daughters of Cecrops remains uncertain.

- 18.—Paus. I. 23. Ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ νοτίου καλουμένου τείχους, ὃ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐς τὸ θέατρον ἐστὶ τετραμμένον, ἐπὶ τούτου Μεδούσης τῆς Γοργόνης ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ ἀνέκειται κεφαλὴ, καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν αἰγὶς πεποιεῖται.

A Gorgon-head also on the aegis of Athene, &c.

Head of MEDUSA.

Æ B. M. See.

Bené, 340.

- 19.—Paus. I. 28, 4. Pan venerated in grotto near Propylaea.

PAN seated in grotto on side of Acropolis-rock.

Æ. See Acropolis.

- 20.—Paus. I. 32, 4. Monument of Miltiades at Marathon, and a trophy of white marble.

MILTIADES armed, dragging a captive Persian to a trophy.

Æ B. M. Imb. (EE VII.) Photiad. (EE VIII.)

In the Theatre were statues of Miltiades and Themistocles; beside each, a Persian prisoner. (Schol. Aristid. III. p. 535, Dind.).

- 21.—Paus. I. 33, 2. Μαραθῶνος δὲ σταδίους μάλιστα ἐξήκοντα ἀπέχει Ῥαμνοῦς . . . μικρὸν δὲ ἀπὸ θαλάσσης ἄνω Νεμέσεως ἐστὶν ἱερόν. . . Φειδίας τὸν λίθον εἰργάσατο ἄγαλμα μὲν εἶναι Νεμέσεως, τῇ κεφαλῇ δὲ ἔπεσσι τῆς θεοῦ στέφανος ἐλάφους ἔχων καὶ Νίκης ἀγάλματα οὐ μεγάλαταις δὲ χερσὶν ἔχει, τῇ μὲν κλάδον μηλέας, τῇ δεξιᾷ δὲ φιάλην.

Coin of Cyprus: fourth century B.C. Goddess facing, clad in long chiton, holds branch and patera.

Æ B. M. Cypriote legend.

See in Num. Chron. 1852, 89.

The identification of the figure on the coin with the Nemesis of Rhamnus, a work of Agoracritus, not of Pheidias, is advocated by M. Six, and has much in its favour. In the flourishing times of Athens coins of Cyprus and the neighbouring coast bear not unfrequently copies of the great statues of Athens.

- 22.—OTHER TYPES at Athens:

Isis standing to left, lotus on head, holds flower.

Æ B. M. (EE IX.)

Isis or Demeter facing, clad in long chiton and over-dress, holds

ears of corn and long torch or sceptre: on head, head dress of Isis.

At Paris. (EE x.)

Beulé, 245.

Tyche facing, holds sceptre and cornucopias.

At B. M. (EE xi.)

Nike standing to left, winged, holds cornucopias (?) and drops lot into amphora.

At Vienna. (EE xii.)

Hero facing, naked, spear in raised right hand, left rests on side.

At B. M. (EE xiii.)

Metellus laureate seated facing, holds in right spear or sceptre, in left, sword across knees.

At de Hirsch (EE xiv.)

Similar figure, crowned by Nike who holds wreath and sceptre.

At B. M. (EE xv.)

Draped female figure seated to right on rock, rests left hand on a column.

At Berlin. (EE xvi.) *Loebbecke. (EE xvii.)*

Published by Beulé (p. 400) as a figure of Solon: Lange (*Athen. Mittheil.* vi. p. 69) is much nearer the mark in suggesting that it may be a Demeter; but even this attribution is uncertain.

ELEUSIS.

1.—Paus. i. 37, 2. Temple of Demeter and Cora on the sacred way.

1. 37, 6. Another in the pass to Eleusis.

1. 38, 6. Temple of Triptolemus at Eleusis.

1. 38, 7. The Sanctuary of the two Goddesses.

DEMETER seated in chariot of snakes, veiled, holds in right hand ears of corn.

At B. M. &c. (EE xix.)

Ingh. M.G. pl. C, 28.

Triptolemus, standing in chariot of snakes, holds two ears of corn in right hand.

At B. M. &c.

Ingh. M.G. pl. C, 29.

Triptolemus seated in chariot of snakes, naked to waist: holds in right hand two ears of corn.

At B. M. &c. (EE xx.)

Ingh. M.G. pl. C, 27.

Overbeck, Demeter, pl. ix. 1 a and b.

Athen. Mittheil. iv. 250 and 262.

OROPUS.

- 1.—PAUS. I. 34, 2. *Καὶ Ὀρωπίοις ναὸς τέ ἐστιν Ἀμφιαράου καὶ ἄγαλμα λευκοῦ λίθου.*

AMPHIARAUS seated on throne, naked down to waist; his right hand extended, in his left, long sceptre; at his feet, snake.

Æ Galliena. B. M. (EE XVIII.)

Head of Amphiarus bearded and laur.

Æ Auton. B. M.

Kochler in *Athen. Mittheil.* IV. 262.

On these coins Amphiarus is represented exactly in the guise of Asclepius, as a god rather than as a hero, in accordance with Pausanias' statements.

SALAMIS.

- 1.—PAUS. I. 36, 1. *Ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ . . . τρόπαιον ἑστηκεν ἀπὸ τῆς νίκης ἣν Θεμιστοκλῆς ὁ Νεοκλέους αἴτιος ἐγένετο γενέσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλήσι . . . ναυμαχούντων δὲ Ἀθηναίων πρὸς Μήδους δράκοντα ἐν ταῖς ναυσὶ λέγεται φανῆναι.*

THEMISTOCLES in cuirass, helmeted, standing on galley, holds wreath and trophy; on ship, owl; before it, snake.

Æ B. M. Photiades. (EE XXI, XXII.) Imh. Loebbecke.

Bentl, 305.

Owl and snake sometimes absent.

OTHER TYPE:

Demeter standing to left, holds in right hand ears of corn, in left, torch.

Æ Canacalla. Wadd de Wollenheim, *Catalogue*, No. 3965. (It is however doubtful whether this coin be not misread.)

Köhler, *Athen. Mittheil.* IV. 262.

SUPPLEMENT.

Since previous parts of the Commentary were published, several new types, or better specimens of types already published have been discovered, in most cases owing to the friendly co-operation of the custodians of the national collections at Berlin and Paris and to Prof. Rhousopoulos. These we subjoin, preserving the same order of subjects as in the earlier paper and the same numbers of sections where possible. In cases in which the passages of Pausanias have been already cited at length we here content ourselves with a mere reference.

MEGARA.

8. APOLLO facing, clad in citharoedic costume; holds branch and lyre.

Æ Anton. Pius. Paria. (FF L.)

This is a variety of A IX., and apparently a copy more or less free of a statue of Praxiteles. In this specimen the attitude of the god appears less stiff than in A IX., and the body rests more on one leg than the other. It is of course a great gain if we can trace a citharoedic type of Apollo to Praxiteles.

- ARTEMIS holding bow and drawing arrow from quiver; Apollo as above; Leto leaning on sceptre.

Æ Commodus. Rhodospoules. (FF II.)

It is interesting to compare this type with A X. The figure of Apollo in it is more closely like the detached Apollo of A IX., and thus the probability that the group reproduces that of Praxiteles is increased. There is a correction to make in the description above under Megara, § 8: Artemis holds a bow, not as there stated, a plectrum.

- 9.—ATHENE standing erect, spear in raised right hand, shield on left arm.

Æ L. Verus. Rhodospoules. (FF III.)

This is a better specimen than A XI.

PAGAE.

- 1 A.—ISIS standing in temple; holds sistrum and vase.

Æ Commodus. Rhodospoules. (FF IV.)

- ISIS to right, and Asklepius, standing face to face.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhodospoules.

- 2.—HORSEMAN galloping right or left, chlamys flying.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhodospoules.

Geta. Rhodospoules.

Possibly this figure may represent Aegialeus, son of Adrastus, whose tomb was at Pagae, Paus. i. 44, 7; but more probably it stands for the Emperor.

CORINTH.

- 3.—Athene Chalinitis taming PEGASUS.

Æ Anton. Pius. Paria.

Athene here takes the place of the more usual Bellerophon. Chimaera.

Æ Commodus. Rhodospoules.

- 6.—ISTHMUS holding patera and rudder, seated in circular temple with conical roof surmounted by dolphins: on either side of temple, tree.

Æ Domna. Paria. (FF V.)

This coin seems to represent a different sacellum of Isthmus from that already figured (C XXXVII.). The form of the temple, and the pose of the statue within it, are quite different in the two cases.

- 10.—POSEIDON naked, standing; right foot rests on a rock; trident in raised left hand; in right hand, which hangs down, a *pluastro* (?); behind, tree.

Æ Caracalla. Rhodospoulos.

Cf. D LIV.

Poseidon seated on throne, holds dolphin and trident transversely.

Æ Domitian. Berlin.

A variety of D LIV.

Poseidon, holding dolphin and trident, in chariot drawn by four horses.

Æ Plautilla. B. M.

- 11.—QUADRANGULAR HARBOUR; at the top, temple, to which steps lead from the water, to left of it a shrine (?) to right a statue (?); at the two sides a range of colonnades; in the water, two Tritons, face to face.

Æ Caracalla. Rhodospoulos. (FF VI.)

As D LX. represents the harbour of Cenchrææ, so the present coin seems to represent that of Lechaëum, which was a made harbour on the Corinthian gulf and the chief station of the Corinthian war-fleet. The temple in that case would be Poseidon's (Paus. II. 2, 3, *ἔστι δὲ ἐν Λεχαίῳ μὲν Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν καὶ ἄγαλμα χαλκοῦν*).

Poseidon standing naked, holds dolphin and trident; before him Aphrodite, holding shield, with her back to him; between them, Eros.

Æ Commodus. Berlin.

- 13.—APHRODITE, facing, draped, holds in right hand apple, in left hand the end of her dress.

Æ Anton. Rhodospoulos. (FF VII.)

Obverse, Head of Laïs or Aphrodite. A different type of Aphrodite from D LXX. The figure may however be Tyche, as there is an attribute which looks like a cornucopine.

Aphrodite, holding mirror, in a biga drawn by Tritons.

Æ Nero. Mauleh. (FF VIII.)

Previously mentioned, but not figured.

- 19.—ZEUS seated to left on throne, holds Nike and long sceptre.

Æ Hadrian. Rhodospoulos. (FF IX.)

M. Aurelia. B. M.

Probably a representation of the Capitoline Zeus; the throne has no back, otherwise the type is closely like that embodied by Phidias in the Olympian Zeus (P XXI.).

20.—PALLAS seated on throne; holds in right, Nike; in left, spear; against which rests shield.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhomaeopolos. (FF x.)

Possibly Roma rather than Pallas.

Pallas standing, on basis; her right hand is extended, in her left spear.

Æ M. Aurelius. Loebbecke.

Plautilla. Rhomaeopolos (FF XI.)

The basis shows that we have here a copy of a statue: that it is of Pallas is not quite certain, the head not being clear on either specimen.

23.—HERAKLES facing, head turned to left; holds in right hand club which rests on a cippus, on left arm lion's skin.

Æ Anton. Pius. Berlin (FF XII.)

A different type of Herakles from F CIV., CIV.; but like them probably a copy of one of the numerous statues of Herakles which the city must have contained.

Herakles naked standing to left; right hand raised, in left, which is partly raised, club and lion's skin; before him, Aphrodite holding shield.

Æ Commodus. Berlin (FF XIII.) Cf. F CIV.

24.—PEIRENE personified as a nymph, naked to waist, seated on throne; holds on her lap water-pot; behind, snake to left.

Æ Caracalla. Berlin.

Cf. F CVII., but in the present case Peirene is seated on a throne, a fact confirming the view that the coin-type is a copy of a figure by the spring.

25.—PONS II. 2. 8. *Καὶ Ἀπόλλων ἐπέκλησεν Κλάριος χαλκοῦς ἐστὶ.* Cf. II. 3. 2.

APOLLO naked, standing, holds in right plectrum, in left lyre which rests on tripod; snake twined round tripod.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin (FF XIV.)

This figure of Apollo is connected by tripod snake and lyre with the oracular functions of the god, and therefore probably stands for Apollo Clarius. The oracle of Apollo at Clarnus was celebrated and said to have been founded by Manto, daughter of Teiresias.

- 28.—HERMES naked, seated on rock, ram (?) beside him; the whole group on a basis, in front of which is a basin for water.

Æ Commodus. Paris (FF xv.)

This adds another to the representations on coins of Corinthian fountains: the figure of Hermes seems to be a copy of that in the sacellum, **F CXL**; the figure of the ram, however, is not to be clearly made out in the present coin.

- 33.—APHRODITE, naked, but holding shield; kneeling at the feet of the Emperor.

Æ Sept. Severus. Berlin.

Aphrodite, naked to waist, turned to right, supporting with both hands shield which rests on pillar: the whole in tetrastyle temple on rock.

Æ Hadrian. Rhousopoulos (FF XVI.)

This is a curious variety of **G CXXI**—**CXXVI**, inasmuch as Aphrodite is turning in the wrong direction, and her shield rests on a pillar which stands in the place occupied on other coins by Eros.

- 34.—OTHER TYPES at Corinth.

Military female figure (Achaia ?) seated on rock, holds spear and sword, looks backward; behind her, spears and shields.

Æ Plantilla. B. M.

This specimen serves to correct our description of **G CXL**, in which we call the spears ears of corn.

Turreted female figure sacrificing left at altar; holds in left hand rudder.

Æ Anton. Pius. Paris.

This seems to be a form of Tyche.

Turreted female figure holding sceptre, standing beside trophy.

Æ Carnealla. Berlin.

An embodiment of the city of Corinth.

The Emperor, standing, in a tetrastyle temple.

Æ Nero. B. M. Rhousopoulos, &c.

Male figure standing; holds in right hand tessera; over left arm chlamys.

Æ Domitian. Rhousopoulos.

Perhaps an Athlete drawing lots for his turn in the Isthmian games.

Maenad clad in short chiton : holds in raised right hand torch or knife (†), in left human head.

Æ Caracalla. Rhenseopolos (FP XVII.)

Perseus facing, naked, holds in right hand head of Gorgon, in left harpa.

Æ Anton. Paris.

TENSEA.

Cf. Paus. II. 5, 3.

TYPES.

Dionysus (?) standing to left; holds in right hand kantharos, in left thyrsus.

Æ Domna. *Zeit. f. Num.* I. 320, pl. ix. 3.

Tyche standing.

Æ Sept. Severus. B. M. *Cat. Peloponnesius*, pl. ix. 23.

SICYON.

9. ASKLEPIOS seated on throne, sceptre in raised left hand, right hand extended over the head of a snake.

Æ Geta. Paris.

Cf. the statue at Epidaurus, **L** III.—V.

OTHER TYPES at Sicyon.

14. Amazonian figure, clad in short chiton, on top of pillar; she extends her right hand, and holds in left spear.

Æ Caracalla. Paris (FP XVIII.)

Either a statue of Artemis (cf. II. 10, 2) or one of the numerous memorials of notable persons which existed at Sicyon.

Isis to left; holds sistrum and vase.

Æ Geta. Rhenseopolos.

Horse ridden by human head.

Æ Geta. Rhenseopolos.

PHILIUS.

1.—Bearded male head crowned with reeds (Asopus?).

Æ Anton. B. M. *Cat. Peloponnesius*, pl. vii. 6.

3.—ARTEMIS running to right, holds in left hand bow, with right hand draws arrow from quiver; dog at her feet.

Æ Geta. Berlin (FP XIX.)

4a.—Paus. II. 13, 7. *Οὐ πόρρω δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ καλούμενος ὀμφαλός.*

OMPHALOS represented as a circle in the midst of a wheel.

Æ Anton. B. M. *Cat. Peloponnesius*, pl. vii. 4.

5a.—Paus. II. 13, 7. *Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, καὶ ἄλλο Ἰσιδος. τὸ μὲν δὴ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διονύσου δῆλον πᾶσιν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος.*

APOLLO naked, standing to right; bow in advanced left hand.

Æ Gata. Rhonospoulos (FF XI.)

6.—APHRODITE (?) facing, right hand raised.

Æ J. Donna. Rhonospoulos.

It is impossible to determine whether this figure is of Aphrodite or some other goddess, owing to the bad preservation of the coin. It may be of Hebe.

CLEONAE.

OTHER TYPES :

Asklepios seated to left on throne, extends his right hand over head of coiled snake, in his left hand sceptre; dog lying behind him.

Æ Sept. Severus. Berlin.

A close copy of the Epidaurian statue by Thrasymedes : cf. L. III.—v.

Artemis to right, holds in left hand bow, with right hand draws arrow from quiver; dog at her feet.

Æ Plautilla. Berlin.

Artemis facing, head turned to left, dog beside her; on either side a cypress.

Æ Sept. Severus. Brunswick (FF XXI.)

NEMEA. (Coins of Argos.)

2.—HYPISYPYLE running to left in alarm with arms spread towards erect serpent, which holds in its coils the body of Opheltes inverted.

Æ Hadrian. Berlin.

ARGOS.

8.—Perseus bearded (?) standing, chlamys over shoulders; holds in right hand harpa, in left Gorgoneion.

Æ Sept. Sev. Berlin (FF XXII.)

This type of Perseus is quite different from the conventional figure of I XVII., XVIII.

9.—APOLLO (Lycius ?) naked, facing, holds in right hand a branch; rests left elbow on Ionic column.

Æ M. Aurelius. Rhonospoulos.

L. Verus. Rhonospoulos (FF XXIII.)

Above described, but not figured : possibly a reproduction of the work of the sculptor Attalus (Paus. ii. 19. 3.)

16.—LETO, right hand raised to shoulder, the left extended over a small figure of Chloris, within a temple.

Æ Anton. Pius. Paris (FF XXIV.) Berlin.

These important coins complete the proof that the group of

these coins, as well as of **K XXXVI.—VIII.** is a copy of the work of Praxiteles. On these specimens there is nothing in the left hand of Leto, her right hand is raised to her shoulder, whether to a quiver or to adjust her dress. Chloris seems to be a somewhat stiffly-draped figure.

17.—**DEMETER** standing, clad in long chiton; holds in extended right hand poppy-head, in left ears of corn.

Æ L. Verus. Berlin (GG L.)

Demeter, holding poppy-head and ears of corn, in a tailed inclosure.

Æ Sept. Severus. Paris.

The pose of this figure is not unlike that of Demeter on **K XXXIX.** The inclosure in which she stands, probably the only occurrence of such a barrier on Greek coins, proves that the figure is a copy of a statue. The coin is too ill-preserved to be reproduced.

18.—One of the **DIOSCURI**, naked, standing, holds spear and sword.

Æ Hadrian. Rhousopoulos.
Antioch. Paris.

19.—Two figures of **EILEITHUIA** to left, each holding two torches, one raised, one lowered.

Æ Hadrian, Paris.

21.—**ATHENE** standing, holds in right hand patera, in raised right spear, against which leans shield.

Æ Hadrian. Berlin (GG II.)

24.—**ASKLEPIOS** seated on throne, in the front of a temple with five Ionic columns at side.

Æ Anton. Pius. Berlin (GG III.)

We have here further proof that the statue of Asklepios by Xenophilus and Strato is that reproduced on the coins. The coin however on which the figure of Hygieia appears, **K XLVIII.** is not of Argos, but of Aegium: see **R X.**

29.—**ARES** standing, armed, clad in short chiton, holds patera and spear.

Æ J. Domna. Rhousopoulos.

Compare **L L.**

30.—**OTHER TYPES** at Argos.

Goddess standing, clad in long chiton; holds patera and sceptre.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhousopoulos (GG IV.)

Goddess standing, clad in long chiton, holds pomegranate (!)

and sceptre; on either side of her, altar; behind her a second figure clad in long chiton, who raises her right hand and holds sceptre in left.

Æ J. Donna. Rhensepoulos (GG v.)

Standing figure, apparently male, holding long sceptre in round shrine on basis.

Æ Anton. Pius. Paris (GG vi.)

Artemis running, discharging arrow.

Æ M. Aurelius. Paris.

River-god reclining (Inachus?).

Æ Ant. Pius. Rhensepoulos.

EPIDAUROS.

2.—The ASKLEPIOS of Thrasymedes seated to left; before him, snake.

Æ Anton. Pius. Berlin (GG vii.)

Of L III.—V. The present coin is added because of its remarkable execution and preservation. Even the head of Asklepios is quite distinct; it is closely like that of Zeus on fourth century coins.

3.—HYGIEIA standing in round temple.

Æ Anton. Pius. Berlin (GG viii.)

In this coin as in L VI. the details of the figure are not clear, nor even its identification certain. She stands to left, clad in long chiton and over-dress; her right hand is extended, her left hangs down.

6.—OTHER TYPES at Epidaurus.

Female figure facing, in chiton and over-dress; holds in raised right long sceptre, in left a vessel (?).

Æ Anton. Pius. Paris. Berlin.

AEGINA.

3.—Nude figure of APOLLO, right, in the act of discharging an arrow.

Æ Anton. Munich (GG ix.)

This is a different type of Apollo from L II., but probably like it a copy of a work of art of the early Aeginetan school.

7.—ISIS; holds sistrum and vase.

Æ Geta. Rhensepoulos.

TROEZEN.

4.—APOLLO holding an arrow and leaning on a tripod, around which is twined a serpent; he is draped from the waist downwards.

Æ Sept. Severus. Paris (GG x.)

5a.—Paus. II. 31, 10. Καὶ Ἑρμῆς ἐνταῦθά ἐστι Πολύγιος καλούμενος; close to the statue, an olive.

HERMES facing, right hand raised, in left hand chlamys and caduceus; at his feet, on either side, ram and lyre.

Æ Sept. Severus. Paris (GG XI.)

Hermes advancing to right, drags goat by the horns, and holds in left hand caduceus.

Æ Sept. Severus. Paris (GG XII.)

7.—HIPPOLYTUS, standing, chlamys over shoulders, spear in raised left.

Æ Commodus. Rhomaspoulos.

Sept. Severus. Rhomaspoulos.

HIPPOLYTUS, with spear and sword, before Phaedra (or her nurse), who approaches him in an attitude of supplication.

Æ Sept. Severus. Berlin (GG XIII.)

9.—ASKLEPIUS standing at altar, snake-entwined staff in his left hand; all in temple.

Æ Commodus. Rhomaspoulos (GG XIV.)

10.—FOUNTAIN, a pillar with lion sitting thereon, water flowing into basin from his mouth.

Æ Sept. Severus. Loebbecke (GG XV.)

A curious variant on the representation of the same subject on **M** X., where the water flows from between the lion's feet, and the basin is supported by a pillar, and not, as here, by legs.

12.—OTHER TYPES at Troezen.

Circular shrine, apparently surrounded by pillars: in the front of it, closed doors.

Æ Commodus. Berlin (GG XVI.)

HERMIONE.

1.—POSEIDON naked, standing to right, holds trident and dolphin, left foot rests on rock.

Æ Caracalla. Berlin (GG XVII.)

3.—The drapery of DIONYSUS on **M** I. is peculiar, consisting of a skin or nebris reaching down to the knees: it may be that this is the black goat's skin from which at Hermione Dionysus took his name.

LERNA and NAUPLIA. Coins of Argos.

3.—POSEIDON naked, standing, left foot propped on a rock; holds trident and dolphin.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhomaspoulos.

ANYMONE seated on rock, her right hand raised to her neck,

her left resting on hydria; before her Poseidon standing; holds trident in right, and carries chlamys over left arm.

Æ Ant. Pina. Rhonspoulos (GG XVIII.)

This description cannot be relied on, as the prongs of Poseidon's trident, and the hydria of Amymon, the two details which identify the scene, are obscure. There is an uncertain object (sea-snake ?) above the left arm of Poseidon. Compare **L LIV.**

Amymon seated on rock, hydria at her feet; right hand extended, left rests on rock.

Æ Paris (GG XIX.)

Amymon standing, clad in long chiton; her right hand is raised to her neck, in her left she holds hydria.

Æ Antoninus Pina. Rhonspoulos (GG XX.)

There is a curious likeness between this type and **L LI.**, the hydria on this coin appearing instead of the dolphin in the other. Probably in both cases the intention is to represent the nymph.

LACHDAEMON.

L.—ARTEMIS Astrateia facing, clad in short chiton with diplois; holds in right hand strung bow, in left spear and shield; beside her, stag.

Æ J. Donna. Rhonspoulos (GG XXI.)

This interesting coin entirely confirms our attribution and description of **N III.** as Artemis Astrateia.

GYTHEIUM.

1.—HERAKLES bearded in form of a term, clad in lion's skin, arm folded over breast.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhonspoulos.

Closely resembling **V VI.**

COLONIDES.

Niche or distyle TEMPLE, within which a female figure, indistinct.

Æ Geta. Rhonspoulos (GG XXII.)

ASINE.

OTHER TYPES at Asine.

Perseus facing, naked, holds in right hand harpa, in left head of Medusa.

Æ J. Donna. Rhonspoulos (GG XXIII.)

Coiled snake, on basis.

Æ Sept. Severus. Berlin.

Psatlilla. Inv.

Apparently a reproduction of some votive work of art.
Terminal figure of Hermes, draped, right hand holds end of
nebris, in left caduceus.

Æ Sept. Severus. Berlin.

Draped female figure; holds what looks like a huge wreath or
shield.

Æ Sept. Severus. Berlin.

PYLOS.

1.—PALLAS standing to right, clad in long chiton; holds in
raised right spear, on left arm shield.

Æ Sept. Severus. Rhousopoulos (GG XXIV.)

PATRAE.

Male figure standing on column in circular ENCLOSURE; he
seems to wear military dress, or short chiton; his left
hand is raised and rests on a spear or sceptre.

Æ J. Domna. Rhousopoulos.

A variety of R 1; probably a figure of an Emperor, from a
market or gymnasium.

1.—INDEX OF ARTISTS.

(1, 2, 3, &c. refer to the sections under cities, 1*, 2*, 3*, &c. to the Supplement.)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Aeginetan school—Aegina, 3, 3*, 6, 7 | Menaschimus—Patrae, 3 |
| Ageladas—Messene, 5, Aegium, 3 | Myron—Athens, 1 (7) |
| Agoracritus—Athens, 21 | Nancydes—Argos, 4 |
| Aleamenes—Athens, 5 | Nesiotes—Athens, 11 |
| Angelion—Athens, 7 | Onasimedes—Thebes, 3 |
| Attalus—Argos, 9, 3* | Phaidias—Megara, 3, Elis, 2, Pellene, |
| Bryaxis—Megara, 6 | 1, Athens, 1 (1-5) |
| Calamis—Tanagra, 3, 5 | Polyclitus—Argos, 6, 11 |
| Callon—Troezen, 2 | Praxias—Delphi, 2 |
| Cephalodotus I.—Megalopolis, 1, | Praxiteles—Megara, 5, 3*, 11, 12, |
| Athens, 9 | Argos, 16, 16*, Elis, 6, Man- |
| Cephalodotus II.—Anticyra, 2 | tinia, 2, Plataea, 1, Anticyra, 2 |
| Critius—Athens, 11 | Pythochos—Sicyon, 5 |
| Dasdalus—Thebes, 2 | Scopas—Sicyon, 7, Elis, 5, Delphi, 2 |
| Damophon—Messene, 2, 4, Aegium, 1, 2 | Seyllis—Cleonae, 1 |
| Dipocenus—Cleonae, 1 | Solidas—Patrae, 3 |
| Endocenus—Tegea, 2 | Strato—Argos, 24, 24* |
| Eucheir—Pheneus, 2 | Strougyllon—Megara, 1, Pagne, 1 |
| Enkleides—Bura, 1, Aegira, 2 | Tectaeus—Athens, 7 |
| Gitiadas—Lacedaemon, 8 | Theocamus—Megara, 3 |
| Hegias—Athens, 13 | Thrasymedes—Epidaurna, 2, 2* |
| Hermogenes—Corinth, 13, 13* | Timarchides—Elatea, 1 |
| Hermion—Troezen, 5 | Timarchus—Anticyra, 2 |
| Leobares—Athens, 2 | Timocius—Elatea, 1 |
| Lydippus—Megara, 4, Sicyon, 6, | Xenophilus—Argos, 24, 24* |
| Argos, 11 | Xenophon—Megalopolis, 1 |

II.—ORDER OF CITIES.

(With references to Plates).

PART I.

Megara, A 1-15
 Pagae, A 1-7
 Aegosthena, A 1
 Corinth, B 1-G 144
 Sicyon, H 1-20
 Philia, H 1
 Cleonae, H 1, 2
 Argos, I 1-L 56
 Epidaurus, I 1-5
 Aegina, I 1-8
 Troezen, M 1-12
 Methana, M 1-4
 Hermione, M 1-3
 Asine, M I, 2
 Lerna and Nauplia, M
 1, 2

PART II.

Lacedaemon, N 1-10
 Gythium, N 20-O 2
 Asopus, O 10-13
 Boeae, O 14-16
 Iae, O 17-21
 Thuria, O 22-24
 Messene, P 1-7
 Corone.
 Colonides, P 10
 Methone, P 8, 9, 11-14
 Pylon, P 15, 16

Cyparissia, P 17-19
 Elia, P 20-24
 Dyne.
 Patrae, Q 1-R 5
 Aegium, R 6-24
 Helice.
 Bura, S 1-3
 Aegira, S 4-9
 Pellane, S 10-14
 Arcadia.
 Mantinea, S 15-20
 Orchomenus, S 21-T 3
 Pheneus, T 4-8
 Cleitor, T 9
 Styμφalus, T 10-12
 Alca.
 Caphysa, T 13-17
 Psoplia, T 18-21
 Thelpusa, T 22-24
 Heraea, T 25, 26
 Megalopolis, V 1-8
 Methydrium.
 Lycosura.
 Phigaleia, V 9-10
 Tegera, V 20-24

PART III.

Platana.
 Thesbe, X 1, 2
 Tanagra, X 3-17
 Thespiae, X 18-21

Coronela.
 Phocia.
 Delphi, X 22-Y 14
 Elateia, Y 15, 16
 Anticyra, Y 17
 Athens, Y 18-EE 17
 Eleusis, EE 19, 20
 Oropus, EE 18
 Salamis, EE 21, 22

SUPPLEMENT.

Megara, FF 1-3
 Pagae, FF 4
 Corinth, FF 5-17
 Tenos.
 Sicyon, FF 18
 Philia, FF 19, 20
 Cleonae, FF 21
 Argos, FF 22-GG 6
 Epidaurus, GG 7, 8
 Aegina, GG 9
 Troezen, GG 10-16
 Hermione, GG 17
 Lerna and Nauplia, GG
 18-20
 Lacedaemon, GG 21
 Gythium.
 Colonides, GG 22
 Asine, GG 23
 Pylon, GG 24
 Patrae.

III.—SUBJECTS REPRESENTED IN PLATES.

(Order of K. O. Müller).

Zeus seated, A 3, K 25, 26, P 20, 31,
 Q 17, S 6, V 1, BB 4, FF 9
 Zeus standing, A 4, E 89, 90, H 10,
 K 28, L 54, O 6, 11, P 4-6, R 12,
 13, 15, 18, S 14, BB 1-3.
 Zeus; head, K 27, P 22, 23, R 19
 Zeus; childhood, R 14
 Hera seated, I 12, 15, 15, Q 15
 Hera; head, I 14
 Hebe, I 15
 Hebe; head, H 1
 Peacock, I 16
 Poseidon seated, D 52, 54-56.
 Poseidon standing, B 6, D 53, 60-63,
 69, F 164, I 2, O 3, 16, Q 19, 20,
 T 13, GG 17. See also Athens.
 Poseidon; head, D 51
 Poseidon in chariot, D 57-59
 Poseidon and Amymone, M 2, GG 15
 Triton, X 7, 8

Demeter seated, H 20, BB 21, 22
 Demeter standing, A 12, 13, K 39,
 R 17, S 1, T 9, 15, V 15-19, BB
 16-20, 24, CC 8, GG 1
 Demeter; head, T 22
 Demeter in chariot, BB 23, EE 19
 The Chthonia, M 3
 Arion, T 23
 Triptolemus, G 135, BB 24, EE 20
 Apollo seated, X 20, Y 5-7
 Apollo standing, A 9, 10, F 109, I 22-
 24, L 2, M 1, N 8, 9, 16, 17,
 20, 21, 23, 24, P 19, S 16, T 17,
 V 5, X 10, 21, 24-25, Y 1-4, CC
 11-21, FF 1, 2, 14, 20, 23, GG
 9, 10
 Helios in chariot, F 101, 102
 Apollo; head, Y 8, 9
 Artemis seated, C 32
 Artemis, A 1, 2, 10, D 66-69, H 17-
 19, M 1, 2, 6, N 1-4, 11, 12, O
 8, 9, 21, 23, P 3, 13, Q 6-10, 11,
 12, R 21, 22, S 4, 5, 12, 17,
 21, 24, T 14, 19, 20, V 5, 9, 10,
 X 3-5, Y 14, 17, BB 5-10, FF 2,
 10, 21, GG 21
 Artemis and Callisto, S 22, 23
 Priestess of Artemis, Q 13
 Leto, A 10, F 2
 Leto and Chloris, K 36-38, FF 24
 Hephaestus, P 9, G 136
 Athens seated, AA 20, 21, FF 10
 Athens standing, A 11, D 55, E 21-23,
 F 116, H 1, I 20, M 3, 5, N 13, O 10,
 18, 22, P 7, 11, 12, 15, 18, Q
 14, 15, R 20, S 7, 10, Y 19, 21,
 Y 10, 11, 15, 16, 18-22, Z 1, 2,
 8-19, 33, 35, 19, 22, 23, AA 1-19,
 FF 3, 11, GG 2, 24
 Athens in chariot, AA 22-23
 Athens; head, M 1, 2, N 14, 15, Y
 23-25
 Athens, Cepheus and Sterope, V 22,
 23
 Athens and Poseidon, Z 11, 12, 14-17
 Athens and Marryas, Z 20, 21
 Ares, G 137, L 50
 Aphrodite, D 63, 70, 71, F 104, G 135,
 134, H 16, I 51, M 4, 9, O 5, P 10,
 Q 10, R 23, T 1, V 8, 14, X 19, FF
 7, 13, 15

Aphrodite in chariot, D 72, FF 9
 Aphrodite on goat, P 24, Ellis 5
 Aphrodite; head, E 73
 Aphrodite and Eros, G 121-124, H 15
 Eros, S 9
 Hermes seated, F 110, 111, R 4, FF
 15
 Hermes standing, K 86, 87, K 32, 33,
 L 5, 6, O 7, R 5, T 6, V 11, 12,
 X 11-16, DD 19-22, GG 11, 12
 Hermes and young Dionysus, E 88,
 N 5-7, T 4, 5
 Dionysus seated, A 3, E 81, 82, CC
 1-3
 Dionysus standing, A 5, E 77-80, H
 4, 5, K 46, M 1, O 12, P 17, Q 3,
 S 11, T 2, 7, 21, 25, 26, Ellis 7,
 X 1, 7-9, CC 6, 7
 Cista of Dionysus, Q 1-4
 Dionysus; head, CC 5
 Satyr, T 5
 Marryas, T 8. See also Athens
 Pan, H 12, N 23, V 3, 4, Y 12, 13
 Pan and Syrinx, T 24
 Maenad, H 6, 7, FF 17
 Asklepius seated, K 47, L 2-5, R 9,
 GG 3, 7
 Asklepius standing, A 7, H 13, K 35,
 O 1, 2, 14, 19, P 1, Q 24, S 13, 15,
 EE 2-4, GG 14
 Asklepius; head, L 2
 Childhood of Asklepius, L 1
 Temple with serpent, F 118
 Asklepius and Hygieia, A 6, F 117,
 R 11
 Hygieia or Epione, H 14, K 48, L 6, 7,
 O 20, R 10, EE 5, GG 8
 Cronus, G 135
 Dioscuri, M 7, O 4, S 18, EE 1
 Hecate, K 41, L 3
 Nemesis, L 53, O 13
 Eirene and Phytus, DD 9, 10
 Nike, G 141, 142, AA 24
 Charites, I 11, EE 4
 Eileithuia, R 6-8, K 40
 River-god, T 15, X 6, Y 1
 Nymph seated, P 105-109, V 13, GG
 18, 19
 Nymph standing, L 51, GG 20
 Three Nymphs, X 17, EE 6
 Tyche, A 14, E 83, 84, H 2, 3, K 29,

- 30, M 2, 12, S 8, X 18, EE 11, 13
 Tyche; head, E 85, K 31, P 2, X 2
 Populus, G 139
 Genius of city, O 143
 Gen. Julia, E 96
 Isthmus, B 10, 21, 22, C 33-35, FF 5
 Harbours personified, C 39, 40, G 134
 Arctais, G 140, R 10
 Roma, R 2
 Isis, D 64, F 119, O 15, EE 9, 10, FF 4
 Isis with Horus, L 52
 Cybele, A 4, F 120
 Phrygian dance, Q 16
 Heracles, F 103, 104, H 11, I 10, N 10, 21, O 17, R 3, S 2, 3, V 6, 7, 24, DD 11-13, FF 12, 13
 Labours of Heracles, I 1, M 1, T 10-12
 Theseus, M 11, DD 1-3
 Hippolytus, L 54, M 8, GG 13
 Melampus, A 1
 Atalanta, V 20
 Amphiarcaus, EE 18
 Ino and Melicertes, B 18-24
 Melicertes, B 1-17
 Heliorophan and Pegasus, C 25-32
 Opulentes and Hypsipyle, I 2-9
 Danne, L 49
 Perseus, I 17-21, FF 22, GG 23
 Perseus and Athena, I 20
 Diomedes with Palladium, K 43-45
 Phthia, R 24
 Arcus, S 20
 Cleobis and Biton, K 34
 Euclydes, A 1
 Harmodius and Aristogeiton, DD 14-18
 Miltiades and captive, EE 7, 8
 Themistocles on ship, EE 21, 22
 Metellus, EE 14, 15
 Athletes, C 41-46
 Uncertain figures, A 15, H 8, 9, L 8, 55, 56, N 18, 19, P 14, 15, S 10, T 16, EE 13, 16, 17, FF 18, GG 4-6, 22
 Fountains, F 112-115, M 10, GG 16
 Harbours, D 60, 65, L 1, P 8, Q 21-23
 Acropolis, G 126-132, K 42, M 3, 4, Z 3-7, QQ 9, 10
 Temples without statues, B 11, 13, D 42, 50, E 94, 95, L 7, X 22, 23, F 6, GG 16
 Theatre of Dionysus, CC 9, 10
 Gates and arches, A 5-7, F 97-100
 Towers, E 74, 76, H 1, 2
 Other buildings, C 47, 48, G 144, R 1

EXCAVATIONS IN CARIA.

MR. NEWTON in his *History of Discoveries*, p. 583, gives the following account of an excursion to the peninsula which lies to the west of Budrum (Halikarnassus) where he was then excavating:—

We next proceeded to examine the hill with the level top. This hill is called Assarlik.



FIG. 1.—WALL AT ASSARLIK.

In ascending it we came to a piece of the wall of an ancient city with a massive gateway, running down the hill from north to south (Fig. 1).

Ascending from this gateway we passed several other lines of ancient walls, and on gaining the summit of the hill found a platform artificially levelled. There are not many traces of walls here. The sides of the hill are so steep on the north and east that they do not require walls. The platform terminates on the north-east in a rock rising vertically for many hundred feet from the valley below. The top of the rock is cut into beds to receive a tower. The view from this platform is magnificent.

[After brief mention of several tombs passed in the way down, Mr. Newton proceeds:]

The acropolis which anciently crowned the rock at Assarlik must have overlooked a great part of the peninsula and commanded the road from Halicarnassus to Myndus and Termera. From the number of tombs here, and their archaic character, it may be inferred that this was a fortress of some importance in very early times.

It has been stated *ante* p. 41, that there were in the peninsula in the time of Mausolus, eight towns still held by the Leleges, the inhabitants of six of which he forcibly transplanted to his new metropolis, Halicarnassus. The two which were left independent on this occasion were Myndus and Syangela; and when the proximity of Gümisch-lu to Assarlik is considered, and the importance of both sites in reference to the defence of Halicarnassus from the north-west, I think it probable that, as the former place is certainly the site of Myndus, we must look for Syangela at Assarlik. It is curious that the tombs which I discovered here presented in their plan and structure several peculiarities, which are also to be met with in the earlier tombs of Etruria, and this archaic character leads me to ascribe them to the indigenous population of Caria, rather than to the Dorian settlers. In the time of Strabo the tombs and fortresses of the Leleges could still be pointed out in various parts of Caria, though this race had long since ceased to exist; and hence it is probable that their remains were distinguished from later Hellenic works by some peculiarity of structure. This statement of Strabo may further serve to explain the obscure tradition preserved in Stephanus Byzantius, that Syangela received its name from having been the place of interment (*σῆμα*) of the indigenous king (*γῶας*) Car, who may be regarded as the eponymous founder of the Carian race. This may be only a mythical way of stating the general fact, that at Syangela were tombs believed to be those of the earliest native races in Caria; and if it be admitted that the site of this ancient city is to be found at Assarlik, the tombs observed by me may be connected with this vague tradition.

In historical times, Syangela was governed by a *tyrannos* and paid tribute to Athens at the commencement of the Peloponnesian war.

Fig. 2 represents a wall of a far more primitive type than the regular masonry of Assarlik, which exists at Myndus in the



FIG. 2.—WALL AT MYNDUS.

same district. This wall runs along the crest of the peninsula on the west of the harbour of Myndus and reaches from the summit to the sea on the north.

The Editors of the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* have much pleasure in laying before the Society reports received from Mr. Paton of excavations conducted among the tombs of this interesting district, the cradle, and down to the time of Mausolus, the home of the Leleges. It is unnecessary to point out the importance of this new material in reference to the earliest history of Greece and even Italy:—

REPORT ON TOMBS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF HALICARNASSUS.

The acropolis of Assarlik between Myndus and Halicarnassus has been identified by Mr. Newton with Souagela, which as its name signified was the burial-place of the kings. The existence

in its neighbourhood of a large series of tombs of the same class as those described by him (*Halicarnassus*, &c., pp. 580 *seq.*) supports this conjecture. The tombs seen by Mr. Newton are, I believe, those situated in a valley running north. Those which I shall describe are on the ridge facing the acropolis to the S.E., and beyond this on both sides of a torrent bed, the direction of which is south-easterly, and which joins the sea near Chifoot-Kale-si; by Mr. Newton identified with Termena.

Of these tombs the most conspicuous are two large tumuli situated some distance to the S.E. of the acropolis, on a saddle between two rocky eminences. They are close together, and externally similar.

I will first describe that on the east (*A*). See Fig. 3.

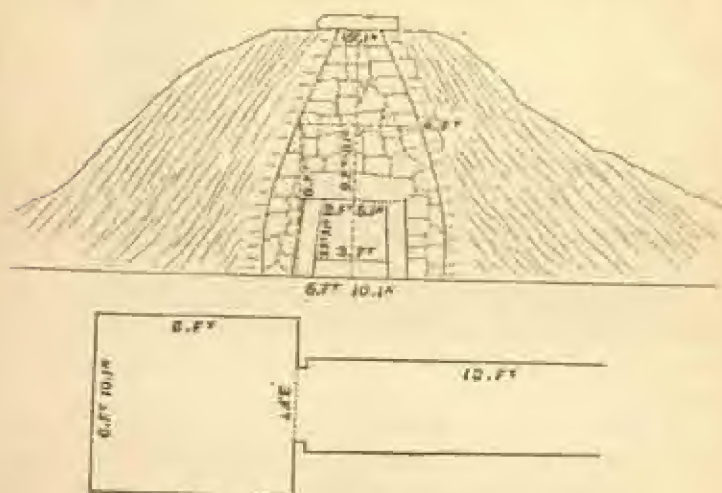


FIG. 3.

A circular wall of two courses of irregularly shaped stones, of which only a small portion is visible, incloses the whole structure. The diameter of the circle must have been about 30 ft. On the top of this are piled the loose stones forming the tumulus; in the centre is the sepulchral chamber, closed at the top by two large stones, and entered by a passage opening to the N.W. It was filled up half with stones and half with earth, which must have fallen in from above. As the section shows, the two

walls parallel to the entrance passage curve inwards very considerably as they rise, so as to support the two large blocks which form the roof; the two other walls curve less sensibly, the length at the top being 3 ft. 9 in. The dromos is roofed by large rectangular stones. The door is formed by a large rectangular block resting on two others with a threshold stone between them. Its height is 3 ft. 3 in., width of the threshold 3 ft., at the top 2 ft. 6 in. The walls of the chamber and of the dromos are built of irregularly shaped stones. The tomb, like all the others here, had been plundered. I found in it:—

Pottery.—1. At the end opposite the entrance, resting on a flat stone, a portion of a large urn filled with bones and ashes.

2. A bowl with two handles and lip, Fig. 4.

3. A small amphora, Fig. 6, with remains of ornament composed of four horizontal bands surmounted on each side by two sets of concentric half-circles.

Fragments of iron weapons, among them a portion of a lance-head, and of a curved knife.

The sepulchral chamber of *B* is similar to *A*. It is somewhat smaller; the door leading to the passage is loosely built; the dromos opens to the S.W.

Here were found:—

1. Fragments of a cinerary vase, similar to that from *A*, in the neighbourhood of a flat stone opposite the entrance.

2. Fragments of a thin curved plate of bronze nailed to wood.

3. Two gold spiral ornaments, Fig. 7.

4. Fragments of iron weapons.

To the S.W. of these two tumuli, on the top of the same ridge, which commands a magnificent view of both seas, are a series of circular and rectangular inclosures formed by single courses of polygonal stones. I could distinguish at least seven circles and four rectangles, the rectangles in all cases closely adjoining the circles. Each circle contains a sepulchral chamber covered by two or three large blocks. In the rectangles, I found no traces of such tombs, but in one a small superficial cavity lined with four slabs of terra-cotta, and covered by a large circular stone. Many such stones, more or less circular in shape, averaging 3 or 4 ft. in diameter, convex on the upper side, flat on

the lower, are to be seen lying about near, so that these receptacles must have existed here in considerable numbers. The one mentioned contained only ashes. It was only after

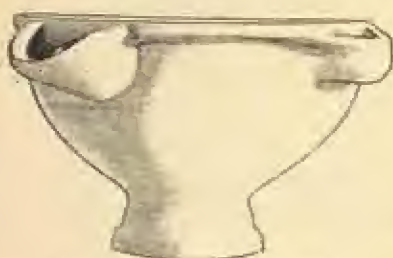
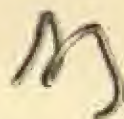
FIG. 4.—HEIGHT $4\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES.FIG. 5.—HEIGHT $3\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES.FIG. 6.—HEIGHT $6\frac{1}{2}$ INCHES.

FIG. 7.—ACTUAL SIZE.

examining the inclosures lower down the hill, where a good many of these ostothecæ remain intact, that I recognised their existence here. The objects found in some of the latter show them to be contemporary with the larger tombs.

The circular inclosures are evidently the remains of tumuli, the greater portion of the earth and stones which composed the mound having been removed. The construction of the chambers is in all cases the same as that of *A*, the sides curving inwards and forming a kind of arch, on the top of which rest the covers.

To commence with the tomb furthest to the east (*C*).

The dimensions of the chamber are, at the bottom—length,

11 ft. 8 in.; width, 9 ft. 8 in.: at the top—length, 9 ft.; width, 6 ft. 7 in.: height, 6½ ft.: height of entrance, 3½ ft.; width, 3 ft.: length of dromos, 13 ft.

The top has fallen in; the entrance passage opens to the S.W. The interior had been much disturbed. Portions of two cinerary amphorae were found on flat stones at the corners opposite the entrance. They had seemingly been placed within sarcophagi of terra-cotta riveted with lead and furnished with handles, fragments of which were found *in situ*, in the longitudinal axis of the chamber. Fragments of another similar vase were found in the corner to the right of the entrance.

In all I found here:—

1. The fragments of sarcophagi above mentioned.
2. Portions of three cinerary amphorae. Of one a considerable part remains, and I put it together roughly and photographed it (Fig. 8). The surface is unhappily much destroyed; the body of the vase was decorated with two series of bands alternately black and white, but these disappeared in cleaning. The white is clearer in colour than the white on vases of the late Mycenaean style. The rest of the body of the vase has apparently been coloured black. The neck is apparently decorated with a large meander; and the handles, which are flat, are thus ornamented on the outside, Fig. 9.
3. A cup with one handle.
4. A small jug, Fig. 5. With this may be compared Fig. 26 of Schliemann's *Mycenae*.
5. Numerous other fragments of pottery, including part of a bowl with a broad band painted close to the rim.
6. Fragments of a large jar with impressed or moulded zigzag ornaments, Fig. 10.
7. One bronze fibula and fragments of two others, one with double spring.
8. A circular ornament of beaten gold, decorated with five punctuated triangles at the upper edge, with a catch behind for suspension, Fig. 11.
9. An oblong piece of beaten gold with zigzags, and at each end a hole for a nail, Fig. 12.
10. A small ring of twisted gold wire, Fig. 13.
11. Fragments of iron weapons, among them a spear-head; a knife curved towards the point; a small knife.



FIG. 8.—HEIGHT 13½ INCHES.



FIG. 9.



FIG. 10.

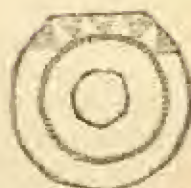


FIG. 11.—DIAMETER 1½ INCHES.

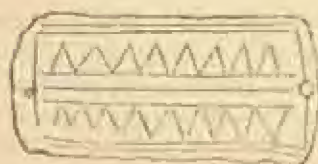


FIG. 12.—LENGTH 3 INCHES.



FIG. 13.—ACTUAL SIZE.

Adjoining this tomb is the rectangular inclosure in which is the ostotheca mentioned above.

D to the west of *C*.—Sepulchral chamber of similar construction within circle.

Length of chamber	8 ft. 8 in.
Width	7 ft.
Present height	6 ft.

The chamber contains three tombs, thus arranged (Fig. 14). Their dimensions are equal, 6 ft. by 1 ft. 10 in. They are lined with terra-cotta slabs $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick; the height of the lining is 1 ft. 5 in.; the dromos opens to the N.W.; the width of the door is 2 ft. 3 in.

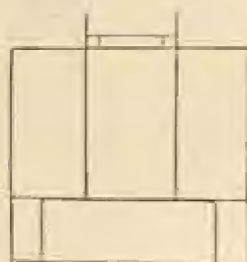


FIG. 14.



FIG. 15.

Here were found:—

Pottery.—1. Fragments of more than one large vase, with remains of painted ornament, horizontal bands and large concentric circles, Fig. 15.

2. Portions of a small thin kylix, of elegant shape, with dull black glaze.

Fragments of iron weapons, among them a knife.

E.—Another circular inclosure. The chamber was only partially cleared out, so I cannot describe it. A jug with narrower neck than Fig. 5 was found in its position on the floor of one grave. There were no traces of terra-cotta sarcophagi here.

Lower down the hill to the south for a long distance on both sides of the stream, wherever a small ridge affords a flat space, are similar inclosures. Here rectangles predominate; some of them contain large sepulchres, together with the small receptacles described above, others apparently only the latter. The circles are few, and only contain in the centre these small ostothecae.

I will describe two adjacent rectangular inclosures which I examined.

M.—Length, 45 ft.; breadth, 18 ft. Here, at the east end, were found only two ostothecae, with the covers *in situ*. Both contained ashes. In one was a small fibula similar in shape to those from *C*. These receptacles, unlike that above, are lined, not with tiles, but with four stones. They are usually about 18 in. by 12 in.

N.—A double inclosure. The plan, Fig. 16, shows the arrangement of the tombs and small receptacles. In one of

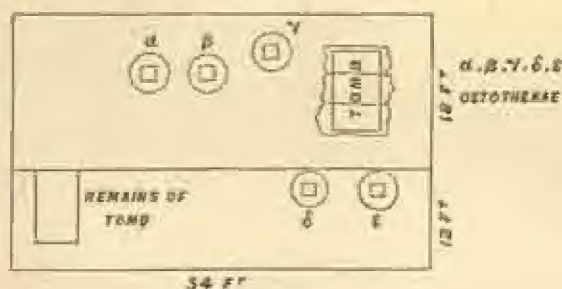


FIG. 16.

the latter, β , the ashes were contained in a large vase, and a portion of a bowl, ornamented with concentric circles and a horizontal band encircling it near the rim, was also found here.

The tomb is comparatively narrow, measuring 8 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. It has no entrance. The place of a sarcophagus was taken by a large jar, 5 ft. 1 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. at its greatest width, pointed at the bottom. In it was found part of a bronze fibula with a larger spring than those in the other tombs.

I also opened two ostothecae in a large inclosure, *O*, further down the hill, and in one were found fragments of pottery,

somewhat better preserved than those from other tombs, and showing the characteristic decoration of horizontal bands and concentric circles.

This inclosure also contained at least five larger tombs like that in *N*. In one of these I found the pithos still in its place. Inside it was found a large bronze fibula, Fig. 17. At the side of the tomb underneath the pithos I found:—

1. A Bügelkanne (Fig. 18) ornamented on the shoulder with concentric half-circles. The inner lip of the spout is attached to the Bügel in the centre.



FIG. 17.



FIG. 18.—HEIGHT 5½ INCHES.

2. A three-legged vase (Fig. 19) with traces of horizontal bands and small concentric circles.



FIG. 19.—HEIGHT 7 INCHES.

3. Portions of a large amphora without handles.

I also cleared out two tombs on the same ridge where the

circular inclosures are situated, but higher up. The tops of both had been carried away; and the depth of earth was only about two feet. In the first were found a number of fragments of terra-cotta sarcophagi with elaborate geometrical designs, produced by moulding, not by colour. Below are sketches of the designs on some of these fragments, Figs. 20 to 25. In Fig. 20



FIG. 20.—SCALE 1.

the depressed surfaces are shaded, the other figures give only the general pattern. In the second was a brick sarcophagus



FIG. 21.—SCALE 1.

without ornament and portions of a jar; also two bronze armlets, and two bronze spirals of 6 inches diameter.

These results, though meagre enough, are yet sufficient to show the system of ceramic decoration which prevailed among

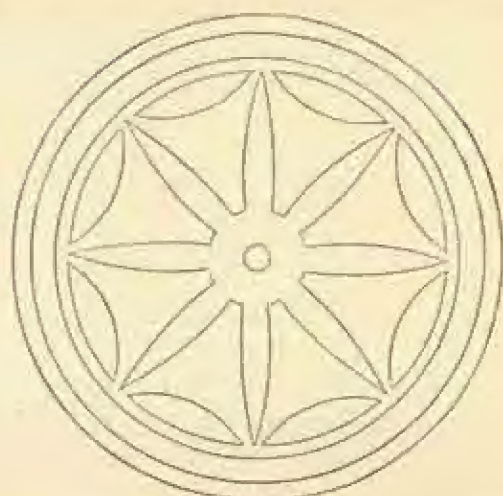


FIG. 22.—SCALE 1.

the Leleges (*l*), and this is of great importance at the present stage of conjecture concerning early Greek pottery.

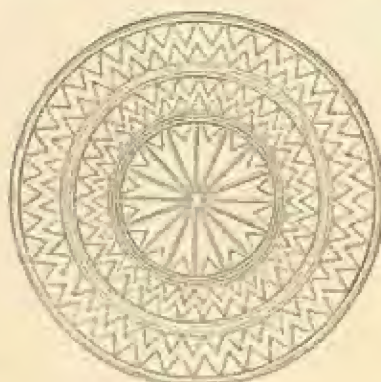


FIG. 23.—SCALE 1.

On all the fragments, with one exception, which bear any trace of painted ornament, this consists of horizontal bands

either alone or in combination with large concentric circles or segments of circles. This exception is a very small vase, and is decorated with horizontal bands and a zigzag pattern. The impressed ornaments on the larger vessels of coarse clay,

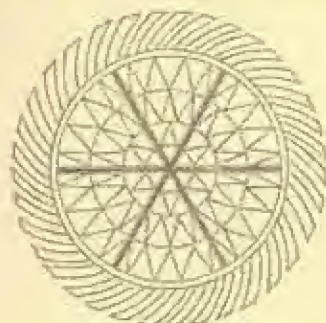


FIG. 24.—SCALE 1.

including some small fragments that I have not mentioned, consist exclusively of zigzag or wavy patterns. The decoration of the sarcophagi, however, is largely composed of intersecting circles and maeanders. On one of the pieces of gold we have this same design; on another a series of triangles.



FIG. 25.—SCALE 1.

There is no trace of any but geometric design.
 The fibulae are all of one pattern.
 The weapons are exclusively of iron.
 The bodies have in all cases been burnt.

LATER REPORT, FEBRUARY 1887.

Assarlik.—Contiguous to the large tombs described by Mr. Newton here, are rectangular inclosures containing ostothecae covered by large circular stones like those I have described. I found none of these *in situ*. The four tiles he mentions in a note as having been dug up by a peasant near one of the tombs formed, no doubt, the sides of one of these ostothecae.

Other Sites.—1. On the western part of the same range on which the Assarlik tumuli are placed is another series of tombs. They commence to the east of the windmills marked in the chart, and extend as far as the top of the mountain west of these mills. They are all on or close to the actual summit of the ridge. Those I noticed were all inside rectangular inclosures. Tombs cut in the rock occur sporadically near Assarlik and here.

2. Immediately above the small village known as Mandrais, on the road from Gumisch-lü (Myndus) to Gheresi is a rocky eminence with a flat space on the top. This summit, wherever the natural rock does not sufficiently defend it, is fortified by walls of polygonal stones loosely put together. The whole of the interior of this acropolis is occupied by rectangular inclosures containing tombs. In some places the inclosing walls, which are built of rectangular stones, have three or four courses still standing. The larger inclosures contain several tombs. The tombs which I examined were carelessly constructed, natural fissures in the rock being supplemented by loose stonework. They are covered by two or three large oblong blocks like the Assarlik tombs.

They were chiefly filled with loose stones, and the fragments of pottery were too weather-worn to retain their original surface. I found a small fragment of a pithos with a pretty spiral moulded design, quite different from those of Assarlik, Fig. 26. Beneath this acropolis, on the spur of the same ridge to the east, are other tombs of the same class.

3. The ridge, on which is the village of Gheresi, forms three summits before it sinks to the sea. On the second of these is a tower, the masonry of which is the same as that of the towers in the city wall of Myndus, the corners being channelled. On the west side of the same hill are two tombs, the entrances of

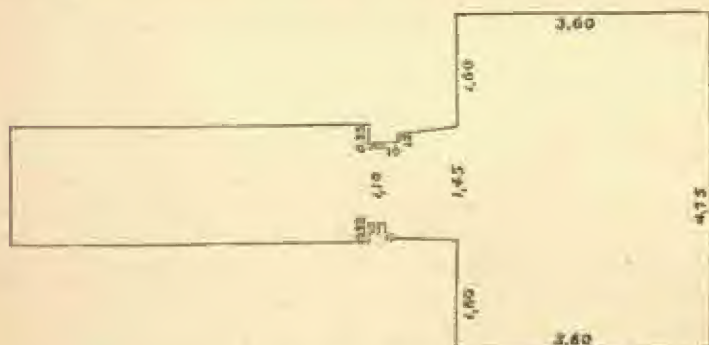
which lead out of a semicircular wall built into the face of the hill facing west. These tombs resemble in their construction the chambers in the Assarlik tumuli, the sides converging to the top, so as to support the covering stones. There are



Fig. 23.

probably other tombs here, but the brushwood which covers the hill is quite impenetrable. This site seems to have been occupied in later times, as I saw many fragments of glazed pottery, black and red.

On the next summit is a very remarkable tomb. The dimensions of the chamber can be seen from the plans, Figs. 27, 28 (which were made for me by Mr. Calasperi, of Calymnos).



FID. 25-1445.

It is encircled at a distance of 8 m. from the centre by a wall, which is destroyed in some parts, and which consists now at least of only one course of stones.

The chamber is roofed by five enormous blocks of stone.

The whole is encircled by a second wall at a distance of 24 m. down hill from the first (Fig. 29). Of this wall six or

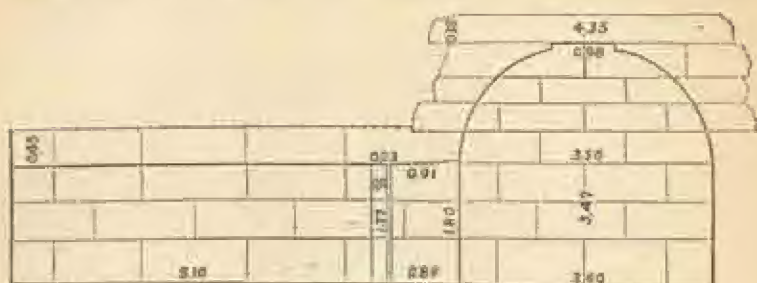


FIG. 28.—SECTION.

seven courses of stones are standing in some places. Opposite the entrance of the tomb there is a gate.

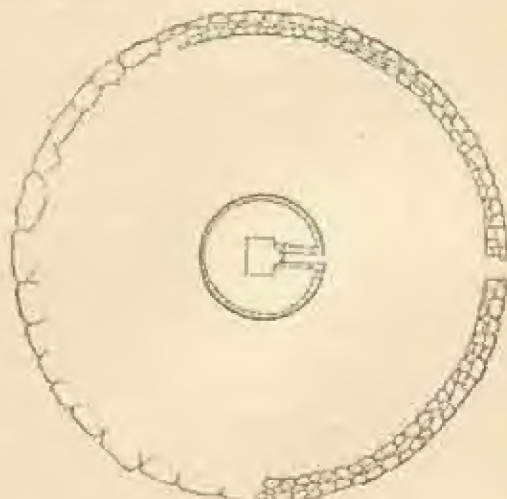


FIG. 29.—SCALE 1/2 in.

The masonry of the tomb is very beautiful. It has been used as a chapel or an anchorite's cell, as there are remains of rude frescoes on the walls. It was filled up with earth to a height of several feet. I removed this partly, in order to

measure the height, and found that the chamber was paved with blocks of stone of great size and thickness. Some efforts had been made to raise one of these. I found some fragments of marble, possibly forming part of the door or of a sarcophagus, and a very small fragment of an Attic vase, probably of the fifth century, with the design in red and fine glaze.

It would be hazardous to judge of the date of the tomb from this fragment, but if one could do so I should be inclined to think from its magnificence and conspicuous position that it was the tomb of one of those Carian princes who are mentioned in the Attic tribute lists.

At any rate it must be of a much later date than the Assarlik tumuli, and shows that the same style of sepulchral architecture survived long among these people.

Immediately above Boudroun almost on the narrowest part of the peninsula is an ancient acropolis now known as Tchoukcheler Kale (Chalar Kale in the chart). The walls are in fine preservation. A tower at the S.E. corner has still sixteen courses standing. The masonry closely resembles that of the wall of Assarlik. On the ridge to the S. is a series of tumuli of the same construction as those of Assarlik, but more numerous and of greater dimensions. The width of the chamber of one which I measured is 4.70 metres, the diameter of the outer circle about 15 metres. There are large tumuli on several other eminences in the neighbourhood of the acropolis. I had before I visited this site been convinced that the identification of Assarlik with Souagela and Chifoot Kale with Termern could not be maintained. The necropolis of Assarlik extends nearly half-way down to Chifoot Kale, and at the latter site are neither ancient tombs, nor other remains of a very early date. Myndus is described in the Athenian tribute lists as *παρὰ Τέρμερα*, and Assarlik is between Chifoot Kale and Myndus. The only evidence for identifying Assarlik with Souagela was the series of tombs there. The tumuli at Tchoukcheler are of the same antiquity but more remarkable, and I was led to conjecture that Souagela is to be placed here. I was fortunate enough to discover some further evidence favourable to this identification. Near the tumuli I came across two sepulchral altars of the type common

in Rhodes with bucrania and garlands. One of them bore the inscription

ΕΣΤΙΟΔΟ . Ε
ΠΙΓΡΕΟ ΓΕ

The existence of these altars here seems to indicate that the site was inhabited in later times. Souagela was one of the towns which Mausolus allowed to survive. We find in the Athenian tribute lists a Pigres who was despot of Souagela. Here it was doubtless a famous name and remained in use. If Tchoukcheler is Souagela, Assarlik must be Terméra. They are evidently sister towns of the same age and the same people. Souagela and Terméra were both towns of the *Leleges*, and we learn from the tribute lists that they were places of considerable importance in the fifth century B.C.

W. R. PATON.

IASOS.

To a traveller sailing over the Aegean from the West, and threading his course between the Sporades towards the Carian coast, two headlands would stand out as prominent landmarks, Mount Poseidion to the north and the city of Myndos to the south. Between these two points lies the middlemost of the three large bays into which the coastline of Caria is irregularly broken. And nearly in the innermost recess of this central bay—for the bay itself is subdivided into a number of lesser inlets—a little rocky island, of only a mile and a quarter in circumference, lies close to the Carian mainland, to which indeed in later days it has become united by a narrow isthmus.¹ Upon this rocky islet, lurking as it were behind the shelter of inclosing shores, a Greek colony—from Argos, it was said—had early established itself. But in their struggle with the Carian natives, who resented their intrusion, the settlers experienced such reverses, that they were glad to invite the son of Neleus, the founder of Miletus, to come to their relief. This he did, and with important results; for this influx of Ionian settlers from Miletus, while it repaired the fortunes of the little colony, transformed Iasos from a Dorian into an Ionian city.²

¹ Chandler's *Travels*, i. pp. 226, 227, 230: 'Their city covered a rocky islet lying near the continent, to which it is now united by a small isthmus.' 'The north side of the rock of Iasos is abrupt and inaccessible. The summit is occupied by a mean but extensive fortress. At the foot is a small portion of flat ground. On that and on the acclivities the houses once stood, within a narrow compass, bounded to the sea by the city wall, which was regular, solid, and

handsome, like that of Ephesus. This, which has been repaired in many places, now incloses rubbish, with remnants of ordinary buildings, and a few pieces of marble. Single pinks, with jonquilles, grew among the thickets of mastie, and we sprung some large coveys of partridges, which feed on the berries.'

² Pelyth. xvi. 12: 'Ἡ δὲ πόλις Ἰασίου πόλις αἰῶνα μὲν ἐστὶ τῇ Ἀσίᾳ ἐν τῇ αἰῶνι τῇ περὶ τὴν ἀκρότητα τοῦ τῆς Μιλήτου ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς Μορδίου πόλεως

events, Archestratos, the Sicilian poet of gastronomy, who flourished in the earlier half of the fourth century B.C., singled out a kind of shrimp or prawn caught at Iasos for special praise (Athen. iii. p. 105 c): ὁ δὲ ὀψοδαίδαλος Ἀρχέστρατος πυραίνει τάδε

Ἦν δέ ποτ' εἰς Ἴασον Καρῶν πύλιν εἰσαφίκηαι,
καρὶδ' εὐμεγέθη λήψει, σπανία δὲ πρίασθαι.

And Strabo, who generally gives his readers some historical notices of the cities he is describing, when he comes to Iasos, finds little to remark except that the inhabitants cared for nothing but the fishery. 'Next comes Iasos, situated upon an island lying close to the mainland. It contains a harbour, and the inhabitants get their living almost wholly from the sea; for the fish are abundant, and the soil is poor. And in fact there are all sorts of stories, like the following, told about the Iasians. One day a musician was there, singing and playing the harp, and for a while they all were glad to listen; but when the bell rang in the fish-market, they all hurried away to their fish except one very deaf man. Whereupon the musician stepped up to him and said, "Sir, I feel deeply grateful to you for the interest you have shown in me and in my art: for all the rest, directly they heard the market-bell, left me and hurried away." "What do you say?" cried the man, "did you say the bell had rung?" "Yes." "Then good-bye," he replied, and jumped up to follow the rest.'¹

The history of Iasos before the middle of the fifth century is an utter blank. The town is not named by Herodotus in his account of the struggle with Persia; but we may believe that Iasos, like the rest of Caria, shared the fears and hopes, the victories and defeats of Ionia in those stormy times. Iasos, like the rest of Caria, must have passed under the sway, first of Croesus,² then of Persia.³ Next it shared the vicissitudes of the Ionic revolt,⁴ and of the great Persian war; perhaps some of its sturdy fishermen helped to man the fleet of Xerxes.⁵ At all

¹ Strabo, xiv. p. 658. This capital story will be better appreciated by those who have watched the herring boats come in, and have heard the market-bell and watched the fish auctions, at Whitby or elsewhere.

² Herod. i. 28.

³ Herod. i. 174.

⁴ Herod. v. 103, 117-119.

⁵ Herod. vii. 93.

events, when the great conflict ended, and the power of Persia was broken, Iasos was among the Asiatic cities that joined in the Delian confederacy under Athens. This we know, not only from the account of Thucydides,¹ but also from the extant 'Quota-lists,' which record the names and reveal the amount paid by the tributary states.² These lists (so far as their remains have come down to us) commence in B.C. 454-3 and go on in a more or less complete series down to the middle of the Peloponnesian war. The name of Iasos happens to be lost from some of these fragmentary marbles; but we are able to discover that in B.C. 450 its contribution was assessed at one talent; in B.C. 447 at the same sum, and again in B.C. 442. In the lists of B.C. 446, 445, 441, 436, the name of the Iasians is recognised, but the cyphers are lost which indicate the payment.³ A fresh assessment of tribute was made B.C. 425, when the policy of Athens, no longer controlled by the wisdom of Pericles, was beginning to lend itself to schemes of costly adventure. A Quota-list subsequent to this assessment indicates the Iasian tribute as raised to three talents.⁴ Towards the close of the year B.C. 412, Iasos was captured by the Peloponnesian fleet and Tissaphernes, and so became again subject to the Persian dominion.⁵ There was evidently no suspicion of treachery in the capture, nor do the townsmen seem to have been shaken in their loyalty to Athens by the trebling of their tribute. It is true that in the following year Peisander at Athens laid the loss of Iasos at the door of Phrynichus, declaring that he might have shown more energy in the Ionian waters.⁶ But it is plain that the city was simply taken by surprise, and the language of Thucydides implies that it made a gallant resistance. The

¹ Thucyd. viii. 26, 28.

² Köhler, *Urkunden und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des delisch-attischen Bundes* (1870), p. 185, &c.; *Corpus Inscr. Att.* i. p. 231, and No. 230 foll.

³ *Corpus Inscr. Att.* i. Nos. 230, 235, 238, and Nos. 234, 235, 239, 244. Compare my *Manual*, Nos. 24, 30, 35.

⁴ *Corpus Inscr. Att.* i. No. 262.

⁵ Thucyd. viii. 28: καὶ ὅτε φάσαν [οἱ Πελοποννησίου], Τισσαφέρνης τῷ πρῶτῳ παρελθὼν εἶδεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ Ἰάσῳ, ἐν ᾧ Ἀλκίβρυς ἐκείνους ὡς κέραια, κλεῖνται.

καὶ προσβαλόντες τῷ Ἰάσῳ αἰχμαῖοι καὶ οὐ προσδεχομένοις ἄλλ' ᾧ Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ τοῦ αἰῶνος αἰρεθέντι καὶ μέγιστῳ ἐν τῇ ἑργῇ αἱ Σαρακῆναι ἐπερίστανται... καὶ τῇ Ἰάσῳ συνελέσθησαν καὶ χρήματα πέντε πολλὰ ἢ στρατιὰ ὀλίγη· καὶ ἀποπέμψαντες γὰρ ὅτι τὰ χωρίων... τὰ τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν εὐφροσύνην παραδόντες καὶ τὰ ἐκείνους πάντα, καὶ δοῦλα καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ὡς καὶ ἑαυτοὺς στατήρα δαρεῖαν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐπέβησαν λαβεῖν, ἔπειτα ἀνεχώρησαν ἐς τὴν Μίλητον. Comp. ib. 28.

⁶ Thucyd. viii. 27, 54.

historian speaks of Iasos as a mere 'town' (πόλις) and as a 'post' (χωρίον) occupied by Pissuthnes with a garrison or body-guard (τοὺς ἐπικούρους τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἀμόργην). He adds that the plunder was considerable, as the town contained the accumulated wealth of generations (παλαιόπλουτον γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον).

All these expressions exactly fit in with what we know from other sources of the character of the town. It was small, and with no capacity for enlargement; but the rugged remoteness of its site enabled its people to garner in, undisturbed for many a long year, their harvest of the sea; and also from time to time (as will also be seen later on) it became an opportune position to be held by any one who wished to command Caria by sea or land. The word παλαιόπλουτον does not necessarily imply great wealth, but only that the wealth was the accumulation of long years of thrift. This agrees with the evidence of the Quota-lists. When the tribute of Ephesus was seven and a half talents, of Teos six, that of Halicarnassus one and two-thirds, of Cnidus and Tenos three, that of Iasos was one talent.¹

For the next twenty years the history of Iasos is again a blank. The Peloponnesian war had meanwhile ended in the fall of Athens, and ten years of Spartan misgovernment had taught the cities that had been so ready to quit the Athenian alliance, to wish for the old days back again. This sentiment soon found terrible expression. If in the battles of Corinth and of Coroneia (B.C. 394) Sparta had escaped defeat with loss only of men and of prestige, the crushing defeat inflicted by Conon in the same year, off Cnidus, destroyed the maritime empire of Sparta at a blow. City after city proclaimed its independence, and many hastened to assist in creating a new confederation under Athens.² The name of Iasos is not to be read amongst the cities which inscribed their names on the famous stela, recording the formation of the new Athenian alliance.³ That marble bears the date of the Archon Nausinicus, B.C. 378-7, and ten years before then the fatal Peace of Antalcidas had handed over Iasos, like all the other cities of Asia, to the dominion of the king. It has been shown however by M. Waddington, in an interesting essay, that

¹ *Corpus Inscr. Att.* i. pp. 226 foll.

² *Corpus Inscr. Att.* ii. No. 17;

³ *Grote*, ch. 74; *my Manual*, *New Manual*, No. 51.

immediately after the victory of Cimon (B.C. 480), and before any formal steps were taken to reconstitute an Athenian confederacy, several Aegean states, headed probably by Rhodes, entered into an independent league. We owe our knowledge of this movement to the silent testimony of the federal coinage struck on this occasion. Didrachms of Rhodes, Ephesus, Samos, Cnidus, and also of Iasos are found, all of them similar in standard, and identical in style, and stamped alike on the reverse with the infant Heracles strangling two serpents.¹ This type, as M. Waddington suggests, was intended to symbolize the aspirations of the nascent league, whose liberties were threatened on all sides by the power of Persia, or of Lacedaemon, or of Athens.

From the time of the Peace of Antalcidas, B.C. 387, the Greek cities of Asia Minor were reckoned as part of the Satrapies of Persia. The Satrap² of Caria about this time was Hecatomnus, a native prince, whose son Maussolus, succeeding him probably B.C. 377, has left an abiding name in history, not only through the costly grief of his widow enshrined in the mausoleum, but also by virtue of his own energy and ambition. Transferring his royal residence from Mylasa to Halicarnassus, he not only consolidated his power in Caria, but aimed also by force or by persuasion at the annexation of the Ionian cities. His intrigues may be traced at Erythrae by help of an existing decree in his honour,³ besides other places. He joined B.C. 362 in the revolt of the Satraps against Artaxerxes Memnon, and in 357 B.C. was the chief instigator of the revolt of the allied cities against Athens. Inscriptions however reveal the fact, which might have been expected, that the centralizing policy of Maussolus, which was converting the loosely-defined authority of a 'Satrap' into the organized government of a 'king,' stirred up a violent opposition in some of the Greek cities. The decrees from Mylasa quoted above (dated respectively B.C. 367, 361, 355) declare the

¹ Waddington, *Mélanges de Numismatique*, pp. 7 foll.; Perry Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, p. 54; Head, *Historia numorum*, p. 523.

² Mammulim and his father were only kings (*basileis*) by courtesy: satrap was the proper title, and is duly transcribed into Greek letters in the well-

known decree from Mylasa (*O. I. G.* 2631, c, d, e): 'Ἀρχαίφραξ βασιλευσέντος Μασσαίου ἑκατοννήτορος, κ.τ.λ.' Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 76, where see note; my *Manual*, No. 101.

³ My *Manual*, No. 102, where see note.

confiscation of the property of certain who had conspired against Mausolus, and profess the profoundest loyalty of the city towards himself and his dynasty.¹ A similar document from Iasos² reveals that in that city also there was a party of opposition, whose efforts were promptly suppressed and their goods confiscated.

We have reached the threshold of a new era. Alexander crossed the Hellespont in 334 B.C., and thenceforward the little town, whose fortunes we have been endeavouring to follow, has no history apart from the empires successively of Macedon, Syria, and Rome. The summer of B.C. 334 found Alexander, after his victory at the Granicus, engaged in the capture of Miletus; with consummate skill he compelled the whole Persian fleet, from the neighbouring promontory of Mycalé, to witness the taking of the town, without being able to effect anything for its deliverance. In vain did the Persians daily challenge the invader's fleet; Alexander declined the challenge. An attempted surprise had no better result. Five ships of the Persians sailed right into the harbour that lay between the island of Ladé and the mainland. The Greek army occupied the latter shore, the Greek fleet occupied the island: the hope was that the ships might be surprised on the shore of Ladé while their crews were away upon forage duty. Some were so absent, but the rest were soon on board, and got afloat in time; so that the five Persian ships steered round and made the best of their escape to the main fleet out at sea. One of the five, says Arrian, 'was captured with her crew, not being a fast sailer,' and this was 'the vessel of the Iasians.'³ If we may trust Arrian, and the authorities which he followed, the incident thus detailed agrees entirely with all we know of the Iasians. That they should serve on the side of Persia, as part of the fleet of Memnon,—that they should contribute only one ship,—that their sailors should be selected, or should volunteer, for this daring and perilous adventure—all is exactly what we could expect.

From Miletus Alexander marched into Caria, where the

¹ *Manual*, No. 101.

² Discovered in 1880, and first published by MM. Am. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, v. (1881); p. 491; Dittenberger, *Syllabe*, No. 77.

³ Arrian, *Anabasis*, i. 19, § 11: καὶ

ἡ μὲν Ἰασίων (sic) τὰς Ἀλλεσται ἀνὰς ἀνδρῶν ἐς τὴν πόλιν, οὐ ταχύναντες· αἱ δὲ ἑνὸς καὶ ἑξῆς πλοῦς ἐνταφύετο ἐν τῷ εὐκλείῳ κρημένῳ ὅθεν μὲν δὲ ἀνέκλειοντο ἑστράτευε ἐν Μιλήτῳ οἱ Πέρσαι.

Persian forces had concentrated at Halicarnassus to make a final stand for the possession of the zenboard. His own fleet he promptly disbanded, confident in his own strength by land, and the proved impotence of the Persians by sea. The fall of Halicarnassus after a vigorous siege left him master of the western shores of Asia Minor. Leaving Ada in the Satrapy of Caria, he marched on into Lycia, having secured his hold on the coast not only by his garrisons on the Hellespont and in Caria, but still more surely by the affectionate loyalty of the Greek cities, to all of which he granted autonomy, restoring their democracies, and liberating them from tribute. Iasos, though not honoured by the conqueror's presence, shared in the deliverance he brought.

The little town, however, was not without a personal interest in the great campaigns of Alexander. We know at least two citizens of Iasos who were with the conqueror in the far East, one of them (if not both) being on his staff as superintendent of the armoury (*ὀπλοφύλαξ*). He is the hero of a story repeated by Athenæus in connection with the Dionysia which Alexander celebrated so magnificently in the autumn of B.C. 324.¹ "Many were assembled to the spectacle," says Ephippus, "and proclamations were being made in a braggart and presumptuous vein, outdoing even Persian vain-glory. For while one and another was belauding the king with all sorts of toasts and crownings, one of the superintendents of the armoury, to outdo all flattery, instructed the herald (by royal permission) to proclaim how that *Gorgos, the superintendent of the armoury, dedicates to Alexander son of Ammon, a chaplet worth three thousand gold-pieces; and when he lays siege to Athens, ten thousand suits of armour and a like supply of catapulta and other artillery, as many as he may require.*"² This fierce allusion to Athens is exactly in tune with the feeling then prevalent with Alexander and his troops. Harpalus had only a few months before fled to Athens; and a false rumour had reached the East that he had been welcomed by the Athenians as an enemy of Alexander, and had received

¹ xii. p. 333, *de Excerptis*. Compare Arrian, vii. 14; Plutarch, *Alex.* 72; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 2, p. 312 foll.

² See Grote, ch. 93; and his note on

the Satyric Drama *Agas*, quoted by Athenæus, xiii. p. 596, and acted before Alexander at Susa in the spring of this very year.

the freedom of the city by way of manifesto against the Macedonian supremacy. It may be unsafe to identify, as Droysen proposes to do,¹ the Gorgos of this story with Gorgos the mining engineer (μεταλλευτής) whose account of the Indian gold and silver mines is referred to by Strabo (xv. p. 700). But there is no doubt that the Gorgos who proposed the toast at Kebatana is identical with the Gorgos named in a well-known Iasian decree which thanks him and his brother for using their interest with Alexander on behalf of their native town. It runs as follows: ²

- Ἐπεὶ [δὲ] Γὼργος καὶ Μινρίων ² Θεοδότ-
 ου υἱοὶ κ[αλ]οὶ κάγαθοι γεγέννηται
 πέ[ρ]ι τ[ῶ] κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως,
 καὶ ἰ πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν ἰδία εὖ [π-
 5 ἐποιήκασιν, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς μικρῆς
 θαλάσσης ⁴ διαλεχθέντες.
 Ἀλεξάνδρῳ βασιλεῖ ἐκομίσαντο
 κ[αὶ] ἀπέδωσαν τῷ δήμῳ δεδόσθαι
 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνις ἀτέλειαν καὶ
 10 προεδρίην εἰς τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον
 ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῇ
 παραστάδι τῇ πρὸ τοῦ ἀρχείου.⁵

Another inscription, from Samos, speaks of the same pair of brothers as using their influence with Alexander in 323 B.C. on behalf of the Samian exiles. The Samians who had been driven out of their country wholesale by the Athenians in B.C. 365, 361,

¹ *Hellenismus*, I. 2, p. 313.

² *C.I.G.* 2672; Hicks, *Manual*, 132; Dittenberger, *Syllage*, 116; Droysen, *Hellenismus*, II. 2, p. 361.

³ This unusual name occurs more than once in the lists of subscribers to the Dionysia inscribed in the theatre at Iasos; *Le Bas-Waddington, Foyage Arch.* III. Nos. 285, 287.

⁴ I cannot agree with Dittenberger in understanding *μετὰ θάλασσαν* to mean a 'lake' or large fish-pond; he compares *Syllage*, No. 6, line 44. After what we have seen of the prevailing occupation of the Iasians, it seems natural to take 'the little sea' to mean

some part of the Iasian gulf especially valued for its fishing, the exclusive right over which may have been lost to Iasos for a while, after Alexander's reconstruction of the government of Caria. Such rights to a fishery would be termed *θάλασσα*; see my *Manual*, No. 28; compare the fishery of the *Mare Piccolo* at Tarentum (Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 44).

⁵ The *ἀρχεῖον* at Iasos, or Record Office, was a building of some importance, and adjoined the *Βουλευτήριον*. Both appear to have been restored by the bounty of Antiochus the Great, as we shall see presently.

and 352, their island being simply repopled by Attic colonists, had taken refuge in various friendly states. A large number, we learn from this decree,¹ had come to reside at Iasos; and when in 322 Perdikkas undertook to give effect to the decree of Alexander for the universal restoration of exiles—(a decree which the 'ins' were glad enough to postpone as against the 'outs,' on the plea of Alexander's death having supervened)—the citizens of Iasos permitted the Samian sojourners to take away their property without payment of export duty, and provided them with transport vessels at the public cost. Gorgos and his brother had strongly urged these exiles' claim upon the kindness of the Iasian people; and we may perhaps trace in this action the same vein of hostility to Athens which inspired the vapouring toast at Ecbatana. It would seem that the wholesale restoration of all exiles 'by order of the king' (*κατὰ τὸ διαγρᾶμμα τοῦ βασιλέως*), which is known to have produced much disorder and strife in many cities, caused no disturbance at Iasos, where probably the whole free population (and it was not large) was loyal to the Macedonian cause. We hear of no parties or factions at Iasos until the time of Antiochus the Great,—of which presently. On the other hand we hear of Iasos being applied to by the people of Calymna to send them five dicasts to try the cases which had accumulated in that island upon the return of the exiles. *C. I. G.* No. 2671 is a decree of the Iasians complimenting the five dicasts upon their return; to which is appended the decree passed by the Calymnians in their honour.

The position of Iasos made it an important maritime outpost, and involved it repeatedly in the conflicts of those troubled centuries that followed the death of Alexander.

Asander, to whom his master had bequeathed the Satrapy of Caria, seems to have placed a garrison at Iasos. At all events, when Antigonus and Demetrius in B.C. 313 decided to crush the ambition of Asander, who was encroaching upon their Ionian dominion, their general Ptolemaeus was sent to reduce Iasos to subordination.² The policy of Antigonus and Demetrius was a policy of 'freedom and democracy' for all Greek cities, and the expulsion of garrisons. We cannot be wrong therefore in sup-

¹ Hicks, *Manual*, 135; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 119; see the interesting dissertation of C. Curtius, *Inscriptions und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos*,

p. 22; compare Gardner, *Samos and Samian Coins*, p. 55.

² *Diod.* xiv. 75; *Hellenismus*, II. 2, p. 38.

boy about this town named Dionysios, who used to leave the palaestra with the others and go to the sea and bathe. And a dolphin would come to meet him out of the sea, and take him on his back and swim off with him ever so far, and bring him back safe to land." In the face of such contemporary evidence we must allow that the marvel was really believed at Iasos at an early date, however false to facts; nor need we doubt that this rival of old Arion was actually sent to Alexander at Babylon. Aelian, in his *History of Animals* (vi. 15; compare viii. 11), tells the story at greater length, but without reference to Alexander. He adds that 'the gymnasium at Iasos lies close to the shore, and the youths who have been racing and wrestling go down and bathe in the sea according to immemorial custom there.' He makes the youth lose his life by accidentally opening a vein by a scratch from the dolphin's fin, and says that the dolphin deposited his dying favourite on the shore, and lay down and died by his side. 'Whereupon the Iasians, in tribute to the strong affection between them, reared one tomb for both the beautiful boy and his dolphin-admirer, and set up a stèle, adorned with a lad riding on a dolphin. And they struck a coin in silver and copper, with a device to represent their fate.' The version of Plutarch (*De Solertia animalium*, 36) so closely resembles that of Aelian, that we may suppose both writers to have borrowed from a common source later than Duris, which Pliny also (*Nat. Hist.* ix. 8) appears to have followed. Like Plutarch, he attributes the boy's death to 'repentinae procellae fluctibus,' and gives his name as Hermias. He also says that similar stories of dolphins were told in various parts of Greece, and that two youths at Iasos had a similar experience, one of them being sent for to Babylon by Alexander, who made him priest of Neptune.¹ Plutarch (*l.c.*) and also Pollux (*Onom.* ix. 84) both mention the type on the coin, the former saying: καὶ τοῦ πάθους ἐπίσημον Ἰασεῦσι τὸ χάραγμα τοῦ νομισματός ἐστι, παῖς ὑπὲρ δελφίνος ὀχούμενος, and the latter: Ἰασεῖς δὲ παῖδα δελφίνῳ ἐποχούμενον [τῷ νομισματὶ ἐνεχάραττον]. It is curious that all these writers speak of the boy as 'riding on' the dolphin (ἐποχεῖσθαι, ὀχεῖσθαι, ἰππεύειν), whereas the existing coins represent him as merely swimming by the dolphin's side, with one arm over its back. And the story itself may be

¹ Compare the audacious story of Pausanias, *lil.* 25, § 5.

perhaps accounted for by the established belief among the old Greek sailors in the friendliness of the dolphin, by the abundance of works of art wherein dolphins are represented in companionship with deities of the sea, and by the vanity of Iasos, which expanded some swimming adventure of an imaginative youth into a marvel. The legend, however, is interesting in two ways, as symbolizing the amphibious life of the people of Iasos, and as taking for granted the friendly relations we know to have existed between the great Conqueror and the loyal little town.

To this same period (third century B.C.) we may assign one or two other documents which indicate, by their rarity, how slight were the relations of Iasos with the outer Grecian world. A handsome monument is preserved in the British Museum which came from Iasos, and is inscribed with letters of a good time: *Ἑλλησπὸν Ταρσένος*. This may be the tomb of a Cilician merchant who either died at Iasos, or was wrecked in the bay. In the large collections of later Attic inscriptions now published, hardly a mention of Iasos occurs: no Iasian is named among the foreigners (*ξέροι*) who trained among the Ephebi of the Athenian gymnasium; nor among the prize-winners at the Athenian Panathenaea, Lenaea, or Dionysia. It is quite in keeping with this, when in *C. I. G.* 2682 an Iasian declares that he was the 'first Iasian' who had ever won the long race at the Pythia, Nemea, Isthmia, and Olympia in succession (*περίοδος*); he also had won a prize at the Capitolia at Rome instituted by Domitian A.D. 86. An Iasian, however, named Samiades is named in a list of mercenaries at Athens of the third century B.C. (*C. I. A.* ii. 963). Kumanudes also includes the epitaph of an Iasian family in his collection of Attic sepulchral inscriptions (No. 1850): *Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰασεύς Βρύσσας Βερρώ*.¹

An inscription from Iasos, which I had the pleasure of first editing in its entirety,² gives a graphic picture of the diplomatic

¹ It is observable that Βερρώ is known as the name of the women of Cos, of Samos, and of Halicarnassus, all neighbours of Iasos (see Pape-Benseler, s.v.) I suspect *Βρύσσας* to be a mistake for *Βρύσας*, a name which occurs repeatedly at Iasos (see *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, part iii. p. 68; and

Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 77, *passim*. But comp. Bechtel, *Inschriften des Ion. Dist.* No. 104, *note*).

² *Manual*, No. 152; *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, part iii. No. cccxii.; compare Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* part v. 251. This is the document described as follows

relations of Rhodes, Iasos, and Philip V. just before the outbreak of the Macedonian war, B.C. 200. The Iasians, whose interests Philip undertakes to champion, have remonstrated with Rhodes about certain encroachments and injuries which they have suffered at the hands of Rhodians dwelling in the Rhodian *peraea*, a strip of the Carian mainland belonging to Rhodes. Their remonstrances had been backed by a letter from the king. The Rhodians return a very civil reply; they are most unwilling to harm or offend 'their kinsmen' and friends the Iasians. Similar assurances of peace and goodwill are voted to Philip also. It was the last effort of diplomacy to avert a rupture. Within a few months the Macedonian war had broken out, which involved both sides of the Aegean in a sharp and decisive struggle. In the treaty of B.C. 196 the Roman Senate dictated as one of the provisions that Philip should withdraw his garrison from numerous cities, and among them from Iasos.²

But the autonomy promised to Iasos by the treaty of B.C. 196 was not for some time to be realized. The Romans, while occupied in subduing Philip, had allowed Antiochus to pursue those ambitious schemes of conquest which gained him his title of Antiochus 'the Great.' Nor was he slow to take advantage of the Macedonian defeat. His garrisons at once took possession of the towns evacuated by Philip; and, among other cities, Iasos, under the plea of being protected in its liberties, became practically a subject-city of the Syrian monarchy.³ In the year 190 B.C. we are expressly told by Livy⁴ that Iasos was occupied by a royal garrison, and narrowly escaped attack from

by Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*, i. p. 227; 'By the latrines is the vaulted substruction of a considerable edifice; and on a jamb of the doorway are decrees engraved in a fair character, but damaged, and black with smoke; the entrance, which is lashed by a pile of stones, serving as a chimney to a few Greeks, who inhabit the ruin.' This door-jamb is now in the British Museum, the most perfect portion of the inscription being of course the last twenty lines, which had been concealed from view and from injury by the accumulation of soil, until the marble was removed *ex situ*.

¹ 'Kinsmen,' because Iasos was originally a Dorian colony from Argos.

² Compare Polyb. xvi. 12; xvii. 8; with Livy xxii. 33; and xviii. 27 (44) with Livy xxxiii. 30. Εἰρηνας δὲ καὶ Πάριον καὶ Βοργόλια καὶ τὴν Ἰάσον πόλιν, ὅσας Ἰάσονος ἄδελφον, φίλον, Μόρμωνα, Πέριον, Λαυδίατον ἀφαιῖναι, τὰς φρονεῖν ἐξ αὐτῶν μεταστησάμεναι.

³ See Polyb. xviii. 36 (n.c. 194); *ibid.* 33; γελοῖον γὰρ εἶναι τὰ Ῥωμαίων εἶδη καὶ γενομένους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπὶ Φίλωνος Ἀντιόχου ἐπικαίοντα παραλαβεῖν.

⁴ xxxvii. 17.

the Roman fleet. The exiles of Iasos, who belonged to the Roman party, and were now serving under Aemilius, besought him to spare the town, assuring him that *they* represented the true feeling of the inhabitants, who had simply been overborne by the Syrian faction, assisted by the king's soldiery. The Rhodians added their entreaties to the same effect, that the town might be spared. But an Iasian inscription which I first published in my *Manual* (No. 174), and more accurately in part iii. of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* (No. ccccxliv.), shows that Antiochus had secured Iasos to his side not by mere force, but by intrigue and by gifts. He had also appealed to the superstition of the people by an oracle from Branchidae in his favour; and he had steadily given himself out as the friend of democracy as against the Roman and oligarchical party. It is interesting to find the old party lines of Greek history still surviving, at least in name. The decree assures Antiochus that Iasos is 'unanimous' (*μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολιτεύεσθαι*) in supporting the democracy and in loyalty to the king. In other words, the philo-Roman oligarchs had been expelled, viz. those whom Livy speaks of as with Aemilius. Another inscription from Iasos in the Museum (No. ccccxliv. *loc.*) records a dedication made by certain 'Commissioners of the Senate-house and the Record Office' to 'Concord and the People' (*Οἱ αἰρεθέντες τοῦ τε βουλευτηρίου καὶ τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἐπιμεληταί . . . καὶ ὁ ἀρχιτέκτων . . . Ὁμονοία καὶ τῇ δῆμῳ*). It is a safe conjecture that the gifts of Antiochus, mentioned in the decree just cited, had been laid out in the repair or adornment of these public buildings;¹ so that the completion of the work was made to serve as a demonstration of the triumph of the democratic party and of the Syrian cause. The end soon came. Antiochus was hopelessly defeated at Magnesia, B.C. 190; and in the treaty which followed, Caria, and Iasos with it, was handed over to Rhodes—a striking commentary on the remonstrances which Iasos had made to the Rhodians, through the medium of Philip V., against their encroachments on the Carian mainland. After the war with Persens, however, B.C. 168, one of the methods adopted by the Senate to humiliate and cripple Rhodes was to deprive her of her tributary cities on the mainland, and to declare the

¹ The ἀρχαίον is named repeatedly in the series of decrees which I have assigned to a century before Antiochus; C.I.G. Nos. 2673 foll. See above.

independence of Caria.¹ For the next forty years accordingly Iasos enjoyed again a formal independence until the city was merged, with the rest of Caria, B.C. 129, in the Roman province of Asia.

It is to this period of revived autonomy, during the middle portion of the second century B.C., that a considerable number of Iasian documents must (on independent grounds) be assigned, which curiously illustrate the inner life of a Greek city while the lamp of freedom was still flickering, shortly to expire.

Our attention is first claimed by certain inscriptions which are still to be read *in situ* on the wall of the Iasian theatre. They are thus described by Chandler: 'In the side of the rock is the theatre, fronting 60m. east of north, with many rows of seats remaining, but covered with soil, or enveloped in bushes. On the left wing is an inscription in very large and well-formed characters, ranging in a long line, and recording certain donations to Bacchus and the people.'² This inscription is really a series of inscriptions, extending over a period of forty years or more; they have been admirably edited by Le Bas-Waddington (*Voyage Archéol.* Nos. 252 foll.). They record the names of citizens who from year to year had furnished funds for the maintenance of the Dionysia, and the engagement of distinguished performers. One of them will suffice here for a specimen; it shall be No. 255, which comes early in the series, and is of importance as fixing the date of the whole:—

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπολλωνος τοῦ δευτέρου μετὰ
Μένιππον, ἀγωνοθέτου δὲ Πανταίνου τοῦ
Ἱεροκλείους, οἶδε ἐπέδωκαν τῶν ἐπινευσάντων—
ἀγωνοθέτης Πάνταινος Ἱεροκλείους
δ αὐλήτην Σάτυρου Ἀριστοκλείους Βουώτιον
ἡμέρας δύο καὶ εἶπεν ἡ πάροδος δραχμὴν ἥ δὲ
θεὰ ἐγένετο δωρεάν—Ἀριστόκριτος Γλαύκου

¹ Polyh. xix. 5: κατὰ τὰ τὸν αἰῶνα
καμὲν ἢ ἀργαλῆται ἐξέβαλε δόγμα διότι
τοῦ Κῆρας καὶ Δουίους ἐκινδύρουν εἶναι
πάντας, ἵσους προσέειπε Πόλλιος μετὰ
τὸν Ἀσπαχιῶδε πόλεμον. So Polyh.
xix. 7; Livy xlv. 16.

² *Travels in Asia Minor*, i. p. 227.
Chandler's description of the contents
of these inscriptions is not very accu-

rate. There is one dedication *Διονύσω*
καὶ τῷ θεῷ (*C.I.G.* 2621 = Le Bas-
Waddington, No. 259) made by Sappater
son of Epimenes, who is also named in
No. 259 *ibid.* This determines the
date of the dedication, and leads us to
connect the expression τῷ θεῷ with
the revival of autonomy at Iasos in
B.C. 168.

- κατὰ νοθεσίαν δὲ Διοδώρου χορηγήσας πρότερον
 Κράτωνα Ζωτίχου Καλχηδάνιον αὐλήτην ἡμέρας
 10 δύο καὶ εὖρεν ἡ πάροδος δραχμὴν ἢ δὲ θεὰ ἐγένετο
 δωρεάν—Ἡράκλειτος Φορμίωνος χορηγήσας πρότε-
 ρον Ἀθηνόδαρον κωμῳδὸν καὶ εὖρεν ἡ πάροδος δρα-
 χμὴν ἢ δὲ θεὰ ἐγένετο δωρεάν—Κλεάναξ Κλεαινέτου
 ἀγωνοθετήσας πρότερον Ἀθηνόδαρον κωμῳδὸν
 15 καὶ εὖρεν ἡ πάροδος δραχμὴν ἢ δὲ θεὰ ἐγένετο δωρε-
 άς κ.τ.λ.

(Three other citizens are similarly named as engaging three other comedians respectively.)

Several points would deserve notice. In line 1, Apollo himself is the Eponymus of the year, and that for the second time together, in succession to Menippus: on this practice of nominating a tutelary god to the eponymous office, see *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Pt. iii. pp. 19, 31, 32. In treating of another Iasian document (*ibid.* p. 65), I have ventured to translate the curious formula of lines 4—7 &c. as follows: 'The president of the festival, Pantaenos, son of Hierocles [engaged at his own cost], Satyros, son of Aristocles of Boeotia, the flute-player, for two days; now his appearance commanded a drachma [for entrance fee], and the performance cost [the authorities of Iasos] nothing.' I imagine that Iasos could ill afford to supply funds for the Dionysia (a theoric fund) out of the civic exchequer; accordingly the leading citizens undertook in turn to engage popular performers at their own cost, and so with this attraction the celebration became virtually self-supporting. In this particular year the artists thus specially secured were:—

Satyros, a Boeotian flute-player;
 Craton of Chalcedon, a flute-player;
 Five comedians.

Craton of Chalcedon is well known from a series of documents respecting him, emanating from the college of Dionysiac artists at Teos (*C. I. G.* 3067—3071), one of which is in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (No. 3068). Craton flourished at the court of Pergamon in the reigns of Eumenes II. and Attalus Philadelphus, and died B.C. 151 or 152 (see Böckh on No. 3069).

This determines the date of this curious series from the Iasian theatre: it coincides pretty certainly with the period of autonomy from B.C. 168—129. Many of these lists record only subscriptions in money for the same purpose, and one¹ is a decree of the Teian Dionysiac artists, in response to an appeal from Iasos, in which they undertake in view of the necessities of the Iasians (*ἐν τοῖς ἀναγκαιοτάτοις καιροῖς*) to send free of charge for the performance of the Dionysia at Iasos the following company of artists: two flute-players, two tragedians, two comedians, one harper and singer, one harp-player. Another Iasian inscription records the success of an Iasian poet named Dymas (*ποιητῆς τραγωιδῶν*) whose tragedy on the 'Adventures of Dardanos' had been received at Samothrace with much favour, as commemorating the ancient glories of that island.² Dymas must be added to the one literary name recorded by Strabo (xiv. 658) in connection with Iasos—Diodorus the dialectician, surnamed Cronus, who flourished at the court of Ptolemy Soter, and was an Iasian by birth.

To the same period (the middle of the second century B.C.) belong two Iasian decrees published by M. Haussoullier, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, viii. (1884), p. 455. Both are unfortunately incomplete; especially the second of the two, which recorded the names of certain citizens who had contributed towards the purchase of corn in a time of scarcity. The existing lines, as copied by M. Haussoullier, I would venture to restore somewhat as follows:—

. ἐς βουλόμενοι αἰεὶ
 διασώζεσθαι τῇ]ν δημοκρατί]αν ἐκόν-
 τεσ ἐπέδοσ]αν ἀργύριον [ἐκ τῶν ἰδ-
 ῶν ὅπως]ὁ δῆμος αἰεὶ εὐδ[αιμονοίη
 ὅ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐν]δείᾳ σίτου γίν[οιτο καθ'
 ἡμέραν ἐξ ἱ]σης πᾶσι τοῖς π[ολίταις
 τῶν ἐσσημέ]νων σιτομετρία
 Με]νεσθεὺς Κλεάν[ακτος ὑπὲρ αὐ-

¹ Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.* No. 251; Lüders, *Die dionysischen Künstler*, pp. 87, 181.

² Lately published in *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part iii. No. ccccxliii; see lines 16 foll. : αἰεὶ τι

λ[όγῳ] καὶ πρῶτον ἀγαθὸν διατελεῖ
 περὶ τῆς εἰσῶς, κατὰ τὰ[χ]αι γε ἀπό-
 θεῖον ἐσώησαντο τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως καὶ
 πραγματείαν σ[υνέ]ταξαν ἐν δρόμῳ τῶν
 ἀρετῶν πράττων τὰς μεγίστας μετ-
 ροε[ύσεις] κ.τ.λ.

τοῦ καὶ τοῦ νιού Κλεάν[ακτος δραχ-
 10 μὰς] ἑξακοσίας· Φάνν[αλος τοῦ
 δεινός δ]ραχμὰς δια[κοσίας·
 ο δεινα Νημε]ρτέως [ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ
 καὶ τοῦ νιού . . . ιλο.

A Cleanax, son of Cleanax, is named in the theatre-lists above quoted *passim*, and [Νημε]ρτέως is restored from Νημερτέα in No. 252, *ibid.* The other decree is only partially restored by M. Hanssoulhier, who observes that 'Antenor, son of Evandrides of Miletus' is the same who is named in a Milesian inscription (*C. I. G.* 2859) as προφητεύων, holding the office of 'prophet.' The wording and orthography of the decree so closely resemble No. ccccxix. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, that it must belong to the same age, and can be readily restored:—

Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ δευτέρου,
 μηνός] Ἀφροδισιώνος· ἔδοξεν τῇ βο[υλῇ
 καὶ τῇ] δῆμῳ· ἕκτη ἰσταμένον· Φιλίσκ[ος
 Ἀρτεμ]ιδώρου ἐπεστάται· πρυτάνεων [γνώμη
 περὶ ὧν] ἐπήλθεν Δημαγόρας Ἐξηκ[ιστίδου (?)
 ἵνα Ἀντή]νωρ Εὐανδρίδου Μιλήσιος ἐπ[αινεθῇ
 καὶ σ]τεφανωθῇ τῷ ἐννόμῳ στεφ[άνῳ ἀρετῆς
 ἕνεκεν] ἧς ἔχει περὶ τὴν πόλιν δεδόχ[θαι
 τῇ] δῆμῳ ἐπρηνῆσθαι Ἀντήνωρ[α Εὐανδρίδου
 Μιλήσι]ον καὶ στεφανώσ[αι αὐτὸν τῷ ἐννόμῳ
 [στεφάνῳ κ.τ.λ.]

It was a mark of a flourishing city when numerous aliens came to sojourn within its walls either to enjoy its comforts or to share its trade. The lists of subscribers to the Dionysia, above mentioned, include not a few such resident aliens (μέτοικοι), who subscribed side by side with the citizens. They are stated to belong to the following cities: Alabanda, Alinda (4), Euromos, Myndos (all in Caria); Antioch (probably the Pisidian city of the name,—4), Antioch on the Orontes (πρὸς Δάφνη), Phaselis, Magnesia (probably *ad Sigyllum*), Magnesia on the Maeander, Phocaea, Laodicea (probably the city on the Lycus,—3), Hierapolis, Tralles (the well-known city of the name), Tralles 'beyond Taurus' (Τραλλιανός Τραλλέων τῶν ἐπέκεινα τοῦ Ταύρου, *i.e.* probably the Phrygian city of the name: see Franz, *Fünf*

Inschriften und fünf Städte in Kleinasien, p. 31). Apamea (probably the Phrygian city,—2), Myrina, Cume, Sinope, Thrace, Heraclea Pontica, Marathon, Syracuse, Seleucia (on the Tigris &c), and—most interesting of all—there is a Jew of the dispersion, Νικήτας Ἰάσονος Ἱεροσολυμίτης, whose mention in such a connection reminds us forcibly how closely the fortunes of the Jewish people were at this time bound up with the policy of the Syrian monarchs.

The liberation of Iasos from Rhodian control in B.C. 168 brought with it a release from tribute¹ and restored the prestige of the city. But the revival of freedom, if accompanied (as it probably would be), with the restoration of exiles and the readjustment of parties in the city, would be likely to lead to some disturbances. To this period certainly (to judge by its orthography and general appearance), we may ascribe a long inscription in honour of a dicast from Priene and his secretary who had visited Iasos to decide some serious suits which demanded great impartiality. The document was found at Priene, on the site of the temple of Athena, and has been recently published by me.² It contains two decrees, one of the Iasians who testify to the benefits conferred by the Prienian dicast, and a second passed at Priene in acknowledgment of the former, a copy of which has been formally sent on from Iasos. The Iasians say: ὁ δῆμος ὁ Πριηνέων ἐν τε τοῖς πρῶτον χρόναις εἵκτους ὦν καὶ φίλος διετέλει, καὶ νῦν ἀξιώσαντων ἡμῶν ἀποστελταὶ δικαστὴν ἀπέστειλεν ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν Ἡρακράτην Ἀνδρίου, ὃς παραγενόμενος τὰς μὲν συνέλυσεν τῶν δικῶν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπων προθυμίας ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν σπουδὴν ποιούμενος ἵνα συλλυθίντες οἱ ἀντίδικοι

¹ See Pufyf. xxi. 7, where the Rhodian envoys at Rome bitterly complain of their loss of Caria and Lycia: ὅτι Λυκίαν καὶ Καρίαν ἀποκώλειον, εἰς ἣν ἐξ ἄρχῃ μὴ θανάσιμον χρημάτων ἰσχυρία πλεῖστα, τριτημῆσι πωλεῖται ἀπογενομένης καὶ μὲν αὐτοῖς, καὶ δὲ προσέδοται ἰσχυρίσθαι πολλὰν ἐν ἐλάττωσιν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐργασίας. They reckon their revenues from Caunus and Stratonicea alone to have been 120 talents (£30,000) yearly.

² *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part III. No. 20021, where I have given reasons for assigning it to

this date upon internal evidence alone. In reference to the subject of this decree and the many others of its class, we may gather that *dikai* were a favourite weapon of faction and revolution—'domestic additional aids'—from Thucydides' account of the Catechism (iii. 70), and Aristotle, *Politics*, viii. 3, § 2—4 (Cangreva = p. 1302 B.): διὰ δὲ φόβου στασιάζουσιν αἱ τε δημοκρατίαι, διδόντες μὴ δοῦναι δίκην, καὶ αἱ μάλιστα ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀδικεῖσθαι φόβου ἐπὶ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ὥστε ἐν πόλει συνέστησαν αἱ γυνήκεαι ἐπὶ τῷ δήμῳ διὰ τὰς ἐπιφερομένης δίκας.

τὰ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μεθ' ὁμονοίας πολιτεύονται, τὰς δὲ δίκρινεν
δικαίως κ.τ.λ. This language points to disputes which had a
political bearing.

There is one other inscription which may perhaps be attributed
to the same period, although its heading and its conclusion being
both mutilated, we are left with the slighter evidence of date.
Incomplete however as it is, M. Haussoullier who discovered and
published it,¹ may rightly say that it gives us a picture of Greek
life (vivid as an instantaneous photograph), which is true of each
century of Greek freedom, and not of one town only but of many.
The text as read by M. Haussoullier is as follows, the marble
being broken at the top and bottom and left, and entire only
on the right-hand side :—

	ΘΕΚΚ	ΝΔΙΔ
	ΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΕΠΙΡΑ	ΚΡΕΟΝΤ
	ΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ	ΙΣΤΙΑΙΘΣΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ
5	ΝΝΙΟΝΟΣΦΟ	ΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΣΜΕΝ
	ΑΣΕΚΑΣΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΕΤΗΝΟΥΜΗΝΙ	
	ΤΟΣ... ΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝΤΟΥΣΔ	
	ΕΚΑΣΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΙΣ	
	ΣΙΑΙΣΕΚΤΙΘΕΝΑΙΑΜΑΤΗΗΜΕΡΑΙΚΕΡΑΜΙΟΝΜΕΤΡΗΤΙΑΙΟΝ	
10	ΡΛΗΡΕΣΤΡΥΡΗΜΑΕΧΟΝΚΥΑΜΙΑΙΟΝΑΡΕΧΟΝΑΡΟΤΗΣΤΗΣ	
	ΙΝΙΙΤΑΑΦΙΕΞΘΑΙΔΕΤΟΥΔΩΡΑΜΑΤΩΙΗΛΩΙ	
	ΑΤΕΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΕΝΕΩΡΟΙΑΣΕΚΑΘΗΣΘΑΙΚΑΙΡΑΡΑΚΕΙΞΘΑΙ	
	ΣΤΩΙΚΙΒΩΤΙΟΝΕΞΦΡΑΓΙΣΜΕΝΟΝΥΡΟΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΤΩΝΕΧΟΝ	
	ΑΜΗΚΟΞΔΙΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΝΡΛΑΤΟΣ	
15	ΤΥΛΟΝ	ΡΑΦΘΩΤΩΙΚΙΒΩΤΙΩΙΤΗΣΦΥΛΗΣΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ
	ΡΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝΔΙΔΟΤΩΕΚΑΣΤΟΣΡΕΞΕΩΝ	
	ΤΗΣΑΥΤΟΥΦΥΛΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΨΑΣΤΟΑΥΤΟΥΟΝΟΜΑ	
	ΘΕ	Ο... ΙΟΔΕΝΕΩΡΟΙΗΣΕΜΒΑΛΛΕΤΩ
	ΞΩΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑΡΑΤΡΟΘΕΝ	
	ΞΟ... ΡΕΞΕΩΝΠΑΡΑΙΙ	
20	Ε. ΑΣΤΩΝΚΙΒΩΤ	

¹ It was found in the island of Caryanda. * Il resterait à connaître le nom de la ville qui a rendu ce décret. Il

semble probable que la pierre a été apportée dans l'île de Caryanda par quelque pêcheur, qui l'aurait prise pour

I have little to add to the excellent comments made by M. Haussoullier; but I think the text is capable of a much completer restoration than he has attempted to give. The heading and date are lost; the preamble, however, doubtless was drafted after the same pattern as the Iasian decrees we have just referred to, which run thus: *Περὶ οὗ ἐπῆλθεν κ.τ.λ.* In line 1, M. Haussoullier rightly recognizes the words [τ]ὸ ἐκ[λησιαστικὸν] διδ[όρμαι]. But in line 2, instead of reading with him [τ]οῦ δήμου, I am led by the proper names following to a different suggestion. I would note in passing that the Iasians appear in their public documents to have been rather fond of rehearsing at large the names of members of their magisterial boards or of their citizens who engaged in public life. And the names in lines 2—4, though sadly mutilated, can be restored with tolerable certainty by a comparison of other monuments. In line 6, I incline to suspect M. Haussoullier's text of a slight inaccuracy. If I mistake not, instead of ΤΟΣ., ΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑΕ, we should read ΤΟΚΑΘΗΚΟΝΕ. But this conjecture must stand or fall according to the evidence of a paper impression or a re-reading of the marble. I would restore the document thus:—

- [Ἐδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ προτάσεων γνώμῃ]
 [περὶ οὗ ἐπῆλθεν οἱ νεωποῖαι ἐπερωτῶντες]
 πῶς δεῖ καὶ πότε τ]ὸ ἐκ[λησιαστικὸν] διδ[όρμαι]-
 ὁ δεῖνα Εὐ[?]υδήμου, Ἐπι[?]ρά[?]της Κρέοντος,
 ὁ δεῖνα Ἡρα[?]κλείτου, Ἰστιάου Ἀπολλωνίδου,
 ὁ δεῖνα Μι[?]νν[?]ος, Φο[?]ρμίων Ἱεροκλέους.
 5 τοὺς μὲν νεωποῖας ἐκάστου μηνὸς τῇ νομηνί[?]α
 δέχεσθαι τὸ (καθ)ῆκον ἐκκλησιαστικὸν τοῖς δὲ
 ἄλλοις ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἕκτῃ ἰσταμένον, καὶ ταῖς [ἐκκλη]-
 σίαις ἐκτιθεῖναι ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ κεράμιοι μετρητῆταιον
 πλήρες τρύπημα ἔχον κυμαῖον ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
 10 μέχρι ποδ[?]ῶν (ἐπ)τά[?] ὑφίσθαι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ [ἀν]-
 ατέλλοιτι καὶ τοὺς νεωποῖας καθῆσθαι, καὶ παρακείσθαι [ἐκά]-
 στῇ κιβώτιον ἐσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν προστατῶν, ἔχον

l'aster ou barque. Elle vient donc d'une des villes voisines, Iaso, Bargylla, ou Karyanda. La présence des *νεωποῖαι* dans l'assemblée (C. I. G. 2671, &c.), l'époque des séances (le 6^e jour du mois, C. I. G. 2673 & &c.), nous fait penser à

Iasos; c'est d'Iasos, *ισιοῦσα-νοῦσα*, que l'inscription aura été apportée.—*Bull. de la Soc. Hellén.* viii. (1814), p. 218, foll. Its Iasian origin is amply confirmed by the Iasian names it con-
 tains.

ἐκαστον τρύπημα] α μῆκος διδάκτυλον πλάτος [διδάκ-
 τυλον, [καὶ ἐπιγεγ]ράφθω τῷ κιβωτίῳ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦνομα
 15 τῶν δὲ εἰς] πορευομένων διδόντω ἕκαστος πεσσὸν [τῷ
 νεωποίῳ] τῆς αὐτοῦ φυλῆς, ἐπιγράφας τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα
 πατρός[θε] [κατὰ τὸν ν]ό[μο]ν[υ]· ὁ δὲ νεωποίης ἐμβαλλέτω
 εἰς τὸ κιβώτιον καὶ καλέ[σ]θω τὰ ὀνόματα πατρώθεν
 σο . . . πεσσὸν παρα . . .
 20 ε, ας τῶν κιβωτ[ίων]

The proper names which I have ventured to restore in lines 2—4 appear to have been arranged symmetrically, two in a line. They are all (excepting Εὐθύδημος and Κρέων) known as the names of Iasian citizens from other documents: viz. 'Επικράτης, *Le Bas-W. Nos. 254, 259, 268, 269*; 'Ηράκλειτος, *Le Bas-W. No. 255*; 'Ιστιαῖος, *Dittenberger Syll. No. 77*; 'Απολλωνίδης, *Le Bas-W. No. 265, Ditt. Syll. No. 77*; Μανίων, *Le Bas-W. Nos. 285, 287, Ditt. Syll. Nos. 116, 119* (see above); Φορμίων, *Le Bas-W. No. 253, Ditt. Syll. No. 77*; 'Ιεροκλῆς, *Le Bas-W. Nos. 254, 255, 257, 258, 285, Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Part iii. No. ccccxliii.* These I take to be the names of the νεοποῖαι or wardens of the temple of Artemis Astias, and perhaps of the temple of Zeus Megistos also (of which more presently). The νεοποῖαι are commissioned by this decree to register the attendances made by the members of the ecclesia (lines 11 foll.), a duty which did not strictly belong to their office. Their proper business was to take care of the fabric of the temple, and superintend the erection of any kind of monument in the building. It is evidently implied by lines 11—16 that the νεοποῖαι were a board elected (annually, no doubt), one from each tribe. It is certain that at Ephesus the νεοποῖαι were twelve in number, elected annually, two from each of the six tribes.¹ As representatives of the Iasian tribes the νεοποῖαι would be well suited for the purpose here described, and the sacred dignity of their office, removed as it was from party politics, well qualified them to undertake this disciplinary function in the assembly of the people. It is true that in Iasian inscriptions we sometimes find τὸν νεωποίην or τὸν νεωποίην τὸν ἐπιστάτην in the singular, as well as τοὺς νεωποίας (see *C.I.G.*

¹ This will appear from a dedication published in Part iii. of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, section 2. of the first century A.D., soon to be

Nos. 2673, 2675, 2677 as compared with Nos. 2671, 2678). But the singular number proves nothing, as we may understand it of the chairman of the board. Now there is good reason for concluding that the prytanes at Iasos were six in number (see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 77, note 4),¹ and that they stood in the same relation to the boulè and ecclesia as the similar board at Athens. If so, we may be pretty certain that the number of tribes at Iasos was six, and that each tribe furnished a neopoies and also a prytanis. In the decree about Maussolus just cited there are enumerated thirty-four citizens under the heading: οἷδε ἀπὸ φυλῆς. They seem to have been representatives nominated by each tribe as assessors to the magistrates in the matter of this confiscation. The number thirty-four is not divisible by any figure which might suggest a more probable number of tribes than six. The names, however, of the six Iasian tribes are wholly unknown. If recovered, they might give curious evidence of the intermingling of Dorian and Ionian elements in the population. The months of the Iasian calendar (line 7), so far as they are known to us, are Ionian: viz.:—

Ἀπατουριών, Le Bas-W. No. 281 *jun.*; *Bulletin* v. p. 493;
Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 77.

Ἀφροδισιών, *C.I.G.* 2673, 2674.

Γηγοριών, *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part iii.
No. ccccxli.

Ἐλαφηβολιών, *C.I.G.* 2675b, 2677b.

— εὐών (! Ταυρεών), Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 77.

In reference to ἐκάστου μηνὸς ἑκτῇ ἰσταμένον, M. Haussoullier observes truly that in the Iasian decrees the demos is always described as assembled on the sixth of the month. We conclude that the ecclesia met monthly on the sixth, for the despatch of ordinary business. In line 12, the προστάται are to seal the boxes supplied to the six neopoiai for the assembly. It is they therefore who, at the close of the meeting, had to examine all the vouchers and authorize the payment of the 'ecclesiasticon' to

¹ But Dittenberger's explanation of the discrepancy in the number of prytanes enumerated in *C.I.G.* 2677 will not stand, as Ἐπίστα Μάλας the ἐπιστάτης is named also among the προτάται. Perhaps we should add in the

secretary (Κρατὶς Πανεστίας ἑγραμμένος) to make up the number to six. Compare my note on p. 66 of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part iii.

those who had attended. If I am right in what I have said of the functions of the Iasian *prostatas* in No. cccxx. of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, this board was concerned with the admission of strangers to the citizenship,¹ and the keeping of a register of citizens. As such, none were better able to make sure that only citizens attended the ecclesia or received pay for such attendance. It is against any such fraud or personation that the precautions enjoined in lines 11 foll. are directed. The phrases ἐπιγράψαι τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα πατρόςθεν, καλεῖσθαι τὰ ὀνόματα πατρόςθεν, are abundantly illustrated by the way in which the citizens of Iasos are named in their public documents. At Athens the man's deme would have been also added; at Ephesus probably his chiliastys or 'thousand'; at Iasos, the citizen's name is simply followed by that of his father. At Athens similar precautions against the intrusion of non-citizens were entrusted to the lexiarchoi, six in number, who kept the entrance of the Pnyx, assisted by a number of armed police (τοξόται). The lexiarchoi no doubt had a list of all the citizens qualified to take part in the ecclesia, and could challenge the entrance of any whom they did not know by sight.²

The other object aimed at in the Iasian decree, is to secure a good and punctual attendance. The assemblies of the ancient Greeks, met, I believe universally, in the early morning—in order, no doubt, to encroach as little as possible upon the ordinary duties of the day.³ Even then, however, there appears

¹ The use of the term *προστάτης* in Greek authors and in the inscriptions is worth a careful inquiry; see Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 317, note 3, quoting Sauppe. As to the metrical dedication of a statue of Hermes found at Cnidus by Mr. Newton, I quite concur in Kaibel's explanation (*Epigrammata Græca*, 783). But if at Cnidus the board of *prostatas* was such as I have described, the appropriateness of the expression in this place is vastly enhanced. The inscription runs as follows:

Ἐκ κοινότητος προστατῶν ἀρκίμων
Ἐρμῆς Ἀρρόδιον ἐπέθηκεν ἄλλα χαί-
ροντες.

Ὅστινες δ' αὖ προσταταί, γραφή παροῦσα
σημαίνει. (Then follow fifteen
names.)

Kaibel's comment is: 'Quintus etiam viri, quorum nomina infra scripta, athena Cnidum profecti Cnidiam civitatem adepti sunt eorumque auspiciis Mercurium, quem olim in Iperum patria maxime coluerunt, milve ut mercatores imprimis addidit erant, Veneri sacras collocatur ... *προστατῶν* solius iustitiam intellige nomen.'

² See Schömann, *Griech. Alterthümer*, I. pp. 252, 298, 306; and the *Lexicons*, s.v. *πρώτος ἐκκλησιαστής* and *λεξίω-
χικὸν γραμματεῖον*.

³ Plato, *Leges*, ii. 901 B.; *ἡν δὲ ἡμέραν εἶναι τὰς σάββατον, ἥντις δὲ τὰς ἑλλαι προέβηκεν ἰδίω τε καὶ κοινῶ καὶ μέλει δ' ἢ τὰ σχολῇ πικρῇ.*

to have been some difficulty in getting a good attendance; and, in the absence of party government, it was nobody's business to 'make a house.' In some cities, therefore the law inflicted a fine for non-attendance. But this fine, which could not be recovered from the poorer citizens, tended to pack the assembly with the richer class, and was regarded as a piece of oligarchical 'gerrymandering.'¹ In democratical Athens, however, some such penalty existed, the relic perhaps of an earlier time. The *lexiarchoi*, says Pollux, 'fined those who did not attend the ecclesia.'² We learn also from the opening of the *Acharnians*, and the note of the Scholiast thereon, that the *lexiarchs* and their policemen always closed the booths in the agora near the Pnyx as soon as the ecclesia was opened, and compelled all loiterers in the market-place to 'move on,' and, if citizens, to proceed to the assembly. Their method was to 'net' the agora (so to say) with a cord rubbed with red chalk, so that whoever was marked might be pursued and impressed into the assembly by the police, even though he eluded capture at the instant.³ Schömann supposes the 'fine' inflicted for non-attendance by the *lexiarchoi* to have consisted merely in the loss of the attendance-fee by those who come thus branded with the mark of truancy.⁴ This may be true of the period after Pericles; but I think these compulsory powers of the *lexiarchoi*, sur-

¹ See Aristotle, *Politics*, vi. 13 (Congrove = 1297 A.), a chapter which affords an admirable example of impartial and penetrating criticism of the actual working of Greek political machinery. Plato, *Laws* (vi. 764 A.), approves of thus compelling the richer citizens to attend: *few δὲ εἰς ἐκκλησίαν καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ῥήτορα καὶ βουλόμενοι, ἐκτρέφονται ὅτι ὅρα τῶν τεινέων καὶ πρῶτον τεινέων, ὅσα χρηματὶς ὁμοιωμένη ἴσθαι μὴ παρὸς ἐκείνοις τοῖς ῥητοράς· τρεῖς δὲ τεινέων καὶ τῶ τετάρτῳ μὴ δίδωσιν, ἀλλὰ ὁφείλουσι ἀφίστασθαι, ὅταν μὴ τι παραγγέλλωσι αἱ ἀρχαὶ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης.* This Aristotle stigmatises as oligarchical in his criticism of the *Laws*, *Politics*, ii. 6. § 16 (Congrove = 1266 A.)

² Pollux, viii. 104: *Ἀρξάρχων ἐξ αὐθιγὰς τὸν πόλιν ἐγγεγραμμένων*

ἐν λαοκράτει, καὶ τρεῖς αὐτὰς ἀφ' αὐτοῖς προσηρμόντων, τοὺς μὴ ἐκκλησιαζομένους ἐξήμαρτον, καὶ τοὺς ἐκκλησιαζομένους ἐξήμαρτον· καὶ σχοινίον μολύβδινον διὰ τῆς τοῦτον συλλέγουσαν τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. Pollux is no doubt copying from some much earlier authority.

³ *Acharnians*, 21:—

οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ, κἀκεῖ καὶ κἀκεῖ ἐσχονίον φέρονται τὸ μολύβδινον.

⁴ *Griech. Alterthümer*, i. 395. 'Die Strafe bestand aber ohne Zweifel nur darin, dass ihnen die Marke (das *σέμβολον*) nicht eingehändigt wurde, dessen Vorzeigung zur Erhaltung des *ἑκκλησιαστικῆς* notwendig war, so dass sie, auch wenn sie wirklich noch der Versammlung beizuwonen, doch des Soldes dafür verlustig gingen.'

viving as they did in the full blaze of Athenian democracy, were the relics of a system of fines which belonged to an earlier and much more oligarchical time.

In democratic Athens (as is well known) attendance at the ecclesia was encouraged, not by fining the rich so much as by paying the poor. At what date the practice was begun is unknown, but it was certainly later than the payment of the dicasts. The question has been discussed with much ingenuity by C. Würz, *De Mercede Ecclesiastica* (Berlin, 1878), and one point at least he has made clear. The proverb 'Ὁβολὸν εὖρε Παρνύτης (which a grammarian explains of 'Callistratus who established the payment of dicasts and ecclesiasts') refers to the Callistratus who prosecuted Melanopus for a discrepancy of 1½ obols in his public accounts, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* i. 14: *ὅλον δ' Μελανώπου Καλλίστρατος κατηγορεῖ, ὅτι παρελόριστο τρία ἡμιωβέλια ἱερὰ τοὺς ναυποιοῦς*). Würz supposes that Agyrrhius was the first to propose any *μισθὸς ἐκκλησιαστικός*. All we certainly know is that for a time the payment stood at one obol, and that it was raised to three obols (a half-franc) by Agyrrhius, shortly after the fall of Athens.¹ Some twenty years before this, Dicaeopolis in the opening of the *Acharnians*, complains of the unpunctuality of the ecclesia. The attendance is wretchedly slack, he says, and even the prytanes do not arrive 'until the day is half over' (*μυσημυρινοί*—a humorous exaggeration, of course). No mention is made in this play (produced B.C. 425) of the payment for attendance; and either it had not yet been adopted, or else the one-obol fee was too small to have effect. That the latter is the true account of the matter appears probable from the well-known lines of the *Ecclesiazusae*, 300 foll. (B.C. 392):

ὅρα δ' ὅπως ῥηθήσομεν τοῦσδε τοὺς ἐξ ἀστεῶς
 ἥκοντας, ὅσοι πρὸ τοῦ
 μὲν, ἥνίκ' ἔδει λαβεῖν
 ἐλθόντ' ὀβολὸν μόνον,
 καθήντο λαλοῦντες
 ἐν τοῖς στεφανώμασιν·
 νυνὶ δ' ἐροχλοῦσ' ἄγαν.²

¹ Certainly not long before the acting of the *Ecclesiazusae*, B.C. 392; see Schömann, *De Comitiis*, p. 63 foll.;

Curtius, *Griech. Genk.* ii. 302, and note; Bückh, *Stoich.* i. 320.

² Passages to the same effect, prov-

I am not aware of any evidence to show how many, and what cities adopted the practice of paying their ecclesiasts. We may infer from the language of Aristotle that it was the common practice of democratic states.¹ That it existed at Iasos, we learn from this decree. If I am at all right in my restoration of the preamble, the practice had been in existence for some time, and irregularities had crept in which needed correction by means of a new enactment. This may well have been at the recovery of Iasian independence in 168 B.C.

At Athens the method of ensuring punctuality in the ecclesia was by hoisting a flag by way of signal, which was lowered at the commencement of proceedings.² Any citizen who entered before the lowering of the flag received at the hands of the *lexiarchoi* a *σύμβολον*, or voucher; and upon the close of the meeting received his pay upon presenting his voucher to the *Thesmothetae*. This appears from the passage in the *Ecclesiastike* (lines 282 foll., 289 foll.), where the women are hurrying betimes to the *Phyx* disguised as men:

ἄλλὰ σπένδουσ', ὡς εἰώθ' ἐκεῖ
τοῖς μὴ παροῦσιν ὁρθροῖς ἐς τὴν πόλιν
ὑπαποτρέχειν ἔχουσι μὴδὲ πάτταλον.

χωρῶμεν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν, ὄνδρες, ἠπειλήσας γὰρ
ὁ θεσμοθέτης, ὃς ἂν
μὴ πρὸ πάντων τοῦ κρέφους
ἦκη κεκοιμημένος
. . . . μὴ
δῶσειν το τριώβολον.

ὅπως δὲ τὸ σύμβολον
λαβόντες ἔπειτα πλη-

ing that the *τριάβολον* found plenty of claimants, occur in the *Plutus*, line 171: *ἐκκλησία δ' οὐχὶ ἴα τοῦτον γίγνεται*; and line 329, foll.:

δίδως γὰρ εἰ τριάβολον μὲν οὐκ
ἀποτρέψουσ' ἰάσονται ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ,
ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν Πλούτον παρέλθω τῶ λαβείν.

¹ *Aristotle*, vi. 38 (Congreve = 1297 A.), referred to above.

² Schömann, *De Osmia*, p. 153; *Aristoph. Thesmophoriazantes*, 277: *Τε*

σπένδε τάχιστα; *ὡς τὸ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ* | *σημεῖον ἐν τῇ Θεσμοφορίᾳ φαίνεται*. Compare *Andocides, De Mystericis*, § 36. The payment of *aleasts* is a parallel but distinct subject: with them too, at Athens, the signal for attendance was a similar flag. See *Woss*, 669: *ἔκειν εἴτε πρὸ πάντων ἄρ' ἀνέδραμβ', ὡς ἔστιν ἡ ἐμὴ* | *ἕτεροι δὲ τῷ σημεῖον ἐν τριάβολον εὐ κομίζονται*.

σίον καθέδουμένθ', ὡς
 ἂν χειροτονῶμεν
 ἅπανθ' ὁπόσ' ἂν ἔῃ.

So extremely punctual was the ecclesia that morning, that the whole proceedings were over soon after daybreak, and many of the men were too late in arriving (*ibid.* 376):

ΒΛ. ἅτὰρ πόθεν ἦκεις ἐτέον; ΧΡ. ἐξ ἐκκλησίας.

ΒΛ. ἤδη λέλυται γάρ; ΧΡ. νῆ Δί', ὀρθριὸν μὲν οὖν.
 καὶ δῆτα πολὺν ἢ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε,
 γέλων παρέσχευ, ἦν προσέρραινον κύκλῳ.

That is, the proceedings were over, and the ecclesia had adjourned, before the toxotae had time to finish clearing the agora of idlers. They were still busy with their chalky conf, when the assembly broke up, and their performance (never a very serious matter at the best) became a mere laughing-stock.¹

At Iasos the *modus operandi* was more exact. A water-clock of homely construction stood in a prominent position in the ecclesia; and no citizen who failed to announce his name and deliver his voucher (*πεσσός*), inscribed with his name, to the neopoles of his tribe before the clock ran down, could claim his pay for attendance. The payment was made, it would appear, by the prostatai.

This last period of freedom was of short duration; in B.C. 129 Caria was merged in the Roman province of Asia, and Iasos henceforth has no history apart from Rome. Like the rest of the province it took its share in the terrific assassination and revolt under Mithridates, and met with scant mercy from Sulla, who permitted the pirates to pillage the town under his own eyes.² A decree of the boulè and demos of Iasos, inscribed at Cos, which I would assign to the date of the Mithridatic War, has been recently published by S. K. Pantelides in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (xi. 1887, p. 76). It

¹ Such, I feel sure, is the exact meaning, although I have never seen the lines so explained; observe the imperfect *προσέρραινον*, they had not done clearing the agora, and chalking idlers with their roys, before the return of the citizens from the Pnyx told

them it was all over.

² Appian, *Mithr.* 63: 'Ἰασὸς γὰρ καὶ καὶ Σάμοι καὶ Κλαζομεναὶ καὶ Σαρδάρεια Σάλλε τὰ πάντα ἀφῆσαν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐνέλαβον τὸ Σαρδάρειον χολίαν ταλάντων κέρων, καὶ ἐνέριζον.

is nearly perfect, and apparently quite legible; various indications betoken the first century A.C.—the form of Π, the dissimilation of Η in words like ἀναγγελῆ, πλείστον for πλειστον, the inconstant use of iota adscriptum, and so on. The decree is in honour of Teleutias, son of Theudorus of Cos, for his services to the people of Iasos, awarding him praise and a chaplet of gold, besides the privileges of *prosenia*, of citizenship, and of *proxenia*. Its opening words are as follows:—

Ἐδοξε τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ, πρυτάνεων
 γνόμῃ (sic) περὶ ὧν ἐπῆλθον προστάται καὶ στρα-
 τηγοὶ, ἐπειδὴ Τελευτίας Θευδώρου Κῶος,
 ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς ἐστὶν εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 5 καὶ ἰδίᾳ τε τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν τῶν πολιτ[ῶ]ν
 εὐχρηστώων διατελεῖ καὶ κατὰ κοινὸν παρτὶ
 τῷ δήμῳ εὖνους ὑπάρχει, δεῖ τι καὶ λέγων
 καὶ πρίσσων ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους, ἵνα ἐπαινεθῇ
 τε ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου κ.τ.λ.

I do not think *στρατηγοί* (lines 2–3) are named in any other Iasian document. Here they join with the *prostatat* in proposing the grant of honours. This so far confirms the conjecture that Teleutias of Cos may have rendered some military service to Iasos at the outbreak of the Mithridatic War: Cos, like Iasos, declared for the king (Appian, *Mithr.* 23 *fin.*). Moreover, we can hardly resist the conclusion that the Τελευτίας Θευδώρου Κῶος of the decree is identical with a Teleutias, son of Theudorus, concerning whom an epitaph is extant in the *Anthology*, composed by Antipater of Sidon (*Anth. Pal.* ii. p. 32, No. xcī.) :—

- A. Εἰπέ, λέων, φθιμένοιο τί πρὸς τάφον ἀμφιβέβηκας,
 βουβόνη; τίς τᾶς σᾶς ἄξιος ἦν ἀρετᾶς;
 B. Τὸς Θευδώροιο Τελευτίας, δε μέγα πάντων
 φέρτερος ἦν, θηρῶν ὅσων ἐγὼ κέκριμαι.
 οὐχὶ μάταια ἔστακα, φέρω δὲ τι σύμβολον ἀλκᾶς
 ἀνέρος· ἦν γάρ δὴ εὐσμενεεσσι λέων.

We must not press too closely the poetical conceits of an epigrammatist, but certainly the symbol of the lion on the tomb, and the explanation given in line β, would be more intelligible if Teleutias took a prominent part, and perhaps lost

his life, in promoting the revolt under Mithridates; compare a similar epitaph from Mytilene (*O. I. G.* 2168 = Kaibel, 242). Antipater of Sidon flourished early in the first century (circa 100—80 B.C.), so that he would be a contemporary, and perhaps a friend, of Teleutias. After the Mithridatic War, Iasos is not (I believe) mentioned by any historian, and we are left to glean what we can from other sources.

Its fisheries were not exhausted, and its strong position marked it out as one of the Roman customs-stations for the province of Asia. The following inscription, first published in the *Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη* of the Smyrna Evangelical school (1878, iii. p. 49), has received an interesting commentary from MM. Durrbach and Radet in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (x. 1886, p. 267):—

Πούλχερ
κοινωνῶν
λιμένων Ἀ-
σίας οἰκο-
νόμος ἐν
Ἰασῷ.

Pulcher is a freedman, or perhaps a slave, who acted as *οἰκονόμος*¹ (or *villicus*) of the *publicani* farming the customs of the province of Asia under the empire: the word *κοινωνῶν* is a translation of *sociorum* (of *societates publicanorum*). There is known to have been a similar customs-station at Miletus. The forms of the letters ΑΕ suggest the first or second century A.D.

Another inscription,² in Latin, is too fragmentary to be entirely recovered; but it records the restoration (*restitut*) of some public building at Iasos by one Servilius, in the 'consulship of [C]alvisius Sabinus,' i.e. either B.C. 39, or more probably A.D. 26. Coins of Iasos are found from Augustus to Gordian;³ but the town was not a *libera civitas*, nor anything more than one of the third-rate towns of the province (*ἐλάττους πόλεις*, see *Röm. Alb.* iv. 185). Iasos is named by Hierocles in his

¹ On the meaning of this word, which is important to the understanding of *Romans* xvi. 23, see Menadier, *Quæ emendatione Xphesti usi sint*, p. 77; and *C.I.L.* iii. 447.

² *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* vii. 1884 p. 457.

³ See Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 528.

Synecdemus (see Kuhn, *Verfassung des Römischen Reichs*, ii. 282, 284): and it sent its Bishop to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451 (Harduin, ii. 64 and 477, Φλακίλλος Ἰασσοῦ). Still later, in the middle of the sixth century, Paulus Silentarius, in his *Description of S. Sophia* (Migne, *Patres Graeci*, vol. 86, p. 2143, lines 630 foll.), speaks of a certain mountain at or near Iasos as yielding a beautiful kind of veined marble:—

Ὅσσα φάραγξ βαθύκολπος Ἰασσίδος εὖρε κολώνης,
αἰμαλέῳ λευκῷ τε πεδιδνωθέντι κελεύθους
λοξοτενείς φαίνονσα.

A few words respecting the *res sacrae* of Iasos, and its sepulchral monuments, must bring our study to a close. The principal temple was that of Artemis Astias, concerning which Polybius (xvi. 12) records a curious superstition, and then adds a still more curious apology for mentioning it. 'What the Barylians affirm and believe of their image of Artemis Kindyaa, this the Iasians say of their image of Artemis Astias, namely, that although it stands in the temple open to the sky, neither snow nor rain ever falls upon it. Now it is hardly possible for me to go on throughout my work challenging and questioning statements of this kind made by historical writers. Such stories in fact appear to me to be simply childish, as falling outside the limits not only of probability but of possibility. The man's state of mind must be hopeless who declares that certain bodies can be placed in the light without casting a shadow: yet this is what Theopompus has done, when he says that those who enter the inner sanctuary of Zeus in Arcadia lose their shadows. And the story before us is of a piece with it. Of course in whatever tends to preserve the religious sentiment among the masses, we may excuse some of our historians for indulging in the marvellous and the mythical on such matters; but there are limits to our toleration. It may be difficult, I know, to draw the line, but it is not impossible. I am willing to extend a degree of indulgence to ignorance and prejudice; but beyond a certain point we are bound summarily to set them aside.' This temple is alluded to in the decree in honour of the Prienian dicast (*Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part iii. No. 420): ἀνταγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. Again *C.I.G.* No. 2683 is a dedication to this

goddess and the Emperor Commodus: Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀστιάδι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Μ. Αννρηλίῳ Κωμόδῳ Ἀντωνίνῳ Σεβαστῷ κ.τ.λ. The other principal sanctuary at Iasos was that of Ζεὺς Μέγιστος. The most ancient inscription as yet discovered at Iasos is a public enactment of the fifth century B.C., defining the perquisites of 'the priest,' ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ μεγίστου.¹ In the decree concerning Maussolus, already cited, eleven priests of Zeus Megistos are enumerated; we must understand this of a college of ten with a chief priest at their head. Two boundary-stones (ὄροι), probably of imperial times, are published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (viii. 1884, p. 456): one reads Διός, the other Διὸς ὑψίστου. They probably came from the temenos of the same temple.

The little island of Iasos being entirely occupied by the city itself, the burying-place had to be on the adjoining mainland. 'The sepulchres of the Iasians on the mainland,' writes Chandler,² 'are very numerous, ranging along above a mile on the slope of the mountain. They are built with a slaty stone, and perhaps were whitewashed, as their aspect is now mean. They consist mostly of a single camera or vault; but one has a wall before it, and three chambers, which have been painted. Many of them have a small square stone over the entrance inscribed, but no longer legible.' Perhaps their mean appearance, which offended Chandler, is due to the fact that the existing tombs are of a comparatively late time, when the sense of beauty was nearly extinct and the chief object of a funeral monument was to secure the absolute possession of the spot for a family burial-ground. Most of the Greek epitaphs of the imperial period have more to say about rights of property than about the merits of the departed, and in fact, they read like extracts from wills.³ Nearly all the funeral inscriptions from Iasos have this character: they may be found in *C.I.G.* Nos. 2685-2690; Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage Archéol.*

¹ *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, Part III. No. 446.

² *Travels in Asia Minor*, i. p. 223.

³ And such some certainly were, as the following epitaph from Iasos (*C.I.G.* No. 2690, now at Oxford) will show: Τὸ ἄρρεν τοῦτο Λουσίκεον τοῦ Θρίστου, ἀετιγραφὸν ἔχον ἢ εἰς τὰς 10 αἰς ἔσται

διαθήκαι· οὐδέτις δι' ἑξέτας ταρῆνας το
ῦ κατιστάσαντος πρὸς ταῖς προστάσεσι
ἡρώῃ ἢ ἀνδρὶ ἐπιταίει καὶ τῇ γενναίᾳ μου
φλ. Ὁσούτω. ἴαν δὲ τις ἐκτετακίον τῆς
ἐπιτῆ γράμης καὶ τὸν ἄρρεν τοῦτο, ὃ μὲν
τοῦτο ταλμῆσαι λόγον ἐφίξει ταμβαρο-
χίται, τὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἐκτετακίον διαθήκαι
πᾶσι.

Nos. 304-312; *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, viii. (1884), pp. 456 foll.

E. L. HICKS.

P.S.—Since the foregoing article was in print, Mr. W. R. Paton has very kindly forwarded me his own transcript of the decree about the ecclesiasticon, which for the sake of clearness I append here. He observes that 'the marble was dug up in the island of Tarandos; but as there is a ruined church close by, it may have been brought here in modern times.'

	JEKK/	NAIA	
	IA MOYEPIKP/	KPEONTO	
	ΛΕΙΤΟΥ ΠΕΣΤΙΑΙΟΣΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥ		
	NNIΩΝΟΣΦΟΡΜΙΩΝΙΕΡΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ . ΤΟΥΣΜΕΝ		
	ΑΙΤΟΙΣ ΕΟΙΟΙΑΣΕΚΑΣΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΤΗΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΑ		5
	ΤΟΝΟΓΔΟΗΚΟΝΤΑΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝΤΟΥΣΛ		
	ΣΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΣΕΚΤΗΙΣΤΑΜΕΝΟΥΚΑΙΤΑΙΣ		
	ΣΙΑΙΣΓ . ΤΙΘΕΝΑΙΑΜΑΤΗΗΜΕΡΑΙΚΕΡΑΜΙΟΝΜΕΤΡΗΤΙΑΙΟΝ		
	ΣΡΛΗΡΕΣΤΡΥΙΗΓ'ΑΕΧΟΝΚΥΑΜΙΑΙΟΝΑΡΕΧΟΝΑΡΟΤΗΣΓΗΣ		
Φ	ΣΟΝΠΟΔΩΝΕΡ'ΑΑΦΕΣΘΑΙΔΕΤΟΥΔΩΡΑΜΑΤΩΙΗΛΙΩΙ		10
	ΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ . Ε . . ΟΙΑΣΚΑΘΗΣΘΑΙΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΚΕΙΣΘΑΙ		
	ΤΩΙΚ . ΒΩΤΙΟΝΕΣΦΡΑΓΙΣΜΕΝΟΝΥΠΟΤΩΝΠΡΟΣΤΑΤΩΝΕΧΟΝ		
I	ΙΣ ΜΗΚΟΣΔΙΔΑΚΤΥΛΟΝΠΛΑΤΟΣ		
	ΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΡΙΓΕΓΡΑΦΩΤΩΙΚΙΒΩΤΙΩΙΤΗΣΦΥΛΗΣΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ		
ΕΕΙΣΤ	ΑΝΠΟΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΩΝΔΙΔΟΤΩΕΚΑΣΤΟΣΠΡΕΣΣΟΝ		15
ΙΟΙΙ	ΣΑΥΤΟΥΦΥΛΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΨΑΣΤΟΑΥΤΟΥΝΟΜΑ		
ΟΘΕ	ΟΡ ΟΔΕΝΕΩΡΟΙΗΣΕΜΒΑΛΛΕΤΩ		
	ΩΕΣΩΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑΡΑΤΡΟΘΕΝ		
	ΩΝΠΡΕΣΣΟΝΠΑΡΑ		
ΑΣ	ΙΓΙΑΣΤΩΝΚΙΒΩ		20
	Κ . . ΩΤΙΟΥ		

A comparison of Mr. Paton's text with that of M. Haussoullier (which I will term respectively P and H), demonstrates the substantial accuracy of both. Unfortunately I have not yet had

access to an impression: the forms of the letters might have helped us to fix the date. There is no apparent reason why the decree should not be assigned to the third or even fourth century B.C. In the earlier lines my conjectural restoration of proper names is now confirmed, with the one exception of the name Ἰστιαῖος in line 3, where P seems to give Ἑστιαῖος. In lines 4, 5, P shows that two boards of magistrates were named, and not one only as I had restored. In line 6, P gives ΤΟΝΟΓΔΟ-ΗΚΟΝΤΑ, which disposes of any doubt concerning the accuracy of H. We must obviously restore: [ἐκα]τὸν ὀγδοήκοντα *σε. δραχμαίς*. It also becomes necessary to supply a fresh numeral at the beginning of line 7, possibly τριῶβολον. Line 9: P reads ΣΓΛΗΡΕΣ, *i.e.* [ὕδατο]ς πλήρες. Line 10: P confirms my conjectures, but we must write [ε]φ' [δ]σον ποδῶν ἐπ(τ)ά, and ἀφέσθαι instead of ἀφιέσθαι. Line 13: some word is wanted for the slit in the top of the box; τρύπημα does not agree with the letters read by P. Line 15: read [τῶν δ]ὲ εἰς τ[ὴν ἐκκλησί]αν πορευομένων *κ.τ.λ.* Line 17: P leaves the beginning of the line as doubtful as before; [πατρ]όθε[ε]ν is certain, but κατὰ τὸν νόμον is probably wrong. Line 18: apparently γραφέσθω instead of καλείσθω. Line 20: restore from P [τ]ὰς [σφρα]γίδ[ας τῶν κιβω[ρίων]. The reason why the neopoiai and the members of the other board (probably the prytanes) are to receive their pay on the first of each month is because they had to take a prominent part in conducting the ecclesia on the sixth, and would therefore have no opportunity then of receiving their fees. Moreover, I conjecture that, as the prytanes and neopoiai formed two standing committees, the one for the political and the other for the religious concerns of the state, each member of both boards received daily the same pay which an ordinary citizen received for his attendance at the ecclesia. If we assume this to be three obols as at Athens, and if I am right in supposing either board to number six members (according to the probable number of the Iasian tribes), we arrive at the following curious coincidence. The payment to 12 men of 3 obols each for 30 days, amounts to exactly 180 drachmas, the sum we have to restore in line 6. We may now re-write the more important part of the inscription somewhat as follows:—

τοὺς μὲν | [πρυτάνεις 3 κ]αὶ το(ὺ)ς [ν]ε(ω)ποίας ἐκάστου

μηνὸς τῇ νομηνίᾳ | [λαβεῖν δραχμὰς ἑκα]τὸν ὀγδοήκοντα ἐκ-
 κλησιαστικόν, τοὺς δ[ὲ] ἄλλους | τριώβολον ἢ ἑκά]στου μηνὸς
 ἕκτη ἰσταμένον· καὶ ταῖς [ἐκκλη]σίαις ἐκτιθέναι ἅμα τῇ
 ἡμέρᾳ κεράμιον μετρητιαῖον | [ὑδατο]ς πλήρες, τρύπημα ἔχον
 κυμαῖον ἀπέχον ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς | [ἐ]φ' [ὁ]σον ποδῶν ἐπ(τ)ά-
 ἀφέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἅμα τῷ ἡλίῳ [ἀν] | ατέ(λλ)οντι· καὶ τοὺς
 νεωποίας καθῆσθαι, καὶ παρακεῖσθαι [ἐκά]στην κιβώτιον
 ἐσφραγισμένον ὑπὸ τῶν προστατῶν ἔχον | [ἐκαστον εἰς]βολ-
 ῆν ἢ] μῆκος διδάκτυλον πλάτος [οὐ μείζονα ἢ | κυά ἢ]μον· καὶ
 ἐπιγεγράφθω τῷ κιβωτίῳ τῆς φυλῆς τοῦνομα· [τῶν | δ]ὲ εἰς
 τ[ὴν ἐκκλησίαν] πορευομένων διδόντω ἕκαστος πεσσὸν [τῷ |
 νεω](π)οί(η) τῆς αὐτοῦ φυλῆς, ἐπιγράψας τὸ αὐτοῦ ὄνομα
 [πατ[ρ]όθε[ον]] ὁ δὲ νεωποίης ἐμβαλλέτω κ.τ.λ.

E. L. H.

TWO NAUCRATITE VASES.

[PLATE LXXIX.]

THE two vases of which portions are reproduced upon Pl. LXXIX. may serve as representative specimens of the two most important classes of Naucratic pottery. They were both found, mixed with innumerable other fragments, amid the rubbish that covered the whole area of the temenos of Aphrodite, excavated by me in the season 1885-6. The two smaller figures represent the two sides of one fragment. These two vases are of especial interest, because they were both beyond any doubt made in Naucratis. Last year the special name of Naucratic ware was given to a class of vases covered with a fine whitish glaze, and with a polychrome decoration outside; black inside, with lotus patterns in red and white. This ware was often found by Mr. Petrie in 1884-5, and also in 1885-6, with dedicatory inscriptions painted on before baking, thus proving beyond doubt its local origin. The fragment now figured with a sphinx is one of the finest specimens of this same ware; in its treatment both inside and outside it preserves the essential characteristics that may be seen in the simpler examples.

The other vase, with the lions and the stag, is one of a set of large bowls of which I found several nearly complete; in 1884-5 only a few fragments had appeared. These always have a dark glaze inside—red or black according to the firing; on this are painted concentric circles in white and purple. Their ornamentation is identical with that found on the inside of the eye-bowls; hence it would seem that these large bowls are a development of the eye-bowl type, just as the large polychrome vases are of the other Naucratic ware. On the inside of one of the large bowls, $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, I found an

inscription in large white letters, painted on before firing, ...THIETHIENAVKDATI 'Αφροδίτη τῇ ἐ(ν) Ναυκράτι. Thus it is proved that these vases also are of local manufacture.

The specimens of these two local wares that are reproduced on our plate speak for themselves. The upper fragment is a portion of a large bowl, about 15 inches in diameter, of which some thirty or forty pieces have been recovered; below the part reproduced comes a band of lotus design, with alternating buds and open flowers, then another narrower band of maeander. Beneath this are wedged-shaped rays that diverge from the base. On the left of the plate is visible the end of a spiral lotus pattern, such as all these bowls have on both sides of their handles: its complete form may be seen in *Naucratis* I., Pl. xiii. 2.

All the figures and the ornaments are drawn in brilliant black varnish on a light ground; over this varnish are added details in red and white, and the figures are finished with incised lines. The background is still filled with various ornamental designs.

The two lower fragments represent the inside and the outside of a vase that is one of the richest specimens of what seems to have obtained by prescriptive right the name of 'Naucratis ware'; though, as we have seen, the claim of the other bowls to this title is just as well founded. These vases are almost always of the typical crater shape,¹ even in the smaller specimens. The lower part of their body is generally ornamented with plain red horizontal bands, on a white ground; the upper conical surface is the field for a polychrome decoration. In this four colours are used, which produce a wonderfully rich effect. The ground is yellow, and the figures are executed in red, white, and brown, light or dark (the difference of shade is due only to accidents). It is natural to suppose that these four colours, often found in early decorative painting, are the four colours that we hear Polygnotus used. We see here what could be done with them in figure painting. Incised lines are never used on the finest specimens of this ware, but the outlines are drawn with the brush. The inside is covered with a black ground, over which are painted plain and decorated bands, and lotus

¹ That to which our fragments belong in diameter at the top, long must have been about 14½ inches

and palmetto designs of great richness. Our plate shows the rim. Below is often similar, but less gorgeous, ornamentation, varied with broad bands where the black ground is left plain. In the centre or bottom of the bowl is generally an elaborate pattern of rays and concentric circles, also in red and white.

A few words may be added as to the subjects represented. The lions in our upper fragment are wonderfully strong and powerful beasts; with their square muzzles and powerful jaws, and their thick-set and massive proportions, they remind one of the lions in the magnificent Assyrian lion-hunt in the British Museum. When a lion or other beast is represented on the other, more delicate ware,¹ he is smoothed down to suit the style: sometimes his muscles become mere spiral designs and his rugged strength disappears. The stag, again, in our upper fragment, is characterized, in spite of the false drawing of the foreleg, with a freshness and vigour that can hardly be matched in early Greek work; certainly not among the mere conventional animals that appear on the polychrome Naucratic vases. The sphinx on the lower fragment, with curved wings and a spiral rising out of the head, is of a type often found at Naucratis.

But this is not the place to arrange and discuss the styles of work we find at Naucratis;² such an attempt would require numerous illustrations and examples, and must be reserved for the more complete account that will, I hope, be published in the course of the present year. The two specimens that are now before us can only serve to afford some notion of the skill attained by the vase-painters of Naucratis in the sixth century before our era.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

¹ Perhaps we see the hind legs and tail of one in our fragment; but there is hardly enough to identify the beast by. It may be another sphinx.

² Both Mr. Petrie and Mr. Cecil

Smith have written of the pottery in *Naucratis*, I. ; but last year the finest styles were either unknown, or represented only by very inadequate fragments.

THE TRIAL SCENE IN *ILIAD* XVIII.

THERE are probably no twelve consecutive lines in the Homeric poems which have been obscured by so many explanations as *Iliad* xviii. 497—508. The interpretation which I propose to give has possibly been anticipated piece-meal, but I have not come across any case in which it has been presented as a whole. Still it is a matter of common courtesy only that one should begin by offering apologies to the unknown previous expositor, if he should after all prove to exist.¹

For convenience of reference it will be best to begin by setting out the passage at length.

- Σ 497 λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἀθρόοι· ἔνθα δὲ νεῖκος
 ὤπασται, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα ποιηῆς
 ἀνδρὸς ἀποκταμένον·² ὁ μὲν εὐχετο πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι,
 500 δῆμῳ πιφαύσκων, ὁ δ' ἀναίμετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι·
 ἄμφω δ' ἰέσθην ἐπὶ ἴστορι πείραρ ἐλέσθαι.
 λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπυνον, ἀμφὶς ἄρωγοί.
 κήρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτυον· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
 εἶατ' ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῶ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ,
 505 σκῆπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χερσ' ἔχον ἡεροφάνων·
 τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἤμισον, ἀμοιβῆδης δὲ δίκασον·
 κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
 508 τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἶποι.

¹ Hofmeister ('Die Gerichtsscene im Schild des Achill,' in *Zeitschr. für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, li. (1950), p. 443 ff.) as quoted by Amis-Hentze (*Anhang ad loc.*) gives the right interpretation of the relation of the *ἴστορ* to the *γέροντες*. Münscher in the *Allg. Schulzeitung*, 1829, li. 579, takes ἀνείκεον κατὰ τὴν ἐλίσσον as *negavit se quid-*

quam accepturum (Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* s.v. ἀνείκεαι). I have not been able to see either of these papers.

² MSS. ἀποφθιμένον, but the text, which is clearer, was the reading of Zenodotus and all *placitas* according to Didymus. The question does not affect the general sense.

'The people were gathered in the place of assembly, and there had sprung up a strife; two men were striving about the price of a man slain. The one averred that he had paid in full, and made declaration thereof to the people, but the other refused to accept aught; and both were desirous to take an issue at the hand of a daysman; and the people were shouting for both, taking part for either side. And the heralds were restraining the people, and the elders sate on polished stones in the holy circle, and in their hands they held the clear-voiced heralds' staves. With these they rose up and gave sentence in turn; and in their midst lay two talents of gold to give to him among them that spake the justest doom.'

Here there are obviously two scenes; first, the dispute in the market place, when the litigants are supported by the clamour of the crowd, and wish to refer the matter to an *ἱστωρ*. Secondly the scene 'in court,' where the *γέροντες* are the judges, and the shouting crowd are kept in the background. As elsewhere in the *Shield* the distinction of the two scenes is not expressly marked; but there need be no hesitation in admitting it. Beyond this there is little agreement as to details.

The first matter upon which it is essential to decide is the exact nature of the point at issue. That it is about the blood-price of a man who has been slain is of course obvious. But in their interpretation of line 500 commentators take the first opportunity of going astray; almost without exception they take the words to mean 'one asserted that he had paid the price, the other denied that he had received it.' The issue is thus a bare question of fact; had a certain price been paid over or not? A strange subject, surely, to be honoured with a place among the types of human activity which the *Shield* presents us, and hardly a worthy one to be chosen as the representative of that civic energy which to a Greek was the very breath of his nostrils. Why too such popular ferment, with the machinery of heralds and councillors and prizes for forensic eloquence, about a simple matter which could only be settled, if at all, by oaths and witnesses?

Happily, however, this unlucky interpretation, however respectably supported, is one which the words will not bear. So far as I can see *ὁ δ' ἀναλνενο μῆδ' ἐλίσθαι* can mean one thing only; 'the other refused to accept anything.' *ἀναίνομαι*, at

least in Homer, always means 'to reject,' generally with the added notion of contempt and indignation, as will be clear to any one who will take the trouble to look up the passages in Ebeling's *Lexicon*. In two cases only it might appear to mean 'deny'; and in these (I 116 & 149) the context shows that it implies really the repudiation not of a gift offered but of an idea presented. The change in the conception of the scene arising from this difference of interpretation may seem small, but it is really fundamental, and requires a short review of the acknowledged steps by which criminal law arose.

The first stage of course is that of unmitigated blood-feud. If *A* kills *B* or one of his men, *B*'s men have to avenge his blood by killing *A* or one of his men; and so the feud goes on *ad infinitum*. The obvious inconveniences of a system under which a purely accidental homicide might deprive the state of an indefinite number of its most useful members led to two successive advances. Firstly, the homicide might flee, and live in exile. Later, he might pay a definite price to the family of the murdered man, and be exempt even from the penalty of exile. By these means the blood-feud was extirpated.

The force by which the change was brought about is clear. It was not by any moralizing of the individual man; we have hardly even yet reached the stage at which the instinct of 'blood for blood' has vanished from the human heart. The work was done by pressure of public opinion in consideration of the common weal.

The point which had been reached by Homeric society is a comparatively advanced one. The first stage, that of actual blood-feud, seems to have been long passed, at least there is, I believe, no case in the poems where blood is ever exacted for blood. Homicide sometimes leads to exile, and is sometimes commuted for a fine; we are at the transition from the second to the third stage. In one of the latest portions of the poems, I 632-6, the payment of a fine in lieu of exile is indeed spoken of as the recognized course,

καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φόνοιο
 ποιῆν ἢ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος·
 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ πόλλ' ἀποτίσας,
 τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ
 ποιῆν δεξαμένον.

But we find also numerous cases of exile, even for homicide of the less heinous sort, such as that of which Patroklos was guilty, and that this penalty was a familiar one we see from Ω 480-1,

ὥς δ' ὅταν ἄνδρ' ἄτη πυκινὴ λάβῃ, ὅς τ' ἐνὶ πᾶτρη
φῶτα κατακτείνῃας ἄλλων ἐξίκετο δῆμον, κ.τ.λ.

In passing, another point may also be mentioned as showing the advance made by Homeric society. It is the usual primitive rule where blood-feud exists that murder within the kin cannot be compounded by money-fines, but requires exile without any alternative; only where a man of another blood has been slain can the slayer avoid for a price the full penalty of his act. But in Homer the old tribal division is extinct. The doctrine of kindred blood has lost all the significance which in the oldest form compelled a kin of unlimited extent to take up the feud individually when any of a vast number of relations within known but often most remote limits had had his blood shed. So far at least as appears from the poems, the Homeric hero felt his family relationships much as we do; the father, brother, or son of a slain man takes up the feud so far as the receipt of compensation goes; but of any concern among more distant relations we hear nothing, much less of any obligation imposed by the mere bearing of a common tribal name. The tribe had no place in the organization of Homeric society. How it is that we find the tribes in full life in Attica at a much later date is an interesting question, and I think one to which a satisfactory answer can be given; but to touch upon this now would lead us too far afield.

What was the process by which society had advanced from blood-feud, first to the penalty of exile, then to the receiving of the blood-price?

The change must have been gradual. Public opinion would first decree that the homicide should be expiated by a payment in lieu of exile in cases where the bloodshed was either justifiable, as in self-defence, or purely accidental; the obvious public advantages of the milder system would gradually secure its extension. *Reipublice interest ut sit finis litium* is nowhere clearer than here; and the community must needs claim the right of deciding in every case whether exile or a fine should

be the penalty. It is at this point that the scene on the Shield finds its appropriateness. The manslayer claims to expiate his bloodshed by a payment; the next of kin refuses to accept the money, and claims the penalty of exile. The matter is therefore one of a public character; it is taken up by the people at large, and referred to the council of *γέροντες* to be decided with all the formalities of political debate.¹

We have now at least raised the dignity of the subject to a point at which it is well worthy of a place in the Shield. Instead of assisting at a mere squabble about the payment of a price, we see the state in its corporate capacity engaged in the actual creation of criminal law, in full consciousness of its momentous task. But we have yet several details to consider.

The disputants are anxious 'to take an issue before a judge,' *ἐπὶ ἱστορίῳ πείραρ ἐλίσθαι*, and yet we find directly afterwards that the decision is in the hands not of a judge, but of the council of *γέροντες*. How are these things to be reconciled? The answer I believe is to be found in the interesting passage of *Ancient Law*² in which Sir Henry Maine deals with this scene; though, with all humility be it said, he does not seem to have perceived the full significance of the parallel which he draws. He describes the archaic procedure known to Roman law as the *Legis Actio Sacramenti*, and shows that it is 'a dramatization of the origin of justice.' The primitive meaning of the quaint ceremonial which he describes is this. 'Two armed men are wrangling about some disputed property. The Praetor, *vir pietate gravis*, happens to be going by and interposes to stop the contest. The disputants state their case to him, and agree that he shall arbitrate between them, it being arranged that the

¹ The ordinary objection to the interpretation of *ἀνέχοντο* as 'refused' is that the kin of the murdered man have free choice as to whether they will accept the blood-money or no. In primitive societies this is certainly true. But the mere fact that the blood-feud disappears shows that there must have been a middle stage when this free choice was restricted. I understand from Mr. Arthur Evans that the blood-feud is still prevalent in North Albania, but is mitigated by the occa-

sional acceptance of the blood-price. The 'sanction' here is religious, reconciliation being effected through the *Franciscana*. Gross cases, however, as when a man is slain within a tribe under whose cognizance he is, come under the cognizance of the *pflech* or village council (literally = *γερουσία*). It is much to be hoped that Mr. Evans will publish his inquiries into this important piece of social history.

² Pp. 275—277 of the 5th edition.

loser, besides resigning the subject of the quarrel, shall pay a sum of money to the umpire as a remuneration for his trouble and loss of time.'

Here the resemblance is clear enough. The Praetor is represented by the *ἱστωρ*, referee or 'daysman,'¹ to whom both parties are anxious to leave the settlement of the dispute. But there is an important difference. In the *Legis Actio* the question is merely a private one, which the Praetor can decide without more ado. But the question of the punishment for homicide is seen to be one of public importance by the zeal with which the people have taken it up.² The *ἱστωρ* therefore cannot determine it alone; he must call the council to his aid. Thus the difference between the two cases is the whole difference between private law and public, between Torts and Crimes. It is this significant distinction which Sir Henry Maine misses when, neglecting the *ἱστωρ* altogether, he regards the collective *γέροντες* as representing the Praetor.

There is another point in which the *Legis Actio* may throw some light on the Homeric trial. Sir H. Maine says (p. 375): 'The subject of litigation is supposed to be in Court. If it is moveable, it is actually there. If it be immoveable, a fragment or sample of it is brought in its place; land, for instance, is represented by a clod, a house by a single brick.' The words *δῆμος πιφαύσκων* may indicate something of the same sort; for though it is quite possible to take them to mean only 'declaring his case to the people,' yet it is more natural to supply as the object the *πάντα* of the preceding line. He actually displays before the people the price of the man killed—whether in gold or oxen or tripods—as a proof of his ability as well as his willingness to pay. This constitutes a formal and legal tender; and it is in virtue of this act that he 'averts that he has paid the full price.'

The two talents of gold which he in the midst have already

¹ This sense is conclusively established by the only other Homeric passage where the word occurs, *ῥ* 456, where Agamemnon is named as referee to settle a bet.

² It seems *a priori* likely that the division of public opinion, as qualifying a case for the cognizance of the

state as a political body, would become a conventional form; in other words, that in trials such as these the litigants would have to come into court accompanied each by a body of friends, representing their party among the people. Can the custom of *compurgators* have arisen from such a practice?

been identified by Sir H. Maine with the *Sacramentum*, or deposit by the litigants under the form of a wager, which was taken by the court as remuneration for trouble and loss of time. The explanation is at least probable, though not certain. We may suppose that the *ἱστωρ* as president of the council assigns it to that councillor whose advice he judges to have contributed most to the final decision. But the other alternative is equally possible; that the sum is really a wager, and goes not to the court but to the successful litigant. The question is quite insoluble, because we have not material for deciding whether *δίκην εἰπεῖν* means 'to pronounce judgment' or 'to plead a cause.' The latter is the sense in which the phrase—which is however rare, and occurs chiefly in the form *δίκας λέγειν*—occurs in Attic; but that of course decides nothing for Homer. In any case it is certain, as was long ago pointed out, that two Homeric talents are far too small a sum to represent the price of the man slain.¹

Now this account of the procedure may seem to be only a more or less plausible hypothesis, dependent upon reading into the text a great deal more than is to be found there. As a matter of fact the only important link which has been supplied is the actual appointment of the *ἱστωρ*, and the reference by him to the council of state. The omission to state this step explicitly will be intelligible if we can see ground for supposing that it was a well-understood and regular part of early Greek criminal procedure. Now it so happens that we have a most elaborate and explicit account of a trial conducted on what were supposed, at Athens in the fifth century, to be the most ancient of forms. And in this trial this very step is fully brought out as an important point in the process. The jurisprudence of the *Eumenides* will be found to fit in with and supplement the scene in Homer in a somewhat remarkable way.

Both trials are on the same subject. In the *Eumenides* a woman has been slain. One of the litigants, Orestes, asseverates that he has paid the price of the homicide, the other, the Chorus, refuses to accept anything, and insists on the full penalty of lifelong banishment. The price in question is not one in money, but in ceremonial offerings and lustrations; but that is due partly to the conditions of the story, partly to

¹ See Mr. Ridgway in *Journ. Phil.* x. 30.

changed religious views. While the parties are face to face in the Akropolis at Athens, the Chief of the State, in the person of Athene, enters, and enquires the cause of dispute. The form of a casual appearance which Sir H. Maine points out is, it will be observed, fully kept up; the goddess has heard the cry of Orestes, but does not know in what capacity she is needed. In answer to her questions, both parties express their desire to refer the dispute to her arbitration; the *αἰτίας τέλος* placed in her hands in line 434 is only Attic for the Epic *πειράρ*.

Athene accepts the office, and asks for a statement of the case. On hearing it she immediately says that the matter is too great for a man to decide; even she, a goddess, must not give judgment in a case of murder, but must refer to the people (470—489).

τὸ πρᾶγμα μείζον εἴ τις οἶεται τὸδε
βροτὸς δικάζειν· οὐδὲ μὴν ἐμοὶ θέμις
φόνου διαιρεῖν ὄξυμηνίτου δίκας.

κρίνασα δ' ἄστων τῶν ἐμῶν τὰ βέλτατα
ἦξω, διαιρεῖν τοῦτο πρᾶγμ' ἐτητύμους
ὄρκον πορόντας μὴδὲν ἔκδικον φράσειν.

In the *Eumenides*, as in the *Iliad*, the transition from the first scene, the appeal to the judge, to the second, the actual trial, is marked by the heralds thrusting back the crowd (566),

ΑΘ. κήρνασε, κῆρυξ, καὶ στρατὸν κατειργάθου,

while the 'holy circle' in which the councillors sit is reflected by the hill of Ares which hallowed the deliberations of the Athenian court—a body like the *γέροντες* in Homer, originally political, the 'privy-councillors' of the state.

The limitations of the tragic stage did not permit Aeschylus to present the people of Athens taking sides, even if this part of the primitive trial had survived so long in memory. But we may perhaps see a trace of the conventional form, above alluded to, in the way in which Apollo presents himself not only as a witness but as a partisan, *καὶ μαρτυρήσων . . . καὶ ξυνδικήσων* (576, 579). If so, we may find a trace of the factions of the agora even in the *ξύδικος*, the modern 'counsel,' the prisoner's 'friend' in the court-martial. But this is unessential. At all

events we may say that, as Orestes is unable to present in view of the court the ceremonies of lustration which he has fulfilled, he goes as near it as possible in presenting the god under whose auspices they have been performed; and it may not be without significance that Apollo in his address uses the very word *πιφαύσκω* (620) which may very likely have had a technical use in this connexion. Finally, the two trials continue parallel even to the rising up of the judges to give sentence in turn. That in the *Eumenides* they do not speak but only vote may again be a concession to scenic convention; but the silent voting of the *γέροντες* is at least consistent with one of the possible interpretations of Σ 508.

The parallelism between the two trials seems thus to be close enough to justify us in believing that they both represent one form of procedure, the oldest in chronology, though not in evolution, known to us in the history of European law. A further illustration of the critical step by which criminal jurisdiction became a matter of *ius publicum* may be drawn from the most outlying member of the Indo-European family, and will serve to show that the assumed historical development is not a mere matter of fancy.

In the story of Njal the final catastrophe is brought about by the cowardly and unprovoked murder by Njal's sons of Haukuld the priest of White Ness. The suit is taken up by Flosi, his kinsman by marriage, who appears at the Thing with his band. The endeavours of Njal's sons to obtain supporters among those present at the Thing are related at length; "Asgrim sprang up and said to Njal's sons, 'We must set about seeking friends, that we may not be overborne by force; for this suit will be followed up boldly.'" The question on which the men of Iceland are thus made *ἀμφὶς ἀρωγοί* is precisely that which we have recognised in Homer and Aeschylus; is atonement to be accepted, or is the blood-feud to go on? The peculiar atrocity of the crime makes Flosi at first refuse atonement; only after others have failed does his father-in-law, Hall of the Side, 'a wise man and good-hearted,' induce him to yield; 'my wish is that thou shouldst be quickly atoned, and let good men and true make an award, and so buy the friendship of good and worthy men.' The question that

¹ Dasent, *The Story of Njal*, ch. cxviii.

actually comes up for decision is therefore only the awarding of the atonement for the slaying.

The deliberations of the twelve 'daysmen' to whom the award is referred may perhaps give us some dim idea of the debate among the *ýépovres*.

"Will ye," said Gudmund, 'award either the lesser or the greater outlawry? Shall they be banished from the district, or from the whole land?'

"Neither of them," says Snorri, 'for those banishments are often ill fulfilled, and men have been slain for that sake, and atonements broken, but I will award so great a money fine that no man shall have had a higher price here in the land than Hauskuld.'

"They all spoke well of his words.

"Then they talked over the matter, and could not agree which should first utter how great he thought the fine ought to be, and so the end of it was that they cast lots, and the lot fell on Snorri to utter it.

"Then Snorri said, 'I will not sit long over this, I will now tell you what my utterance is, I will let Hauskuld be atoned for with triple manfines, but that is six hundred in silver. Now ye shall change it, if ye think it too much or too little.'

"They said that they would change it in nothing."¹

If there had been a reward to 'the judge who gave the most righteous decision,' clearly Snorri would have taken it. So far from receiving money however, the judges here agreed to subscribe half the fines.²

This case I quote only to show the public importance of these questions of the acceptance of an atonement, and the way in which they are taken up by the community as matters transcending mere family interests. In other respects the attitude of the Icelanders towards the law is different enough from that of the heroic Greeks. Though the question has to be brought before the Thing, the community does not enforce the acceptance of blood-money, but only gives a moral support

¹ *Burnt Njal*, ch. cxxii.

² In *Burnt Njal*, ch. ci. Hall of the Side gives Thorgeir, 'the priest of Light-water, who was the old Speaker of the law,' three marks of silver as a fee for an utterance as to the introduction

of Christianity. He thought a heathen decides for the new religion; and consequently 'heathendom was all done away with within a few years' space.' The payment of judges was therefore not unknown.

to private influence. Their pure democracy admits no 'head of the state' to whom the question can be referred in the first instance as *ἄστρος*, as an intermediate step before it comes before the people. They have not even so much as a 'council of state' to whom the question is sent as a matter of course. The whole community has equal rights of judging. In spite of their elaborate procedure and lengthy formalities, the men of Iceland, living not in towns but in their scattered garths, were far less amenable to the commands of the state than were the Greeks. In this very instance, after the award has been made, a few taunts on either side are enough to break down the reconciliation, and the feud is carried on to the bitter end. But such differences only show the more clearly that in the central interest of the trial-scene the poet of the 'Shield' has selected for us a typical moment in the evolution of society.

WALTER LEAF.

THE HOMERIC TALENT, ITS ORIGIN, VALUE, AND AFFINITIES.

THIS paper is an endeavour to discover (1) the origin, (2) the value, and (3) the affinity of the Talent of the Homeric Poems to other systems. In those Poems we find two systems of denominating value, the one by the ox (or cow), or the value of an ox, the other by the talent (τάλαντον). The former is the one which has prevailed and does still prevail in barbaric communities, such as the Zulus, where the sole or principal wealth consists in herds and flocks. For several reasons we may assign to it priority in age as compared with the talent. For as it represents the most primitive form of exchange, the barter of one article of value for another, before the employment of the precious metals as a medium of exchange, consequently the estimation of values by the ox is older than that by a talent or 'weight' of gold, or silver, or copper. Again in Homer all values are expressed in so many beeves, *e.g.*

χρύσῃα χαλκείων, ἑκατόμβοι' ἑννεαβοίων. (*Il.* vi. 236.)

The talent on the other hand is only mentioned in relation to *gold*; for we never find any mention of a talent of *silver*. But the names of monetary units hold their ground long after they themselves have ceased to be in actual use, as we observe in such common expressions as 'bet a guinea,' or 'worth a crown,' although these coins themselves are no longer in circulation. Accordingly we may infer that the method of expressing the value of commodities in oxen, which we find side by side with the talent, is the elder of the twain. Was there any immediate connexion between the two systems, or were they, as Hultsch maintains (*Metrologie*² p. 165), entirely independent? It is difficult to conceive any people, however primitive, employing two

standards at the same time, which are completely independent of each other. For instance, when we find in *Iliad* xxiii. 751 that in a list of three prizes the second is an ox, the third a half-talent of gold, it is impossible to believe that Achilles, or rather the poet, had not some clear idea concerning the relative value of an ox and a talent. Now it is noteworthy that, as already remarked, nowhere is the value of any commodity expressed in talents. Yet who can doubt that talents of gold passed freely as a medium of exchange? A simple solution of this difficulty would be that the talent of gold represented the older ox-unit. This would account for the fact that all values are expressed in oxen, and not in talents, the older name prevailing, in a fashion resembling the usage of *pecunia* in Latin.¹

Let us now see if we have any data to support this hypothesis. Pollux ix. 60, says: τὸ παλαιὸν δὲ τοῦτ' (sc. δίδραχμον) ἦν Ἀθηναίοις νόμισμα καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο βοῦς, ὅτι βοῦν εἶχεν ἐντετυπωμένον, εἰδέναι δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Ὅμηρον νομίζουσιν εἰπόντα ἐκατόμβοι' ἐνεαβόλων, καὶ μὴν καὶ τοῖς Δράκοντος νόμοις ἔστιν ἀποτίναι εἰκοσάβολον καὶ ἐν τῇ παρὰ Ἀηλείας θεωρίᾳ τὸν κήρυκα κηρύττειν φασί, ὅποτε δωρεὴν τιμὴν δίδωσι, ὅτι βόες τοσοῦτοι δοθήσονται αὐτῷ, καὶ δίδωσθαι καθ' ἕκαστον βοῦν δύο δραχμάς Ἀττικὰς ὅθεν ἔτιοι Δηλίων ἀλλ' οὐκ Ἀθηναίων νόμισμα εἶναι ἴδιον τὸν βοῦν νομίζουσιν. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν εἰρησθαι τὴν βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση βέβηκεν, εἰ τις ἐπ' ἀργυρίῳ σιωπῇ. From this passage we learn that the Attic didrachm was called βοῦς. On the other hand the best authorities maintain that the type of an ox is entirely unknown on the Athenian coinage. That, however, the name might be applied to a coin or sum of a certain value is rendered highly probable by the fact that Draco with true legal conservatism retained the primitive method of expressing value in oxen in his code. Now it is evident that the term *εἰκοσάβολον* must have been capable of being translated into the ordinary metallic currency, whether that was bullion in ingots or coined money. The βοῦς therefore must have had a recognised traditional and conventional value as a monetary unit, and this is completely demonstrated by the practice at Delos. Religious ritual is even more conservative than legal formula, so we need not be sur-

¹ Cf. Plautus, *Pseud.* li. 5, *hinc homines sunt in crumena*.

prised to find the ancient unit, the ox, still retained in that great centre of Hellenic worship. The value likewise is expressed in the more modern currency. But we are not yet certain whether the two Attic drachms, which are the equivalent of the *βοῦς*, are silver or gold. Now Herodotus (vi. 97) tells us that Datis, the Persian general, offered at Delos three hundred talents of frankincense. Hultsch (*Mérol.* p. 129) has made it clear that the talent here indicated must be the light Babylonian shekel of gold or the gold daric. For if they were either Babylonian or Attic talents, the amount would be incredible. Frankincense was of enormous value in antiquity, wherefore Hultsch is probably right in assuming that in the opinion of the Persian who made the offering the 300 'weights' of frankincense, each of which weighed a shekel, were in value likewise equal singly to a shekel of gold, or a daric. Now the gold daric = two Attic gold drachms. But as the *βοῦς* at Delos = two Attic drachms, and the offering of frankincense of Delos is made in *τάλαντα*, each of which is worth two gold Attic drachms, there is a strong presumption that this *τάλαντον* is the equivalent of the *βοῦς*, and that the Attic drachms mentioned by Pollux are gold. Besides, it is absurd to suppose that at any time two *silver* drachms could have represented the value of an ox,¹ and it is not at all likely that the substitution of silver coin for gold of equal weight would have been permitted by the temple authorities. But we get some more positive evidence of great interest from the fragment of an anonymous Alexandrine writer on metrology, who (*Reliquiae Scriptorum Metrologicorum*, Hultsch, I. p. 301) says: τὸ δὲ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ *τάλαντον* ἴσον ἐδύνατο τῷ μετὰ ταῦτα Δαρεικῷ. ἄγει οὖν τὸ χρυσοῦν *τάλαντον* Ἀττικὰς δραχμὰς β. γράμματα ζ', τετάρτας δηλαδὴ τεσσάρεις. Here there can be no doubt but that Attic drachms mean *gold* Attic drachms. Are we wrong then in supposing that at Delos still survived the same dual system which we found in Homer, the ox and the talent? But that at Delos both were of equal value we can have little doubt. For the *βοῦς* = 2 Attic drachms = 1 daric = 1 *τάλαντον* = light shekel = 130 grains.² Who can doubt that at Delos was preserved an unbroken tradition from

¹ Even at Athens in times of extreme scarcity of coin Solon put the ox at five silver drachms.

² Two Attic drachms = 135 grs.; the Daric = 150 grs. But practically they were equal.

the earliest days of Hellenic settlements in the islands of the Aegean?

This identification of the ox and the Homeric talent is of importance. For it gives a simple and natural basis for the earliest Greek metallic unit of which we read. It explains why on the coins of Euboea the ox-type appears, it explains the proverb *βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ*, which dated from a time long before money was yet coined, or the precious metals in any form whatever employed for currency, and clears up, once for all some interesting points in Homer. In the passage (*Il.* xxiii. 751) already referred to, the ox is second prize, a half-talent of gold is the third. The relation between them is now plain, the ox = a talent, or the half-talent = a half-ox.

The vexed question of the Trial scene (*Il.* xviii. 507):

κέϊτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύνω χρυσοῖο τάλαντα
τῷ δόμεν ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύνατα εἶποι.

can now be put beyond doubt. In the *Journal of Philology* (vol. x.) the present writer argued that the two talents represented a sum too small to force the *ποιρὴ* of a murdered man, and consequently must be the *sacramentum*, as proposed by Sir H. Maine. Now we know that the two talents = two oxen. But in *Iliad* xxiii. 705, the second prize for the wrestlers was a slave woman, whose value was four oxen (*τίον δέ ἐτεσσαράβοιον*). Now if an ordinary female slave was worth four oxen = four talents, it is impossible that two talents (= two oxen) could have formed the blood-gelt of a free-man. Probably four oxen was not far from the standard price for an ordinary female slave. Of course women of superior personal charms would fetch more; for instance, Eurycleia,

τὴν ποτε Λαέρτης πρίατο κτεάτεσσιν ἑοῖσιν,
πρωθήβην ἔτ' εὐῶσαν, ἑικοσάβοια δ' ἔδωκεν.
Ἰσα δέ μιν κεδυῇ ἀλόχῃ τίεν ἐν μεγάροισιν.

Od. i. 430—2.

The poet evidently refers to this as an exceptional piece of extravagance on the part of Laertes. We can likewise now get a common measure for the ten talents of gold, and the seven slave women, who formed part of the requital-gifts of Agamemnon to Achilles (*Il.* ix. 124 *seqq.*), and can form some notion of the value of the prizes for the chariot race (*Il.* xxiii. 262).

But results more important than merely the determination of the value of Homeric commodities may be obtained as regards the weight-standards of Asia and their congeners in Europe. For by taking as our primitive unit the ox, we may be able to substitute a much more simple account of the genesis of those standards than that which hitherto has been the received one.

As a first step it is necessary to give a summary of that received doctrine.

First¹ came the age of barter pure and simple, pastoral peoples estimating values in the produce of their flocks. In Egypt and Asia from the earliest times gold and silver were used in daily life, their value in relation to one another being more or less accurately determined. Abraham, who was 'rich in cattle, in silver and in gold,' weighed to Ephron 400 shekels of silver current (money) with the merchant. Gold was plenty in Ur of the Chaldees, but as there are no auriferous rocks or streams in Chaldaea, it must have been imported from India by the Persian Gulf.² Gold and silver were weighed, but it is probable that the scales were not employed in every small transaction, and that small pieces of gold and silver of fixed weights, though as yet unstamped, were often 'counted out by tale.' These pieces or wedges of gold and silver served as a currency, 'and were regulated by the shekel and mina.' This leads to the weight-standards. The Egyptian weights in most common use were the ten, or uten, and the kat. 1 ten = 10 kats. Two standards of the ten are found, one of 1400 grains, the other of 1436-1450 gra., giving respectively kats of 140 gra. and 143-5 gra.³

The astronomical skill of the Chaldeans is proverbial. They first divided the day into hours of sixty minutes, and the minutes into sixty seconds. It is thought that the Babylonian standards of weight and capacity were based on the same unit as their measures of time and space. As they determined the length of an hour of equinoctial time by the water-clock,⁴ so they may have fixed the weight of their talent, mina, and shekel, as well as the size of their measures of capacity by weighing or measuring the amount of water which had passed from one vessel into

¹ Hultsch, *Metrologie*, p. 162 seq.

² *Ibid.* xxix.

³ Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. xxviii.

⁴ Brandis, *Maaß-Mass-und-Gewichts-unten*, p. 19.

another during a given space of time. As 1 hour = 60 minutes, 1 minute = 60 seconds, so 1 talent = 60 minae, 1 mina = 60 shekels. This sexagesimal system is characteristic of Babylonian arithmetic. The Assyrians diffused the systems of Babylon, which they adopted. The actual weights found at Nineveh, Khorsabad, and Babylon show that in the Assyrio-Babylonian system there were two weight-standards side by side; the one being just the double of the other. The light system seems especially Babylonian,¹ whilst on the other hand both systems were in use in the Assyrian Empire. The weights of the light series are of stone, and are in the form of ducks, those of the heavy are of bronze, some of them fitted with handles, and in the shape of lions. Some of the former are inscribed with cuneiform characters, some of the latter both with cuneiform and Aramaean characters, indicating the amount. The heavy minae are just double the weight of the light, the former being about 1010 grms., the latter 505 grms.¹ The Aramaic inscriptions on the heavy series were probably for the Phœnician merchants. The later Phœnicians and Hebrews adopted the sixtieth of the heavy Babylonian *manah* as their own unit or *shekel*, but did not at the same time adopt the sexagesimal method in its entirety. They multiplied the unit by fifty to form a new mina of their own: then sixty minae made a talent.

The Lydians formed an important link between Hellas and Asia. They received (possibly through the medium of the Hittites), from Assyria the light Babylonian shekel, 'which afterwards in Lydia took the form of a stamped ingot or coin.' Why they took the light instead of the heavy mina is unexplained. By the extension of their kingdom (c. B.C. 700) the Lydians came into contact with the Asiatic Greeks, who had already learned the use of the heavy stater (260 grains) from the Phœnicians. The Lydians were the first to stamp coins which were made of *electrum* or 'white gold,' a native alloy of seventy-three parts of gold and twenty-seven parts of silver. Thus when gold was to silver as 13.3:1, *electrum*:silver = 10:1. By this relation the same standard served for *electrum* and silver, since 1 stater of *electrum* = 10 staters of silver. Silver was not weighed by the same standard as gold, but by one

¹ Hultsch, *op. cit.* 396; Brandis, 46, seqq.

derived from the gold thus : gold was to silver as 13.3 : 1. This proportion made it difficult to weigh both metals on the same standard. That a round number of silver shekels might equal a gold-shekel, the weight of the silver shekel was either raised above or lowered below that of the gold.

The heavy gold shekel = 260 grs., the light gold shekel = 130 grs.

SILVER STANDARDS DERIVED FROM THE GOLD SHEKEL.¹

I. From the heavy gold shekel of 260 grs.

$$260 \times 13.3 = 3458 \text{ grs. of silver.}$$

$$3458 \text{ grs. of silver} = 15 \text{ shekels of 230 grs.}$$

On the silver shekel of 230 grs. the *Phœnician* or *Græco-Asiatic silver standard* may be constructed :

$$\text{Talent } 690,000 \text{ grs.} = 3000 \text{ staters.}$$

$$\text{Mina } 11,500 \text{ grs.} = 50 \text{ staters.}$$

$$\text{Stater } 230 \text{ grs.}$$

II. From the light gold-shekel of 130 grs.

$$130 \times 13.3 = 1729 \text{ grs. of silver.}$$

$$1729 \text{ grs. of silver} = 10 \text{ shekels of 172.9 grs.}$$

On the silver shekel of 172.9 grs. the *Babylonic*, *Lydian* and *Persian silver standard* may be thus constructed :

$$\text{Talent } 518,700 \text{ grs.} = 3,000 \text{ staters} = 6,000 \text{ sigli.}$$

$$\text{Mina } 8,645 \text{ grs.} = 50 \quad \quad \quad \text{"} = 100 \quad \quad \text{"}$$

$$\text{Stater } 172.9 \text{ grs.} = 1 \quad \quad \quad \text{"} = 2 \quad \quad \text{"}$$

$$\text{Siglos } 86.45 \text{ grs.}$$

It is desirable¹ to take note of the fact that in Asia Minor and in the earliest period of the art of coining, (a) the heavy gold stater (260 grs.) occurs at various places from Teos northwards as far as the shores of the Propontis; (β) the light gold stater (130 grs.) in Lydia (*Κρῶσειος στατήρ*) and in Samos (γ); (γ) the electrum stater of the Phœnician *silver standard* chiefly at Miletus, but also at other towns along the west coast of Asia Minor, as well as in Lydia, but never however in full weight; (δ) the electrum and silver stater of the Babylonian standard chiefly, if not solely, in Lydia; (ε) the silver stater of the Phœnician standard on the west coast of Asia Minor.¹

¹ *Head, op. cit.* xxxvi.

We are now in a position to inquire into the relation in which the Homeric talent or ox-unit of about 130 grains stood to these ancient systems which we have just enumerated.

Before doing so let us first inquire if there is any connexion between the Homeric unit, and the standards of historical Greece. The latter have been regarded by the highest authorities as imported from the East; I therefore feel that it is presumptuous on my part to re-examine the question. As long as the old Greek unit of the Homeric times was unknown, it was natural and right to seek for the sources of the Greek standards in the region from which Greek civilization came. But when the old Homeric unit is fairly fixed, scientific method directs us first to see if the later Greek standards are descended from it. It is only when we fail there that we must turn to extraneous sources.¹

There were two principal standards in the historical Greece, (1) the Euboic of 135 grs., (2) the Aeginæan of 194 grs. (Head, *op. cit.*) but originally over 200 grs.² The practical identity of the Euboic with the Homeric unit at once strikes us. Gold probably in early times in Greece Proper stood to silver as 15:1, so the round number of fifteen ingots of silver corresponded to one gold ingot of similar weight. Ten was a more convenient number than fifteen in certain respects, so that if they divided an amount of silver equivalent to 1 gold unit of 135 grs.

$$135 \times 15 = 2025 \text{ grs. of silver.}$$

$$2025 \text{ grs.} = 10 \text{ silver staters of 202.5 each.}$$

According to the common theory, the traders of the great Euboean cities, Chalcis and Eretria, which flourished especially in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., had received from Asia through the medium of Lydia the light Babylonian shekel of 130 grs., and used it as the standard for silver and electrum which formed their earliest coins. They thus transferred the weight used for *gold* in Asia to their own silver, having little gold of their own, raising it to 135 grs. From Euboea it was diffused over a large portion of Hellas by the wide commercial

¹ Head, *op. cit.*, xxxvi.

² One of electrum weighs about 207 grs. Balthus (p. 191) thinks the later Aeginetic really a Peloponnesian stan-

dard. The gold unit of 130 grs. gives 10 silver staters of 195 grs. $130 \times 15 = 1950$.

relations of Chalcis and Eretria. This may have taken place towards the close of the eighth century B.C. Several difficulties (irrespective of the fact that there was no need to borrow a standard already existing in Greece from very early times) meet this theory. (1) If the Euboeans derived their standard from Ionia, why did they not rather adopt the Phoenician standards on which the Ionian cities based their coinage of gold, silver, and electrum. Some very early electrum coins found at Samos (Head, *op. cit.* xli.), have suggested that Samos was the connecting link. But since the recognised Samian coins are of the Phoenician standard (Head, *op. cit.* 515), it would be strange if the Euboeans from occasional contact with Lydian coins in Samos would have adopted that standard in preference to that of the Ionian cities with which their commerce lay. (2) Why did they take the Lydian gold standard of 130 grs. instead of the silver standard of 172.9 grs. for their silver and electrum, if they were borrowing a ready-made standard? (3) Why did they raise the weight to 135 grs.?

The earliest coinage of Greece Proper was struck at Aegina, from of old a meeting-place of merchantmen. This Aeginetic standard in early times was widely extended through not only Peloponnesus, but also the island states, such as Ceos, Naxos, Siphnus, and Crete, and in Central Greece, Thessaly, Phocis, Boeotia, and was used at Athens until Solon's time (590 B.C.). The derivation of this standard has caused much perplexity. Some consider it a raised Babylonian silver standard (172.9 to 230), others as a reduced Phoenician silver (230 to 194 grs.), and Hultsch regards it as an independent standard standing midway between the Babylonian and Phoenician silver standards, the old Aeginetan mina of silver being equivalent to six light Babylonian gold shekels, gold being to silver as 13.3:1. But there is evidence to show that in early Greece gold was to silver as 15:1. The early colonists of Sicily and Italy brought from home their standard of the relative value of gold and silver. The earliest coins of Cumae, Rhegium, Naxos, Zancle, Himera, all follow the Aeginetic standard (Head, *op. cit.* xlix.). The same relation between gold and silver would hold throughout all Sicily. Now Mr. Head (*Coinage of Syracuse*, 79,) has proved that at Syracuse in the time of Dionysius gold was to silver as 15:1, whilst in the time of Agathocles it was as 12:1. Syracuse, a colony of

Corinth, would probably have the relative standard of the mother-city, and Corinth would have the same standard as the neighbouring states. This being the relation between gold and silver in Greece, Hultsch's solution breaks down, unless it be assumed that the standard was constructed in Asia, of which there is no trace.

On the other hand from the old Greek standard unit, taking the relations of gold to silver as 15 : 1, we get a singularly close approximation to the standard of the existing coins.

If we accept the doctrine that Greeks received their standards from Asia across the sea, the Aeginetic from Phœnician intercourse with Peloponnesus, the Euboic from Lydia, a difficulty meets us. In the time represented in the Homeric poems there is not as yet a single Greek colony on the coast of Asia Minor (Mr. D. B. Monro, *Historical Review*, January, 1886). We have seen that at the same time the Greeks are already employing a gold standard identical with the light Babylonian or Lydian gold shekel. But they were in commercial relations with one Asiatic race, the Phœnicians. If, then, they had got their standard from Asia, it must have been the heavy gold shekel of 260 grs. employed by the Phœnicians, and consequently the Homeric talent would be 260 grs. instead of 130 grs.

Hence it follows that the Hellenes before they came into contact with either Phœnicians or Lydians had a unit of their own based on the cow. It will be noticed that the fluctuation in value of the ox in later times does not affect my position. Most likely in Homeric times the actual purchasing power of oxen varied in some places from the conventional value set on the ox as the unit of barter, and which was represented by the Homeric talent. The metallic unit once struck, when differences arose between the talent and the cow, the metallic unit from its superior utility as a medium of trade would remain constant. Hence the fact that the Greeks did not coin gold till late is of no consequence. That they had a gold standard is clear. That the relation of silver to gold would have been learned empirically, as doubtless it was in Asia, is probable. The ordinary traffic in ornaments would render it necessary to know the relative value of the metals. In historic times the Sicilian Greeks had a small talent, probably likewise brought from Greece Proper, used exclusively for gold, the threefold of our

Homeric unit, side by side with the Aeginetic silver standard. For purposes of daily life the relation between their gold and silver standards must have been defined. Thus from Homeric times downwards the Greeks must of themselves have known the relative value of the precious metals, and consequently would have no need to import ready-made silver standards from Asia.

This small talent just mentioned (also known in Egypt, as we shall see below) is called Macedonian by Eustathius (*τὸ δὲ Μακεδονικὸν τάλαντον τρεῖς ἦσαν χρύσειοι*). Whether Mommsen is right in thinking that this name was given to it in Egypt in consequence of its introduction by the Lagidae or not, it equally indicates that from of old such a talent, confined to gold, and the threefold of the ox-unit, existed in Macedonia. Hence possibly Philip got the unit for his gold currency, and not from Athens. The fact that Philip's standard was somewhat heavier than the ordinary Asiatic light gold shekel or daric is to be noticed. We have already seen a like variation of standard in the Euboic stater of 135 grs. But we must return to the consideration of this point further on.

The objection may be raised that whilst granting that the Homeric talent is the parent of the standards in European Greece, and that that talent represented an ox, it is possible that the metallic unit was not indigenous, but that it was a standard borrowed from Asia and adjusted to the barter system of the primitive Hellenes. This brings us face to face with the theories which base all the standards on the scientific studies of the Chaldees.

Whilst some would obtain the unit by weighing or measuring the amounts of water which had passed from one vessel into another during a given space of time, the given space of time having been only previously determined by generations of astronomical observations, on the other hand, Dr. Hultsch (*Metrologie*¹ p. 393) arrives at the unit thus: the Babylonian *maris* is equal to one-fifth of the cube of the Babylonian ell, itself based on astronomical observations. The weight in water corresponding to this measure of capacity gives the light royal Babylonian talent. This talent was divided into sixty minae, and each mina into sixty parts, or shekels. Their gold talent was derived from the sixtieth of the royal mina, with the

modification that now fifty sixtieths made a mina of gold, and sixty minae made a talent (Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 407). At the outset I may remark that both hypotheses alike represent to us that the Chaldees, after spending long ages in gazing at the stars, and thus obtaining their famous sexagesimal method, neglected their invention when they came to frame a standard for the precious metals, the thing above all others to call for their most advanced scientific accuracy. Thebes and Babylon were not built in a day; these peoples, too, had their first beginnings of primeval savagedom and barbarism. Egypt and Babylon must have had their age of barter; certain natural objects, animate or inanimate, must have served as units of value. With them, as well as elsewhere, the ox probably formed the most common article of wealth, especially in the earliest times.

When gold came into use, certain portions of it, fluctuating more or less in size, would be adjusted to the ox-unit as in Greece, and as I shall show in the case of silver among the Kelts in historical times. But we cannot rest here. We saw above that there was no gold found in Chaldaea, and that therefore it must have been imported by those Chaldaean merchantmen 'whose cry was in their ships,' from India by the Persian Gulf. But was there no gold in Chaldaea until the shipmen of Ur were able to construct vessels capable of a voyage, even though a coasting voyage, to the mouths of the Indus? Working in metals must have far advanced when such ships were built. That, however, gold came from India, we can have little doubt. Lassen and Max Müller have given good reasons for identifying the Ophir of the Old Testament with the land of the Abhīras, the modern Ahirs, along the Indus. But it probably came overland for ages before any thing in the form of a ship larger than a 'dug out' had floated on the Indian seas. If any one doubts the possibility of such an overland trade in early times, let him remember that the implements of jade found in the lake-dwellings of Switzerland must have come across Asia from Turkestan, and that the golden Baltic amber could make its way in pre-historic times to Mycenae and Tiryns. The first voyage to the ancient El Dorado was probably to search for the region whence came the gold. In like fashion the merchants of Massilia sent out Pytheas to investigate the sources of

the tin and amber, which reached them overland from Britain and the Baltic.

If we can gain any information respecting the people who lived in the land where the gold was found, and their fashion of life, we can then form a better estimate of the earliest origin of the gold unit. Such a source is ready for us in the *Rig-Veda*. The Aryans, who composed the hymns, had not yet extended down to the sea, whither by the time of Solomon, according to Max Müller, they had arrived. From the objects of their prayers and invocations, it is easy to see in what the wealth of these simple people consisted. One or two examples will suffice for our purpose: 'The potent ones who bestow on us good fortune by means of cows, horses, goods, gold, O Indra and Vaya, may they blessed with fortune ever be successful, by means of horses and heroes, in battles' (*Mandala*, vii. 90, 6; 606, 6). Again, 'O Indra, bring us rice-cake, a thousand soma-drinks, and an hundred cows, O hero. Bring us apparel, cows, horses, jewels, along with a *manā* of gold' (*Mand.* viii. 67, 1-2; 687, 1-2). Yet once more, 'Ten horses, ten caskets, ten garments, ten gold nuggets I received from Divodāsa. Ten chariots equipped with side-horses and an hundred cows gave Aṅvatha to the Atharvans, and to the Pāyu' (*Mand.* vi. 47, 23-4; 488, 23-4).

Now we are at once struck by the word *manā* in the second extract. Kaegi (Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1880) called attention to its occurrence in the *Rig-Veda*. Hultsch (*op. cit.* p. 131) says it is evidently a loan-word from Babylon ('offenbar aus Babylon entlehnt ist').

Possibly this is not so very certain after all. For the word has many cognates in Sanskrit, Greek, and Latin.

But what of the word *hiranya-pinda*, gold nugget, in the last extract? Is it, too, borrowed from Babylon, or does it represent the most primitive word which could be applied to a small mass of gold? In the only place where the simple word *pinda* occurs in the *Rig-Veda* (i. 162, 19) it is used of the pieces of flesh of the sacrifice.

Böthlingk and Roth explain it by the words *Ballen*, *Klumpen*, *Kloss* (*Mehlkloss*); it is also used of the knobs on the end of the tongue. Now it is plain that this is no loan-word. It cannot be identified with shekel. Yet it is evidently a fixed

amount. In the enumeration by tens of horses, chests, clothes, it is evident that the ten *hiranya-pindas* must have all been of equal value. Now return to the passage which contains *manā*. It is to be noticed that the words *vyāñjana*, and *abhyāñjana* are collective nouns in the singular, and so *gām* (cow) and *asvam* (horse) are both used in the singular collectively (cf. ἡ ἵππος = a body of horse). The inference naturally follows that *manā* *hiranyaya* is likewise a collective noun, which of course implies subordinate units. Is it too rash to surmise that those subordinate units are represented by the *hiranya-pindas*? If so, we have at last hunted down the first gold unit, which was called shekel and stater by the Semites and Greeks respectively. The word *sheqal* means in the cuneiform inscriptions, and in the Old Testament, both to *weigh* and to *count*.¹ The Greek *στατήρ* explains itself as the standard unit, or 'weigher.' But *hiranya-pinda* is the word of the gold-finder, just as much as our word *nugget*, or the Greek *βόλος*, or Spanish *pala*. Now all men know that the name of an article or product usually accompanies it from the place where it was first obtained. The words *florin*, *besant*, *dollar*, will serve as examples. Is it, then, not within the fair bounds of possibility that from the land, whence, as we saw, gold was first brought to Chaldaea, the name *manā*, meaning a certain number of the units (*hiranya-pindas*) likewise came? The borrowing people would naturally give a name expressing its position as unit to the *hiranya-pinda*, whilst retaining the collective term *manā* for a certain number of these nuggets. What that number was, we know not. The *Rig-Veda* furnishes us with no further information. It is worth noting that whilst the number ten occurs seventy-four times in the *Rig-Veda*, the number twelve only appears four times, and that the number one hundred occurs one hundred and twelve times, as compared with eleven instances of the number sixty. The number fifty occurs five times. I am perfectly sensible of the dangers of the statistical method when applied to words, but I think on the whole we are justified in concluding that the decimal system preponderates over the duodecimal and sexagesimal. So if the Aryans borrowed the *manā* from Babylon, they do not seem to have borrowed the system to which it belongs. Once more we have to face the question,

¹ Hultsch, p. 405.

How was this first metallic unit defined? Our answer is the same as before, by the unit of barter, and that that unit among the Aryans was the cow, will be seen by the following quotation: 'Who buys from me my Indra for ten milch cows?' (*Mand.* iv. 24, 10; 320, 10). For the sake of argument let us grant that the Homeric *τάλαντον* was a weight borrowed from the East, and simply adjusted to the ox-unit. If, then, the Greeks found it necessary to adapt to the ox-unit a standard which they found ready-made, *à fortiori* the Aryans for the first time making a metallic unit would have based it on the unit of barter. But we are not yet done with the *Rig-Veda*. We saw in Homer that the *τάλαντον* was only used of gold, never of silver. It is certainly curious to notice that both *manā* and *hiranya-pinda* are used of gold. But as each only occurs once, it would be most rash to lay much stress on such usage. When, however, we find that *there is no mention of silver in the Rig-Veda*, we can now draw some most important conclusions. First we see that the metal which is the most precious, gold, is the first to be weighed. The Homeric evidence alone would make this almost certain. But when we find definite weights of gold appearing in the *Rig-Veda* before silver is known to the Aryans, it is demonstrated. Secondly, it makes it almost impossible that the word *manā* was borrowed from Babylon. For on the supposition that the *manah* was invented by the Chaldaeans when they had attained high mathematical skill, by that time they must have been acquainted with silver, and as it would form a ready and acceptable article to be given in exchange for gold, the Indians must thus have become acquainted with it. Finally if *rupa*, the Sanskrit word from which *rupee* is derived, really means *cattle*, as is asserted, we have here tradition to testify to the origin of the first metallic unit, just as we found it in *pecunia*, *Bois*, and English *fee*, from the Anglo-Saxon *feoh* (*gangende feoh*) which retained its original meaning.

Now we are at last in a position to examine more closely some points in the received doctrines. First we shall deal with the Babylonian sexagesimal system. In the talent of merchandise the sexagesimal method, as shown by the weights discovered, was carried out completely in both the heavy and light system; sixty sixtieths = one manah; sixty manahs = one

talent. But in the case of gold and silver the system was different. The tribute-lists of the Egyptian king, Thothmes III., show us that at the beginning of the sixteenth century B.C. in Babylonia and the neighbouring countries gold and silver were not weighed according to the mercantile talent, but that fifty shekels = one manah; sixty manahs = one talent. We saw above how Hultsch obtained his unit by subdividing the mercantile talent into 3,600 (sixty \times sixty) parts. Now we are told that the Babylonians got their sexagesimal system after great scientific researches, and Hultsch points out that the precious metals would call for the highest degree of accuracy in weighing, yet here we find them, after having employed their new scientific method most consistently in the mercantile talent, become strangely confused. Taking the sixtieth of the mercantile mina, their courage seems to fail them, and they can only multiply it by fifty. Then having got their gold mina, they screw their courage to the sticking-point, and multiply their mina by sixty this time. The same method of fifty shekels = one mina; sixty minae = 1 talent is followed in the case of silver. Turning to the Phoenicians, we find the same wavering and want of decision in these shrewd traders. 'The Babylonian sexagesimal system was foreign to Phoenician habits.' So accordingly they only took fifty shekels for their mina. But the next moment we find that the Phoenician suddenly overcomes his objection to the sexagesimal system, and takes quite kindly to a talent of *sixty* minae! We have already seen the same peculiarity in the case of the Lydian, Persian, and Greek systems. The Egyptian multiple of the unit is ten (ten kats = one utan). In the *Rig-Veda* we saw the predominance of the decimal system. The evidence of the Homeric poems points in the same direction. For we find ten talents of gold in the gifts of Agamemnon, and the same number in the ransom-price for Hector (reminding us of the ten *hiranya-pindas*). In the *Odyssey* (ix. 202) the priest Maron gave Odysseus χρυσοῦ . . . εἰρηγίος ἑπτὰ τάλαντα (where the epithet *εἰρηγίος* may refer to the gold being wrought into 'ring money'). Now $7 \times 7 = 49$, a close approximation to the fifty shekels of the Babylonian gold mina. To sum up our results, every where alike the first multiple of the unit in the case of gold and silver is decimal or quinquagesimal, *not sexa-*

gesimal. Now Mr. Head has well remarked that the Phoenicians probably grafted the Babylonian system on a previously-existing one of their own: 'The Phoenicians, in common with the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Hebrews, &c., with whom they dealt, were at no time without their own peculiar weights and measures [whence derived?], on which they appear to have grafted the Assyrio-Babylonian unit of account.'¹ What if the very same principle applies to the Babylonians themselves? We have already seen reasons to believe that gold is the first article to be weighed. Now at no epoch have the ordinary run of mankind felt any pressing need for the employment of large weights such as the ton, or even the more modest stone, in weighing their gold and silver. Down to the present day Troy weight, with its pound of twelve ounces as its highest unit, serves us for weighing the precious metals, whilst side by side with it we have the avoirdupois scale for merchandise of larger bulk. Are we foolish in supposing that the ordinary Chaldee found that a system which went as high as 1 manah = 50 shekels (= 1 lb. 1 oz. 10 dwt. 20 gra. Troy) would amply suffice for his ordinary needs? Merchandise would only be weighed after long time. Corn was measured, not weighed. Now we can see that the mina of fifty shekels found in Babylon, Phoenicia, Lydia, Persia, Greece, was in use before the sexagesimal method was dreamed of. Then the latter was invented, and a scientific adjustment of weights and measures was attempted. For mercantile purposes, taking the original gold unit, they constructed a true sexagesimal system, corresponding to the division of minutes and seconds, with a great talent at its head. They made the standards of gold and silver tolerably symmetrical by adding a higher unit, the sixtyfold of the mina, just as our rulers have endeavoured to give us a taste of the decimal system by thrusting the florin in upon the crown and half-crown, and the shilling with its *twelve* pence.

I have spoken before of the small talent, used solely for gold, called the Sicilian and Macedonian talent. It is possible that it was used by the Carthaginians also, since the crown given by them to Demareta, weighing 300 talents, seems certainly to have been estimated on this system. But on the other hand it is more likely that the Sicilian Greeks, who were the recipients,

¹ Cf. Brandis, *op. cit.* p. 6.

described the crown in accordance with their own national standard. However that may be, the ordinary gold piece of the Carthaginians weighed about 135 grs.,¹ a very close approximation to our ox-unit, in fact being identical with the Euboic unit, and the Macedonian gold unit of Philip, and possibly, as we have seen, with the gold unit on which the Aeginetic silver standard was based. This same small talent is found in Egypt under the Ptolemies, whether introduced under Macedonian auspices, or dating from still earlier times. In favour of the latter view it may be noted that according to Lenormant and Hultsch (p. 375) the gold ring-money found in Egypt is based on a standard of 127 grs., where we once more obtain a close approximation to our ox-unit, and therefore this ring-money probably was based on the ox.² The gold talent, then, is simply the multiple of this native unit. Again, in Genesis xxiv. 22, we read that Abraham's servant gave Rebekah 'a golden earring of half a shekel weight, and two bracelets for her hands of ten shekels weight of gold.' The word translated 'earring' in the Authorised Version is taken by others to mean 'nose-ring.' The same word appears in Job xlii. 11: 'Then came there unto him all his brethren and all his sisters and all they that had been of his acquaintance before . . . every man also gave him a piece of money, and every one an earring of gold.' There can be little doubt that the shekel mentioned in Genesis is the shekel of the Sanctuary, that is, the heavy Babylonian or the twofold of the so-called light Babylonian shekel. Consequently the ring of gold of half a shekel weighed 130 grs., that is the ox-unit. We are not told the weight of the earrings contributed for the afflicted patriarch, but it is evident that they were all of one recognised uniform standard, and it is hardly going too far if we conjecture that they were of the same standard of half a shekel of the Sanctuary, as the gift to Rebekah.³ It is not unlikely, then, that in both passages we have to deal with ring-money such as that found in Egypt. The practical identity of weight is certainly striking. Have we, then, in this Hebrew ring-money, simply another instance of the ox-unit? If these things be so, we need not trouble ourselves any longer as to whether the Egyptians borrowed the light shekel from the Babylonians or

¹ Hultsch, *op. cit.* p. 432.

² Cf. Hultsch, p. 471.

³ Cf. Brandis, p. 89.

the Babylonians from the Egyptians. We can explain the facts by the simple hypothesis that over all these ancient lands from the Indus to the Eurotas at an early period the cow formed the unit of value.

The objection may be raised that it is impossible to suppose that the ox had the same value in all parts of the ancient world for so long a period, inasmuch as fluctuations in its value are on record in historical time. This seems formidable at first sight, but is readily removed the moment we shake off our notions derived from modern life, and project ourselves into the conditions of early pastoral society. It will be admitted, I suppose, that there must have been a time when there was nothing in the nature of a large city between North India and the Hellespont. When the Indo-European family expanded it had already the ox, for the name appears in all the languages (Sanskrit *gaur*, Greek *βοῦς*, Latin *bos*, Irish *bo*, English *cow*, German *Kuh*). Over all the region which they gradually occupied the cow would obtain as the unit. For where would the break come between community and community? For purposes of barter, or compensation between tribes, the cow would be the common measure. And naturally so. For cattle in a semi-wild condition, as now on the American ranches, differ but little in value from one another, the conditions under which they are reared and pastured being very equable, and at the same time artificial breeding and cross breeding has not marked off those wide distinctions between Shorthorns and Devonshires, or Alderneys, which affect the relative values of cattle in modern times. Again, the cost of production is uniform. The world is yet but sparsely populated; there is as yet no 'land hunger,' the whole earth is open, each man has endless space to pasture his flocks and herds, and has not to pay rent to any one. If the Aryans came into contact with other races in Hither Asia, Semitic tribes for instance, it makes no difference. For their Semitic neighbours were keeping cattle on exactly the same conditions as they themselves. 'Is not the whole land before thee?' said Abraham to Lot, when 'the land was not able to bear them: for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together.' This gives us an insight into the way in which pastoral peoples expanded. When the family and their flocks became too

numerous to dwell together, its members divided off, but did not lose touch of each other. For we find Abraham coming to the rescue of Lot. At the present moment across wide regions of South Africa the ox has a constant value. So long as the barbaric tribes are in touch with one another, and not shut off by impassable barriers of flood or forest, from one end of the region to the other, the unit of barter will be as uniform as is the value of a sovereign between John o' Groat's and Land's End. If then in Northern India one branch of the Aryan race were the first to learn the use of gold,¹ and by a purely empirical process came to regard a certain sized nugget, or *hiranya-pinda* as equivalent to a cow, their brethren who dwelt to the west of them, the ancient Persians, who had an almost similar name for gold, *zaranya*, having previously the same ox-unit, would receive in way of exchange the *hiranya-pinda*, as equivalent to a cow;² from them being passed on from man to man it would cross all Asia, probably by that line of country which formed the trade-route of later times, and then dividing into two branches, one passing to the north, the other to the south of Taurus, the former passing along by the Euxine up to the Hellespont, crossing into Thrace and Hellas, the latter passing into Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. The gold-nugget having got a conventional value of an ox and the ox the value of a gold-nugget strongly impressed upon it, nothing but the development of large settled communities could shake their inter-relation. With the growth of city life the whole land is no longer open for the herdsman to move 'to-morrow to fresh woods and pastures new.' There is an ever-increasing demand for the produce of the herd, flesh, milk, butter, cheese, and hides. The value of the ox of course rises, but not so quickly as might at first be supposed. For instance, a tillage community like Babylon learns rapidly to live on the product of a most bountiful soil, and less and less depend for subsistence on the produce of herds and flocks, until at length they live almost entirely on farinaceous food. Such probably was the case at Babylon. Such we know to have been the

¹ Cf. *The Book of Wonderful Stories*, ascribed to Aristotle, 833 b, 14; *pari ti te diatroun te "dize pterapha euta-phéousi Ballia chrysalis kláthai pollá.*

² Of course the size of the nuggets would vary somewhat in different regions.

process with the Indians. Passing into India as a pastoral people, the Aryans under changed conditions of population, soil, and climate, gradually became more and more vegetarian, until at the present day grain forms the staple food of myriads. But the gold unit having been once conventionally fixed, it would remain just as constant as did actually the Euboic unit, supposed hitherto to have been borrowed from Lydia.¹ Therefore I cheerfully admit that in historical times in various regions the ox had various values.

From this general uniformity in the value of the ox and its metallic representative would follow the close agreement between the standards of the various regions. At the same time we find a simple reason for certain slight deviations in the weight of the Egyptian ring-money, the Euboic and Macedonian standards already noticed, and which can be seen in the following table:—

Egyptian ring-money	127 grs.
Hebrew ring-money ?	130 grs.
Babylonian light gold shekel	130 grs.
Lydian gold stater	130 grs.
Persian gold daric	130 grs.
Euboic-Attic silver	135 grs.
Aeginetic (gold unit, on which the silver standard was based) ?	130-5 grs.
Carthaginian	135 grs.

To sum up, if my argumentation is sound, we have not merely learned the value and origin of the Homeric *τάλαντον*, but also obtained a natural unit on which to base the various systems, Egyptian, Babylonian, Hebrew, Phœnician, Lydian, Persian, Greek, and Macedonian. This will explain why the Lydians employed the light instead of the heavy Babylonian shekel, and explains why the Persians 'adopted' the same standard when they became the masters of Asia. For the Lydians had this weight from of old without any need to borrow it, and the

¹ That a very short time serves to fix a monetary unit based on an article of barter, is shown by the 'skin' = 2 shillings, employed in the Hudson Bay Territory. It meant originally a beaver skin. Though of course the

actual value of a skin is now much more, the conventional money unit 'skin' remains unchanged. So the 'bar,' originally a bar of iron, represents at Sierra Leone 2s. 6d. worth of any kind of goods.

Persians brought it with them into the plains of Chaldaea, and retained it in preference to that double shekel, which was developed most probably among the Aramaic peoples of Syria. It is certainly curious to find another instance of the tendency to double the unit actually in the same region. At Antioch there was a talent used for weighing wood, and probably other bulky articles as well, called by the anonymous Alexandrine metrologist (*Scriptor, Metrol.*, i. 301) *ξυλικὸν ἐν Ἀντιοχείᾳ τάλαντον*, which was the double of the heavy talent employed there (Hultsch, *Metrologie*² p. 591). Articles which cost relatively little compared to their weight and bulkiness require to be weighed after a heavier unit. Does this give us some clue to the development of the heavy Assyrio-Babylonian shekel? It is found especially in Syria and Phoenicia, and is possibly the weight of Carchemish, that is of the Hittites. We know the Phoenicians to have been a great community of merchants, doing chiefly a carrying trade. If the Hittites were likewise 'mediators' between Babylon and the West, we can now see a reason for the doubling of the light unit. Traders would require a heavier unit for articles less precious than gold. Did the Aramaic merchants devise the double shekel for weighing silver and other commodities as a first step before they devised their separate standard for silver, and before the standard for merchandise ($60 \times 60 = 3600$) had been as yet developed? Possibly the doubled gold-unit was based on the double ox-unit, that is a yoke of oxen, which form the basis on which Solon rated the third of his classes, the *zeugytai* (with which compare the *biní bores* quoted above).

We must therefore abandon the method of obtaining the gold-unit by subdividing the royal Babylonian talent, and instead we must start with a primitive unit of gold, based on the ox or cow. Gold, as the most precious commodity, is the first to be weighed. We find it current by weight in Homer, when as yet silver is not so employed, but only in manufactured articles. Finally, to clinch all, we found gold in the *Rig-Veda* estimated by the *hiranya-pinda*, or nugget, and the *mundā*, whilst as yet silver is unknown. The first step towards a higher unit is in the multiplying of the ox-unit by ten, as in Egypt; by fifty in Babylon itself, Phoenicia, Lydia, Greece. Next a separate standard based on the gold-unit is devised and

employed over a large part of Asia Minor, its higher unit or *mina* being the fifty-fold of the original unit, exactly as in the case of the gold. The Aramaeans form a similar silver standard, based on the double gold-unit (itself a first step towards a unit for objects less precious than gold), their *mina* likewise being quinquagesimal. The next stage reveals the mathematical development of Chaldaea, and the application of science to their weights. The second higher unit for both gold and silver, called the *talent*, is obtained by multiplying the *mina* by sixty; but the force of custom is too strong for them to remake the already existing *mina*, the *fifty-fold* of the primitive unit, by dividing it into sixty parts in accordance with their new scientific method. But now a standard for bulky merchandise is required to meet increasing wants, and the scientific metrologists, taking the primitive gold-unit, frame a complete sexagesimal scale: 60 shekels = 1 mina, 60 minae = 1 talent. That at this time, and constantly in after days, ancient mathematicians devoted their attention to the adjustment of the standards of weight, length, and capacity, there can be little doubt. From the tables of Galen (*Script. Metrol.* i. p. 229), and from the table ascribed to Dioscorides (*ibid.* i. p. 241), it is plain that the ancients discussed the question whether water or wine was best adapted for a standard unit. Hence it is that scholars regarding all antiquity as one brief span have had as little hesitation in starting primitive peoples with standards based on astronomy or on Nile water, as philologists have had in making our Indo-European ancestors converse in abstractions called roots, utterly oblivious of the fact that men expressed their ideas of breadth and depth by such homely phrases as 'the breadth of a crow's foot,' or 'the depth of an ox-hoof,' before they ever conceived the idea of 'one-fifth of a cube,' and expressed the changes of the seasons by the flight of the cuckoo and the crane ages before they had marked out the zodiac. A little reflection therefore will convince us that the scientific adjustment of standards took place only at a late period of human development, just as with ourselves in the case of the relation between the pound and a cubic foot of water. But because in modern times we have discovered a scientific standard for weights and measures, are we to look for such niceties in the systems of primitive peoples?

Lastly, if it is recognised that the Homeric talent is the

equivalent of the light Babylonian shekel, not that of the Graeco-Asiatic or Phoenician heavy shekel employed at Miletus and along the Ionian coast, we get another indication that the Homeric poems were composed in Hellas Proper.

If I can adduce historical evidence to show that many of the steps in the evolution of the monetary system from a primitive ox-unit, for which we could only claim probability, have actually occurred within historic time in an Indo-European community, the general hypothesis will have been greatly strengthened. I shall accordingly now add such support to the views advanced concerning the systems of the East by illustrations from the West. In Ireland there existed an Indo-European race, who (unfortunately) lay outside the limits of the Roman empire.

In ancient and mediaeval Ireland the cow was the unit, and a single glance at almost any page of the Brehon Laws will show that the nomenclature remained unchanged long after the precious metals were used as currency. To this very hour the Irish-speaking people of Munster have a phrase, 'she is cowed,' meaning that she has got her portion of the paternal property. Now in the Laws we find a term *cumhal* constantly employed. This properly means 'a female slave,' but is commonly used to express the value of three cows. We saw that the slave-woman offered as a prize by Achilles was valued at four cows. Whether Achilles gave a slave of the most ordinary description, or one a little out of the common, we cannot say. But the fact that the poet makes the onlookers express her value ($\tau\iota\omicron\nu\delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\pi\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\iota\omicron\nu$) would imply that they are expressing their admiration of the munificence of the hero. Also the poet describes the woman as $\acute{\alpha}\mu\acute{\upsilon}\rho\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\gamma\alpha\ \iota\delta\upsilon\iota\alpha\tau$, the expression employed by Agamemnon in reference to the seven Lesbian women selected as part of the compensation for Achilles, whom we may regard as picked specimens, just as the horses sent are described as 'prize-winners.' It is not a point on which to lay much stress, but the close coincidence in the conventional value of an ordinary handmaid as measured in beeves among the Homeric Greeks and Kelts illustrates the persistency of the value of conventional units over wide areas and long periods. Now we found the twofold of our primitive unit (which may have been based on the yoke of oxen) and also its threefold employed in certain regions. Am I overbold in throwing out the suggestion that

the small gold talent (= 3 Homeric talents = 3 light shakels) may correspond to the Irish *cumhal*, and have originally represented the value of a slave? We found the ox as the unit of value in the penalties of Draco and in the ritual of Delos: similarly in the penitentials of the Irish and Welsh churches do we find 'ancillae' and 'vaccae' retained as symbols of value.¹ For instance, in the ancient laws of Wales, 'si quis rixa mactaverit hominem, sive manum, sive pedem, sive oculum excusserit, ancillam sive servum redditurum cognoscat. Quodsi pollicem manus excusserit, ancillae medium, id est, dimidium pretii, sive servi medium reddat' (c. 11, 12). Again, in the Irish canons (Wasserschleben, *die Bussordnungen der Abendländischen Kirche*, p. 142), 'si quis iecerit episcopum et si mortuus fuerit, accipiat ab eo pretium sanguinis eius L ancillas reddet, id est, VII ancillas uniuscuiusque gradus.' Here it is to be noticed that 7×7 are regarded as equivalents to the round number 50, which supports my suggestion in reference to the seven talents in the *Odyssey*. We find the value of a *cumhal* given in money (Wasserschleben, *op. cit.* p. 137): 'XII altitia vel xiii sieli praetium uniuscuiusque ancillae.' But the value of a cow is put beyond all doubt by a passage from the Brehon Laws (i. 246): 1 cow = 1 ounce of silver. But the ounce is the monetary unit everywhere in the Brehon Laws, so here we obtain a clear example in actual practice of the adjustment of the metallic-unit to the primitive ox-unit. But the Irish went farther, and adjusted the subdivisions of the ounce to their various kinds of stock.

The unga (Lat. uncia) = 24 screapalls (Lat. scripulum).

The screapall = 3 pinginns or pennies.

1 cumhal (ancilla) = 3 cows (tri ba).

1 milch cow (bo mor) = 24 screapalls = 1 unga.

1 three-year old heifer (samhnisc) = 12 screapalls
= $\frac{1}{2}$ unga = $\frac{1}{2}$ cow.

1 two-year old heifer (colpach) = 6 screapalls = $\frac{1}{4}$ unga
= $\frac{1}{4}$ cow.

1 yearling heifer (dairt) = 4 screapalls = $\frac{1}{6}$ unga = $\frac{1}{6}$ cow.

1 sheep (caera) = 3 screapalls = $\frac{1}{8}$ unga = $\frac{1}{8}$ cow.

1 kid (mennan) = $\frac{3}{4}$ pinginn = $\frac{1}{16}$ unga = $\frac{1}{16}$ cow.

This illustration will, I think, help us to understand the process

¹ President Sullivan called my attention to this use of 'ancilla.'

by which rude peoples pass from barter to the use of metallic currency. The most general article of wealth is taken as the standard; their other live possessions are adjusted to it, either as a multiple, as the slave, or as fractions, as in the case of the calf and sheep. The first metallic unit is adjusted to the animal unit, and its multiples and fractions are adjusted to those of the animal unit. If the objection is raised that the Irish did not evolve the system of ounces and sereapalla, but borrowed them from Rome, my answer is as before, that if, when a people borrow a ready-made metallic system, they nevertheless find it necessary to adjust it to their own primitive system, *à fortiori* a people evolving for the first time a metallic unit must certainly base that unit on the primitive unit of the age of barter. Even on the orthodox doctrine that the Greeks got their unit from Asia, the analogy of the Kelts, when they borrowed the Roman system, adjusting it to their own animal unit, affords good support for my identification of the ox and talent of the Homeric poems.

It is with great diffidence that I have ventured to propound those suggestions which touch on the origin of weights, and especially the province of Greek numismatics. Indeed, did I not feel that, when once we had learned the value of the ancient Greek standard of the Homeric age, and found that it was identical with one of the two chief standards of historical Greece, the coincidence is too striking to be left unnoticed, I would never have dared to question the decision of scholars of the highest abilities, who have devoted their lives to these difficult questions. It is for others to judge if I am justified in so doing.

WILLIAM RIDGEWAY.

RECENTLY DISCOVERED ARCHAIC SCULPTURES.

THE last year has been most fruitful of results to the archæologist. Excavations on many Greek sites have supplied abundant material for new work and speculation. But important as may be the gains to other branches of archæology, none are so brilliant as those that have so greatly increased our knowledge of the early history of Greek sculpture. It must be many years before archæologists are agreed on the exact position and import of the new statues in relation to the early history of art; longer still before all that those statues can teach us shall have been learnt. In the present paper no attempt can be made to criticise and discuss fully the many difficult questions to which their discovery has given rise—much less to assign finally to each of them its place in the history of religion and sculpture. Many of the early chapters of that history must be reconsidered and in part rewritten before all the statues we now possess find their due place in a recognised and unbroken series of monuments of various ages and of various local schools. Meanwhile it may be well to indicate the directions in which the influence of our newly-acquired knowledge is likely to be felt, and to endeavour to estimate the meaning and the importance of the new material that the science of archæology has acquired.

Though the Acropolis has been the richest and most important field of discovery, other sites have also yielded their contributions. And even on the Acropolis itself other schools besides the Attic are represented by interesting and important specimens of their work. But it is of the Attic school more than of any other that our knowledge has been so greatly increased:

and therefore it seems best to first give some account of the statues that show us how sculpture had progressed in Athens before the Persian wars. Afterwards it will be easier to apply our new information to the history of other early schools, and to attempt to estimate the value of what we learn about them. For not only do many of them receive fresh illustration from new specimens of their work, but their relations both with one another and with the early Attic school are now far clearer than they could be before.

In order to realise the importance for the Attic school of the new discoveries, it is necessary to call to mind how little we knew of it before the recent excavations on the Acropolis. Brunn's criticism¹ was most delicately refined in its description and its apprehension of the characteristics of early Attic art; and it has been wonderfully borne out by later discoveries. But it was practically based upon a single monument, the stele of Aristocles, and though we may admire the success of his conclusions in contrast to the scantiness of his material, it must be most satisfactory to feel that there is now a broader foundation for them to rest upon. A seated statue, without a head and with but little of the original surface of the marble unworn, and a few reliefs or fragments, were all that then or for many years later could be added to our store of old Attic sculptures. The Athenian masters who worked before the Persian wars were mere names to us, not to be connected, however indirectly, with any extant work or style. Of Simmias, Antenor, Amphicrates, we knew practically nothing; the name of Endoeus had, indeed, by a not impossible conjecture, been associated with an extant work, the seated Athena found on the Acropolis; but Aristocles alone was a known artist. In names we are now far richer. The period of Antenor has been dated by an inscription; and we know now that Euenor, Eleutheros, Philo, Thebades were during the same period busy in Athens; but of their work we must speak afterwards. For though it may be still impossible to assign any extant statues to the hand of any known artists of this period, we can now at least present to ourselves a very fair picture of the school to which they belonged, of its aims and tendencies in art, and of

¹ *Gesch. d. Gr. Künstler*, pp. 109—111.

its influence upon its contemporaries and its successors. Even of these successors, the Attic artists between the time of the Persian wars and Phidias, we knew little before: of one of them, perhaps the most characteristically Attic of all, we possess no work, nor even a certain copy. This defect is not remedied; but perhaps it is now possible to imagine what a statue by Calamis may have been. For though even the most advanced specimens of early Attic art that we now possess must fall short of the perfection and grace that made his style famous even in an age of later and corrupted taste, we may already see in them a possibility of growth, a tendency to those very characteristics that have been praised in him by Lucian and other critics. But this is a matter of inference. We must first retrace our steps, and investigate from the beginning the growth of the school that found in him its culmination.

It would be beyond the scope of this paper to give a narrative of the various excavations that have been recently made upon the Acropolis; but the circumstances of the chief discovery must be remembered, for they supply valuable evidence as to the date of the statues it brought to light. These statues, together with several inscriptions, were found buried to the north-west of the Erechtheum, close under the wall of the Acropolis: among them, at three different levels,¹ was refuse from the construction of that wall; hence they must have been buried while it was being built. It is generally acknowledged² that this part of the wall was constructed immediately after the Persian invasion; the conclusion is obvious that the statues were among those that had been thrown down and broken by the Persians when they captured the Acropolis. Thus we have the year 480 as the lower limit for their date. The inscriptions found with them all fall by their forms into periods V. and VI. of Schütz's table of the Attic alphabet, and so may be assigned to 525-500 B.C. Hence we may, from external evidence, suppose that the statues themselves belong to the latter half of the sixth century, or the earliest years of the fifth. But no inscribed pedestal can be with certainty associated with any of the statues; hence for their relation to one another, and their chronological sequence, we have to depend only on their style. By this test they may be

¹ Cavvadias, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1898, p. 74. where other authorities are quoted.

² Michaelis, *der Parthenon*, p. 8.

roughly classified; such a classification will make lighter the task of considering them singly. Two of the statues, however, must at once be excluded from our present arrangement, as certainly not belonging to the Attic school: these will be separately noticed in their own place.

If we speak of the rest of the Acropolis statues as products of the Attic school, a few words of explanation are necessary. Statues of a type that seems at first glance identical have been found in great numbers on other sites: they are similar in position and in drapery. Such have come to light, for instance, in Delos; and their rougher prototypes, in great numbers, in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and at Naucratia. But the Acropolis statues, especially in the treatment of the face, show so much character and originality, that it seems justifiable to regard them as the product of an independent local school, though doubtless preserving something of the type from which they are derived.¹

Regarding them accordingly as works of purely Attic art, we may distinguish three periods, which may conveniently be named: I., the archaic Attic; II., the transitional Attic; and III., the early fine Attic. In the first of these periods, again, we may notice two distinct types, which we may call (*a*) the common type Atticised, and (*b*) the Attic type. The use of these terms may seem somewhat arbitrary, but they will fairly indicate the characteristics that seem in each case the most important. We must now briefly consider each of these classes more in detail.

¹ It has been my object in writing this paper to give the results produced by independent examination of the originals. I have not therefore referred often to previously published accounts. Among these may be especially mentioned those of Dr. Waldstein, in the *Poll Mall Gazette*, 18 March, 1886, giving a criticism of the style and a theory as to its origin; of Mr. W. Miller, in the *Amer. Jour. of Arch.* 1886, p. 61; and of M. S. Reinach, in the *Revue Arch.* 1886, p. 77. In the first part of the *Musées d'Athènes*, M. Cavvadias has only given a brief ac-

count, beside those which he published in the *Εφ. 'Αρχ.* for 1886. Archaeologists will look with great interest for his fuller discussion and criticism in the second part of the same publication. I cannot here attempt to give a complete bibliography of the daily increasing literature to which these statues have given rise. If I have unconsciously repeated the views of others, an independent confirmation will be afforded; if I have differed from them, it may yet be possible to learn something from this difference.

I. Archaic Attic.

(a) Common type Atticised, *B* (Fig. 1), *D*¹FIG. 1.—*B*.

In these two statues, *B* and *D*, we may already observe a tendency to the delicacy and refinement of detail, and the

¹ For purposes of reference some notation is necessary: I have therefore lettered the statues of the great find consecutively, *A*, *B*, *C*, &c., beginning

from the north-west corner of the room they occupy in the Acropolis Museum; so from *A* to *M*; *N* and *O* were found in 1883, and are reproduced in the 'Eph-

striving after meaning and expression in the face, which we observe in the rest; therefore they have a right to be considered as belonging to the Attic school, as we now represent it to ourselves. But, on the other hand, these tendencies are as yet but very slightly developed: we do not yet find that grace of position and that pleasing effect of the general impression produced, which Brunn, knowing only the stele of Aristocles, had almost prophetically indicated as the great characteristic of the early Attic style. Nor again do we find the small, narrow eyes, the delicate, often-exaggerated richness of the curves of the mouth which in the other classes are so remarkable. Here the eyes are wide open and staring, though not prominent, but rather flat: the mouth forms a simple curve, or even two straight lines, at an angle to one another, with their junction rounded off; its ends are rather sharply terminated by the vertical lines at the two extremities. Thus the general impression is of a pleasant and smiling but somewhat vacant stare—a great contrast to the lively expression of the next class.

If we may notice in the face the survival of a treatment common to many schools of archaic Greek sculpture, much more is this the case in the figure. In the case of *B*, the body from below the waist is merely an oblong pillar, with the lines of the drapery marked upon it: it is essentially of the same form as the primitive image dedicated by Nicandra in Delos—a type well enough known in the earliest art. Doubtless it is originally derived from the primitive ξόανον, a mere beam or plank, with the semblance of a head and arms indicated. On *B* some attempt is indeed made, both by relief and painting, to indicate the drapery; in this respect it is perhaps more advanced than any other example that so completely adheres to the primitive type. But even in the upper part of the body there is a merely conventional rendering of the forms, and no attempt at a direct imitation of nature.

In the treatment of the hair and in the head-dress *B* and *D* are almost identical. Both wear a plain band round the back of the hair from ear to ear: over the forehead, in both alike,

people 'Apx. of that year, Pl. 8. By *P* 1 denote the statue found March 10, 1887. *O* and *M* are the two non-Attic statues. *B*, *A*, *C*, and *I* are figured in the illustrations 1-4, and *d* and *f* on plates V.

and II. of the publication *Les Musées d'Athènes*, Part I. In the same, Pl. III. and IV. are *K*, VI. is *H*, and VII. and VIII. are *R*. In Part II, IX. is *G*, X. is *B*, XIII. is *L*, and XIV. is *M*.

are a series of holes for the insertion of bronze rays, pieces of which remain here and there : in addition to these, *B* has over the forehead a woollen fillet, or a chain of beads. Under this head-dress the hair is waved in broad curves over the forehead ; from the head-dress it passes in parallel tresses to the back of the head, whence it descends in a mass of similar parallel tresses down the back. In front of each shoulder fall three separate tresses ; these are subdivided by wavy lines parallel to their length, and so are strongly distinguished from the similar tresses we find in the next class. In all these details *B* and *D* are identical.

In the treatment of the body *D* is distinctly more advanced than *B* ; the ξόανον type seems to have disappeared ; but in the shape it is preserved ; for a section of the figure at the waist and at the hips would present two almost perfect rectangles of about the same size. But, with this exception, if due allowance be made for the flatness of the folds that is a natural consequence of such a shape, the drapery is treated with some truth and feeling for nature, and is not so stiff and conventional as in *B*. Yet it must be acknowledged that the impression produced by this figure is of a dull and flat work, in great contrast to the life and feeling we shall meet with in the next class. The well-worn conventional archaic type has indeed been infused with a little Attic brightness ; but this has not been enough to permeate the whole statue, and to raise it to the level of a free and independent work of art.

Before we pass on to the next class, there are one or two more examples that must be referred to, though they need not delay us long, as the most important of them is already known. This is the head of Athena, helmeted, found in the Acropolis, and reproduced on Pl. I. in Mrs. Mitchell's *History of Ancient Sculpture*. In the prominence of the round eye-balls this face is different from all the other statues of the Acropolis ; and also in the gentle finishing of the ends of the lips ; in all other cases they are either cut at right angles by the vertical line of the cheek, or pointed off in continuation of the curves of the mouth. The epithet one would apply to this head is distinctly γλαυκῶπις ; the others, especially of the classes to follow, seem rather to require the description ἐλκεῶπις ; but this is a point to which we must afterwards recur.

This head has now been fixed to the upper part of the body¹ of an Athena, armed with the Aegis, seemingly from a pedimental group of a gigantomachy. But the fracture is much



FIG. 2.—A.

broken away, and the lines do not seem perfectly continuous, so that the real connection of the two may perhaps be regarded as still a matter of uncertainty. Neither the head nor the body

¹ Studniczka, *Mithr. d. d. Inst. zu Athen*, 1886, p. 165, *seq.*

gain in their effect by the union, and it is hard to avoid the impression that they do not belong to the same figure.

Here also we may insert *F*, the smallest, and in most respects



FIG. 2.—*G*.

the least pleasing of the statues found together in 1886. The eyes are roughly shaped protuberances, with no attempt at form: and the mouth, with a simple but absurdly exaggerated

curve, forms an arc of a very small circle, whose centre would be about the tip of the nose. But the drapery, which is very peculiar, is treated with much more care and feeling. The treatment of the hair is also in most respects similar to that of *B* and *D*, though in the clumsy overhanging mass above the forehead it differs strongly from them. It might be possible, by adducing various fragments in the Acropolis Museum and elsewhere, to add more examples of this class, as of others also. But these instances will suffice to give some general notion of its characteristics.

I. (*b*). Attic type, *A* (Fig. 2), *C* (Fig. 3), *E*.—As might be expected from the title, the statues included under this head are of much greater interest and more pleasing effect than those just described. It would hardly have caused much surprise had the statues of the I. (*a*) type been found upon any site of early Hellenic art. But it is hardly rash to assert that those we now approach find their due place nowhere but in Attica; and that any resembling them found elsewhere must show either Attic work or Attic influence. For scanty as may be our evidence as to the early tendencies of Attic art, it seems to point in this direction, especially when we consider the characteristics of Calamis, the master in whom it found its highest especial perfection, before it was raised by Phidias to be the art no longer of a single city, but of Greece and of the world. It is especially in the general impression and in the treatment of the face that these statues are distinguished from those of other contemporary schools. In drapery their care and delicacy has perhaps elsewhere been rivalled, though not surpassed. But the expression of the face is so full of life as to be astonishing at so early a date: it is often indeed exaggerated, so that the next step in development must necessarily be towards restraint rather than towards fuller power of expression. The eyes are always small and narrow, almost as if drawn up to concentrate the intense expressiveness of the glance. But the lines of the mouth are even more remarkable. They preserve indeed the well-known archaic smile; yet it is no longer a meaningless grin, but full of meaning, often only too much exaggerated in its striving after expression and effect. The lines of the lips never form a simple curve: but the central bend is always supplemented by

a smaller and shallower one on each side; and the outer ends of these are delicately finished and pointed off, often with a slight subsidiary curve at the outer end. The extraordinary expressiveness of the appearance thus gained is most remarkable in *C*, where it is combined with a rich fulness of the lips that greatly enhances its effect. But the same result is obtained more or less in the other examples, though in their case it is not at first glance so striking.

Some details of treatment that are common to this class are worthy of notice, not only for their own sake, but because they serve as a confirmation of the classification adopted, and show that it is not merely accidental or fanciful. In the treatment of the hair, *A*, *C*, and *E* are remarkably similar: all three wear a similar head-dress, an upright stephane of even width; within it on the top of the head the hair is worked only in broad, low, curved ridges, as if covered by a cap of some thin material: at the back it descends in parallel zig-zag tresses, as in the case of *B* and *D*, but with this difference: in the case of *A*, *C*, and *E* the tresses are not all precisely similar, but the two in the middle are opposed, or rather united so as to form a single tress of double width. Again, the tresses that descend on the shoulders are varied by transverse cuts or depressions in each zig-zag, not by lines parallel to their length: hence it is clear that a different system was adopted by the masters of this style. The treatment of the hair over the forehead was more a matter of individual caprice, thus in *A* and *C* we have varieties of a system of waves; while in *E* we find descending zig-zags, ending in spiral curls. The fact of a similarity in just the parts that were executed most mechanically, and on which least thought or invention was expended, is the best possible proof of connection with the same school of artists.

To this class we may also assign a head from Eleusis, now in the Central Museum at Athens (No. 363). The statue *N*, discovered in 1883, and published on Pl. 5 of the *Ephemeris* of that year, also finds best its place here; though it is by no means a typical specimen of this class. It is chiefly remarkable for its drapery, similar to that of *A*. Of this we must speak afterwards. But in the treatment of the face, especially in the finely-finished curves of the mouth, it seems most to resemble the statues we have just been considering.

No hard and fast line can be drawn between this period and that which follows it. Even as regards style and development the two have much in common; and viewed chronologically the distinction has even less claim to certainty. But it is convenient to make some distinction, even if it be a vague one; and the statues now to be described seem more pretentious, though sometimes not more successful, in their execution, and in other ways appear to bear the stamp of a more developed art.

II. Transitional Attic.

As a typical example of this class we may take *I* (Fig. 4); and with it the smaller statue *O* (found in 1883, and reproduced 'Eφ. 'Αρχ. 1883, Pl. 8) has an affinity so strong that the two can hardly be separated. *I*, in general appearance, is one of the most pleasing and graceful of all; but it must not be forgotten that the richness of the impression produced is in part at least due to the extraordinary preservation of the colour upon the borders. If one comes to look more into details, it becomes very easy to find defects. Thus the drapery, though carefully and elaborately worked out in detail, and though at first sight very light and graceful, is hung in a manner that seems hardly possible. The folds, though in no way held in or constrained, and though the material of the dress is clearly soft and flexible, do not hang vertically. They have a distinct slope from the left breast towards the front of the waist, such as could be produced in reality by quick motion: yet the statue is evidently at rest. It seems as if the artist did not imitate his drapery from nature. He must have started from a certain fixed and stiff scheme of arrangement; then to modify this he perhaps introduced the slant in the folds that seemed to give a more varied and rhythmical appearance to the whole, without considering the way in which such a slant could be in reality produced. Very likely he had been struck by the effect in some statue by another artist in rapid motion, such as the torso of Nike, which we must soon consider, and tried to imitate the effect without remembering the motive that justified it. This slant is a peculiarity also to be observed in *O* and in *K*.

While we are considering the treatment of the drapery in this class, it will be best to refer to the Nike just mentioned, which is by far the most remarkable example. It is an extremely

interesting early study of drapery under the influence of quick motion. Large oblong holes in the back of the figure show the places where the wings were once fixed; and every fold is curved



FIG. 4.—J.

by the wind of their motion. Here we find the strongest striving to express speed in the lines of the drapery. The statue flies along towards the right of the spectator. In many

details great success is attained, but not in the general tendency and harmony of the whole drapery. Thus the skirts float away to the spectator's left, the folds on the breast curve to his right, and some bits hang undisturbed. But in spite of this, the whole effect must have been very fine, and in many details the treatment is more advanced than in any other of the Acropolis statues. But it is full of inconsistencies and inadequacies, such as were likely to attend an early and bold attempt to represent floating drapery. When the artist felt confident, he has often produced an excellent piece of work, though sometimes it does not harmonise with the general system of the drapery or the result of the motion: but when he was timid, he fell back on the old conventional treatments, which have thus a strangely incongruous effect.¹

The treatment of the drapery has led us into a digression from the typical examples of the transitional class, to which we must now recur. In the treatment of the hair on the top of the head, *I*, *O*, and *K* again show a marked similarity; in all three the circular area within the stephane is divided into four quadrants, in each of which the wavy lines are parallel, so as to produce an appearance of radiation from the centre. But in each case the hair on the forehead is treated in a different manner; this seems always to have been a field in which an artist tried to display his originality, so that hardly two of all the statues found are alike. In *K*, moreover, the tresses that descend over the breast are treated differently, with a spiral, screw-like, arrangement, perhaps a reminiscence of bronze technique, which is also indicated by the fact that the tresses are worked free between head and shoulder. The treatment of the hair above the forehead in *I* is of interest, as it is found also in the most perfect example of the third period, *L*, and in the intermediate type *P*—a wavy arch in the middle, overlaid by a descending curve over each temple.

In type of face and figure, *I* seems to combine the characteristics of the two distinct types which we observed in the earliest period: of the other transitional statues, *H* seems rather to tend towards a massive dignity that may be the outcome of the class

¹ This Nike forms the subject of a very important article by Prof. Petersen, just published in the *Mith. d. d. Inst.*, 1886, pp. 375 *seq.* The above paragraph was written before that article had appeared.

denoted *Ia*; while *K* has more of the angular delicacy that belongs to *Ib*. *H* and *K* have, however, one peculiarity in common, that the eyes were inserted. In the case of *H* the crystal still remains, though damaged in surface. The eyes of *K* have lost their filling; but the peculiar hollow remains; the whole space within the outline of the lids being uniformly cut out to a depth of about $\frac{1}{8}$ in., so that the lower surface is parallel to what the outer would have been.

One other example of this class must be noticed, *P*, the statue discovered on March 10, 1887. It is mentioned in this place because in the rounded forms of the face, and in the treatment of eyes and hair, it approaches more nearly than any other to *L*. But it is in some other respects, especially in the treatment of the drapery, less advanced than many that we have already considered. The lines of the mouth are peculiar, not exactly like any other of the statues found; but they seem to show rather a refinement of the type we have already seen in *Ia*, than of the richer and fuller forms which seem more characteristic of archaic Attic work; perhaps here, too, we may see a tendency towards the more perfect type, in which the exaggerated but lively forms are not discarded, but softened to a delicacy worthy of the best period.

III. Early fine Attic, *L*. This class has only one representative specimen among the recently-discovered statues; but we have no cause to complain, for that one specimen is of such extreme excellence and in so wonderful preservation¹ that this class is really, as we could wish, the most adequately represented. The head of the statue *L* is, indeed, one of the most perfect and beautiful specimens of original Greek marble work that is now extant; as such it seems strange that it has not hitherto attracted more notice. We know that it was in marble especially that the early Athenian masters excelled; and that it was by the inheritance of their tradition that Praxiteles acquired the most perfect treatment of marble that was ever known, now happily exemplified to us by a masterpiece from the sculptor's own hand. But of his predecessors we know

¹ Especially as to surface, the tip of the nose is gone; otherwise the head is perfect. All below the waist is lost,

so that it is impossible to say much as to the treatment of drapery.

little from extant monuments. Neither architectural sculptures nor the work of handicraftsmen could supply adequate illustrations of this early Attic marble work. And from the pre-Persian period we had only one work whose execution and artist's signature made it an exception—the stele of Aristocles. This work was indeed invaluable; and the most instructive use was made of it by Brunn. Yet it was only a relief, and thus could only give partial information as to the work of the same school in free sculpture. Hence a statue which bears even more unmistakably the stamp of a master's own handiwork deserves to be studied with the utmost care, and to occupy the most prominent place in any future attempt to estimate the influence and the attainments of the early Attic school of marble sculptors.

It can hardly be disputed that we are justified in regarding the statue as a typical example of the work of this school: but it is perhaps as well to briefly review the grounds on which such a supposition is based. It is borne out alike by the evidence of extant monuments and by that of literary tradition. The evidence of the former has already in part been indicated in what has been said of the other statues of the series that finds in this work its highest perfection. In the treatment of drapery, *L* preserves the same scheme, even some of the same conventional inadequacies that are apparent in the rest: the hair too, though worked with the utmost care and delicacy, has still the somewhat conventional arrangement that we have seen elsewhere. But it is in the expression of the face that both the similarity of treatment and the wonderful advance in feeling and in effect are most evident. The lively and pleasant, but sometimes exaggerated, smile has been ennobled and idealised here into a *σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθὸς μειδίαμα*, as of a half-conscious delight in its own perfection: and this is tinged also with an almost melancholy, half-pathetic, expression, such as has often before been noticed in the greatest masterpieces of Attic art. These are things which cannot be described, but they are well enough known to all who have looked with care and appreciation at the few original works that we now possess. But it is not only with the series on the Acropolis that this face shows an idealised affinity. The face of Aristion, as represented by

Aristocles¹ upon the stele we have already more than once had occasion to refer to, is the one work that more than any other produces on the spectator the same impression as does the statue *L*. In detail too the resemblance can be traced. The eye in both cases is the most inadequate part of the work: in both cases it is the mouth in which the expression mostly lies. The delicate lines of the mouth of Aristion (always unsatisfactorily reproduced in illustrations) are well known; and the mouth of the statue *L* is worked in exquisitely rounded curves, and with a softness and care in the modelling which it would not be easy to match. This is a point which is of considerable significance, as we shall see when looking at the literary evidence. Yet another thing is common to these two early Attic works: in both alike we see a technique distinctively adapted to work in marble, as in hardly any other example that we now possess—excepting, of course, the Praxitelean *Hermes*, also in Parian marble. There is a delicate roundness of modelling and a play of light and shade upon the surface that would be completely lost in any other material: thus it is impossible to obtain any notion of the impression produced by the stele of Aristocles from a cast, just as it is of the *Hermes*. I know no other works that suffer as much as these from such a manner of reproduction, and a cast could give but a very faint notion of the Acropolis statue, for the same reason. Hence it is clear that our knowledge not only of early Attic art, but also of the highest perfection of Greek work in marble, will be increased by the new discoveries.

If we turn next to literary tradition, our evidence, though but scanty, tends again to prove that in the best of the Acropolis statues we find the most typical specimens of a really Attic art. Of the style of Attic sculptors before the time of the Persian wars we hear little or nothing. But of the time immediately before Pheidias our information is more abundant; above all the names of Calamis and of Myron stand forth conspicuous. But though Myron doubtless conformed in many respects to the Attic type, he was not a native Athenian; he was a pupil of the Argive

¹ The possibility that Aristocles was connected with Aristion, and so a Parian by origin, hardly affects the question. For his art was imported to Athens from Paros, as much as the marble in

which he and other early Attic masters worked. And it was in Attic soil and in the Attic climate that it reached its perfection.

Ageladas, and he worked almost exclusively in bronze, never in marble. For the same reason the dry and muscular work of Critius and Nesiotes has little connexion with our present discussion. It is Calamis, then, who is the representative in literary tradition of the highest attainments of the Attic school of marble sculptors, distinguished for the grace and delicacy of their style. And there were certain characteristics of the work of Calamis that were never surpassed by his successors. Hence even in an age when all the refinements of art had been exhausted by the various masters that came after him, it was still to Calamis that the critic went back for the highest perfection of expression in the face, and more especially in the treatment of the mouth. This often-quoted passage of Lucian¹ is most important to us in connexion with the judgment just expressed as to the same feature in the most beautiful of the Acropolis statues. Selecting for his eclectic statue the most beautiful points from all the greatest works known, he says, ἡ Σωσάνδρα τε καὶ Κάλαμος αἰδοῖ κοσμήσουσιν αὐτήν, καὶ τὸ μείδιμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθὸς ὥσπερ τὸ ἐκείνης ἔσται. As one reads these words it is impossible not to call to mind the Acropolis statue, which they seem to describe far more exactly than any other work of art that we know. Of course that statue is not the Soeandra, nor is there any sufficient evidence for attributing it to the hand of Calamis. But it certainly does seem to approach far nearer than anything we knew before to his work; it is the most perfect example extant of the school of which he was recognised as the most representative sculptor; and it dates from a time that coincides with the earlier years of his artistic activity,² the beginning of the fifth century. The altar adduced by Overbeck³ as probably containing figures of Hermes Criophorus and Aphrodite derived from the works of Calamis, affords an indication of similar import: the face of the Aphrodite is much worn; but that of the Hermes distinctly resembles, especially in the expression of the mouth, the stele of Aristocles; and we have already noticed the affinity of that work to the Acropolis statue *L*. Hence it is clear that, though we might wish our evidence to be clearer and more decisive, its general tendency

¹ *Imag.* 6.

² So Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Gr. Pl.* p. 217, the twenties and beginning of

the eighties in Olympiads.

³ *Op. cit.* p. 219, inadequately reproduced.

cannot be mistaken. It would be rash to assert that in this statue we have a work from the hand of Calamis himself; but we shall not be going beyond what our attested knowledge will justify, if we assume that it is really a typical example of the best work of the school to which he belonged, at the time when he was already becoming the chief representative of the Attic art of marble sculpture. And if this view be correct, it must henceforth take its place not only as one of the most perfect examples of marble work that we possess, but also as affording the most valuable and indispensable evidence as to the early history of art in Athens and Greece.

There are certain questions in connexion with the statues now in the Acropolis Museum that can best be considered separately, as they are for the most part common to the whole series, and it is simpler thus to look at them in a connected manner than to notice each indication as we meet it in each individual case.

It would be tedious to discuss all these questions in detail, especially without more numerous and elaborate plates than we have now before us; but some of them are of so great interest that they must be briefly mentioned, at least in their more general aspects. For the sake of clearness it will be as well to number them, and then to consider them in turn; they are:—

- (1) The use of insertions, marble and metal.
- (2) The drapery and its treatment.
- (3) The use of colour.
- (4) The subjects represented.

(1) This is not a matter that need detain us very long. The commonest case of an insertion in marble is the lower arm from the elbow, when it is bent at right angles; this is a part frequently inserted in all statues; but the manner of fixing calls for notice: the part to be inserted has a long wedge-like end to fit into the socket made to receive it; a circular hole is then drilled through socket and wedge, and it is secured by a closely-fitting peg of marble. Sometimes the tresses hanging over the breast in front have the portion between the ear and the shoulder made separately and affixed. Sometimes the tresses are lengthened by hanging ends that are fixed by pegs upon the

breast. M. Cavvadias asserts¹ that sometimes the head, and frequently the feet and legs from the middle of the shin-bone, were made of a different piece of marble and joined: this he explains by the fact that the material, being Parian marble, was imported. Hence it would be valuable, and the transport of large blocks would be as much as possible avoided.

The use of bronze insertions as ornaments, both in the head-dress and elsewhere, will cause no surprise. But one very peculiar insertion is found in many (not, as is sometimes stated, in all) of the statues. This is a straight spike of bronze, which is fixed vertically in the middle of the crown of the head. It is hard to find a better explanation of this than the one mentioned by M. Cavvadias, that the spike served to support the disk which we know to have been used to protect statues in the open air from rain and other accidents; the rich colouring of these statues would make such a protection especially necessary in their case. Perhaps an analogy may be here suggested. Terra-cotta figurines, as is well enough known, often wear, balanced as it were on the top of their heads, a little flat disk, rising to a point above: this is worn by figures who are already veiled, and so need no hat; and it does not fit as a hat, nor could it possibly stop on the head, if used as one, in the slightest wind or motion. It seems that this disk is merely a survival;² a reminiscence of that used to protect statues in the open air, reproduced in figurines which needed no such protection. If so, it may give us some notion of the appearance and shape of those disks. Except the spike that supported them, they were probably not made of bronze, but of wood or some other perishable material. For no remains of them have been found; and, moreover, the drippings from a bronze disk would be likely to damage and discolour a statue more than the rain that it kept off.

Bracelets are in two or three cases worked in the marble itself, and painted in imitation of bronze, not added in bronze, as we might have expected.

(2) The drapery of the Acropolis statues gives rise to so many and so difficult questions that it is impossible to fully discuss it

¹ *Musées d'Athènes*, pt. 1.

² This suggestion is so obvious that it has probably been already made in

the case of the terra-cotta; but I do not remember having seen it anywhere.

here, without swelling this paper to an inconvenient bulk. And moreover it cannot be treated separately from that of similar archaic statues or statuettes found on every site of early Hellenic civilization. Hence the only possible course is to reserve it for consideration on some future occasion; only it is to be observed that no account of Greek dress in any existing handbook is sufficient to explain more than a very small number of the schemes and arrangements on which the earliest archaic artists delighted to exercise their ingenuity, and which their successors or imitators often reproduced without understanding or intelligence. For the present it must suffice to notice a few of the simplest and commonest arrangements, and to see how they were rendered in sculpture.

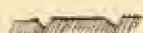
The chiton represented, whether it be covered by an upper garment or not, is in every case the Ionic, not the Doric; that is to say, it is elaborately made up into a dress, and is not merely an oblong piece of material draped upon the body and secured only by brooches. The sleeves are sometimes loose, sometimes close-fitting, and they are often decorated with elaborate borders. Similar borders or lines of ornamentation are often found on other parts of the dress, not only round the neck and along the edges, but down the middle of the front. The most usual over-garment is of the ordinary himation form, with the upper edge folded over so as to form a diplois that falls to the level of the waist; it is frequently passed under the left arm and obliquely across the breast, and is then fastened with a succession of brooches upon the right shoulder and upper arm. But sometimes, in *H* for instance, instead of being allowed to hang beneath the left arm, it is drawn up tight in front and behind, and fastened with a brooch upon the left shoulder also. If so arranged, it clearly differs in no essential respect from the so-called Doric chiton; and in any case this upper garment is girt round the waist, beneath the diplois, and is ornamented not only with borders but with a line of decoration down the middle of the front; this line often descends from the middle of the girdle, and then rises in a curve to the left hand that holds up the drapery. These details are of considerable interest, since they seem to indicate that the rigid distinction between chiton and himation is hardly to be observed; or that, if it be observed, the garment commonly known as the Doric chiton is

to be regarded as, in origin at least, not a chiton at all, but rather an *ἐπίβλημα* than an *ἔδνμα*.

The upper and the under-garment are usually of different materials. The upper is as a rule of a stuff that falls in broad smooth folds, but is light enough to hang very gracefully. The under-garment is, on the other hand, almost always represented as offering the peculiar crinkly surface of zigzag lines that is often found upon archaic sculptures. This surface is rendered in various ways; it is instructive to notice the various sections that it offers, here roughly reproduced.



A F K



E



B D H L P



C



I N O

There is a texture still made and worn in Greece in which threads of a different material are inserted at intervals in the woof; and this, when a little worn, is drawn up so as to present a crinkly surface just like that represented in these early statues. It seems hardly improbable that to represent some similar material may have been the intention of the sculptor.

There is one peculiarity that is common to almost all the statues—the treatment of the folds that radiate from the clasps upon the shoulders. These are treated exactly alike both in the under and the upper garment, in spite of the difference of material, and this fact is quite in accordance with the conventional and unintelligent treatment of the folds themselves: one can hardly deny that they are the weakest point in the whole work. On each side of each clasp or brooch three or four thin lines of zigzag diverge, either to lose themselves in the plain surface, or to join into a system of crinkly surface that is often quite at variance with the rest of the drapery. These folds evidently offered a difficulty that was not met by original

observation, but avoided by a blind adherence to the old and conventional method of rendering them. It is singular that this characteristic should survive even in work that is otherwise thorough and careful in every detail.

One more difficulty can hardly be now passed over; this is the very curious scheme of drapery which we see in *A* and in *N*; in other cases, such as *P* and *P*, it again recurs, but is obscured by a veil drawn across the back and shoulders; it is found also in the well-known seated Athena, and in a small statue in the Acropolis Museum (now numbered 281), which perhaps affords a clue to the meaning of the arrangement in the other instances. Here the position of the figure and the arrangement of the drapery are apparently the same as may be seen in *A*; but there are important differences. The line of division between the crinkled and the smooth drapery is not, as in *A*, continued round the back; but it rises from the left hand in gentle curves towards the elbows, and gradually becomes less marked as it rises; and these curves are not even symmetrical on the two sides. At the back, which is however but roughly worked, the garment seems continuous from head to foot. Hence it would seem that only a single garment is meant to be represented, both in this case and in the others; were there two, it is hard to see how the garment visible on the legs is held up, if it be over the other; or if the garment visible on the body be the outer one, its shape is incomprehensible. If then only one garment be represented, the difference in treatment between the upper and lower part is due to the fact that in the lower part it is strained tight by the hand that draws it together in front, and so is prevented from assuming the crinkled appearance that it presents when, as in the upper part here, it is allowed to hang loose.

These are but a few of the more difficult and important questions that we meet in the drapery of the Acropolis statues; but it is hardly possible here to go into more detail on this subject, which really requires a separate treatment, both from the point of view of art and from that of the history of dress.

(3) One of the most important acquisitions gained from the Acropolis statues is the light thrown upon the vexed question of the application of painting to sculpture among the Greeks.

Much baseless theorising has been written upon this matter, both by those who defended the practice, and by such as found it at variance with their taste. The use and the preservation of the colour on the recently-found statues has perhaps attracted more attention than anything else about them; and so, its importance being already fully recognised, we need only add a few remarks as to its principles.

Colour is never applied in mass to a broad flat surface; thus neither the flesh nor the whole surface of the drapery are tinted, but they are left in the pure whiteness of the marble, relieved only with painted details and ornaments. The only exceptions are the hair, which was always of a uniform reddish-brown colour, and occasionally the under-garment; but this was only painted over its whole surface when but a small part of it showed, so that the extent of the colour was very limited. Thus in the case of *E* it is dark green, in *I* dark purple; but in neither case does much of its extent show. In other cases, beside the borders in the places already referred to, we sometimes find the whole surface dotted with stars or other ornaments. The *stephane* also is generally painted. The commonest designs are the *meander* and the *palmetto*. The colours most used are dark-green and dark-purple; red and blue are also found. In the nude parts, we find red applied to the lips and the iris of the eye; the eyebrows, the outlines of the eyelids and the iris, and the pupil, are sometimes coloured with a dark pigment.

But it is in the general effect and the impresson produced upon the eye that the chief interest lies: for it has hitherto been impossible to judge of the real appearance of the Greek coloured sculpture of the best period, of which so much has been written. When the colour is thus applied, so as in no way to obscure the modelling or to hide the texture of the marble, there results a richness and harmony of effect that plain white marble would not possess: this will, I think, be admitted by any unprejudiced spectator. There is not the slightest tendency to the revolt of modern taste such as is felt when we see a completely coloured cast:¹ for it is the suspicion of inferior material and the hiding of the true surface that most offends us. From the *Acropolis* statues these objections are

¹ E.g. the tinted cast of the *Parthenon* frieze at the Crystal Palace.

entirely removed; in them the colouring adds to the effect of the sculpture, but takes nothing from it.

(4) One question remains which can be neither ignored nor answered. Whom do these statues represent? A goddess or a human being? And what goddess, or what human being? The external evidence seems at first sight clear enough: the statues were found on the Acropolis of Athens, together with dedications to Athena: hence those who give great weight to such evidence will probably assert that they represent that goddess. But few if any archaeologists who have carefully studied these statues, and who are also familiar with the Athena type in Greek art, will be satisfied with such an explanation. The head of Athena found on the Acropolis is typical, and is as different from these as possible: even Athena Ergane could hardly change her nature when she lays aside her warlike attributes. But it is easier to reject this view than to substitute another for it. Of the type it is not so hard to speak. Its gradual development can be traced in a now numerous series of examples, which show that it originated in the primitive representations of a great female goddess, often spoken of as the later Greek Aphrodite. The Aphrodite type is still unmistakable in some of the Acropolis statues, notably in *O*; yet it would be rash to assert that they represent Aphrodite. For the type was often in early times transferred from the goddess to her worshippers, who thus dedicated to her their own images; this is clear at Cyprus, and perhaps at Naucratis, where many such female figures were found dedicated in the temple of Aphrodite; and some male figures also, one of a hunter with his spoils. So priestesses and worshippers, as well as goddesses, were thus represented and dedicated; the statues would not be portraits, but variations on the original type. But until more decisive evidence be found, it is impossible to come to any definite decision. One inscribed pedestal, with a statue that certainly belonged to it, would decide the question; and while there is still hope of such a discovery, it need cause no surprise that archaeologists hesitate to venture an opinion that may next day be refuted by indisputable evidence. Meanwhile we must be content to leave the matter in doubt; only holding, for help in our appreciation of the statues, to the opinion that seems least at variance with our knowledge of established styles and types. Whatever may have

been the intention of the artist, his work was, at least in outward form, connected with a series with which we are familiar. And thus we shall be able the better to appreciate his progress and his attainments in art.

In the preceding section of this paper an attempt has been made to indicate what we may learn from the statues recently found on the Acropolis as to the early history of Attic art, and



FIG. 5.

to estimate their value as examples of archaic sculpture. But they have hitherto been considered only in their relation to one another. It is necessary also to regard them as representing one of the many schools that were active in the age of growth and development—and of a school that exercised a very great influence on its contemporaries and successors, yet was hitherto but very imperfectly known to us. This influence could not previously be certainly defined or accurately estimated: and now that we have gained some notion of the history and tendencies

of early Attic art, it will be as well to make a brief review of other archaic schools that seem to have been connected with it or to have felt its influence. In this way we shall also have an opportunity of noticing other works of archaic sculpture that have been found either on the Acropolis or on other sites. Especially important among the latter is the temple of Apollo Ptoos in Boeotia, where the French excavations, conducted by M. Maurice Holleaux, have brought to light some extremely interesting statues and heads.

One of these heads (Fig. 5) shows so little affinity with any known style, and is of such excessively primitive workmanship, that it may best be treated separately before we proceed to any classification. It is represented in the *Bulletin* for 1886, Pl. V., from which our figure is reproduced. The very extraordinary appearance of this work is obvious at first glance; all the effect is produced by flat intersecting planes and mere cuts in the surface of the stone, in no way shaped or rounded off. The nose is formed merely by intersecting planes, with no attempt to indicate the natural structure; the mouth is little more than a long shapeless slit. These planes and cuts may be the work of a man used to working in wood; but perhaps another possibility is worth considering. In general appearance, especially of the nose, eyes, and mouth, this head strongly reminds one of some of the Mycenæ gold masks.¹ Of course we cannot assume any artistic or typical connexion between the two; but if the resemblance in appearance be a coincidence, that appearance is perhaps due to the same cause in both cases. Now the Mycenæ masks were formed simply by beating a thin plate of metal into a certain shape: this same process was, as we know, used by some early Greek artists in making the bronze statues known as *σφυρήλατα*, or 'hammered out' in plates. May not the head found by M. Holleaux preserve the characteristics of this primitive metal technique? If so, it is of great interest, as giving us some information as to a class of early works of statuary of which we had hardly any knowledge before. This suggestion is made with all reserve; but the head has so little resemblance to the specimens we have hitherto regarded as preserving the characteristics of other early methods of working,

¹ The similarity is not in style or expression, but only in such details as seem to depend mostly on the material and the technique.

that it seems worth while to consider all the possible explanations of its peculiarity.¹

Leaving this head out of our account, as being quite isolated in character, we may now proceed with our more general sketch, and assign other new examples to their due places as we go on.

In the earliest works of Greek sculpture that we possess, it seems possible to notice two types, distinct in countenance and expression. It is not easy to assign either to any particular schools; but in the period when artists wandered so often from place to place, it may be admissible to recognise a tendency without giving to it 'a local habitation and a name.' The two types referred to we may roughly distinguish as the stolid type and the grinning type. The first is the natural result of an early realistic art, copying what it sees before it, perhaps in a model tired by long sittings and a fixed attitude; the second as naturally results from an attempt to avoid lifelessness by the addition of a 'pleasing expression,' which only result in a grimace.² Instances of either will occur in plenty: of the stolid type the best known and most representative is the so-called 'Apollo of Orchomenus': of the grinning type we may mention the Hera of Olympia, the winged figure sometimes identified as the Nike of Archermus,³ the 'Apollo' statues of Tenos and of Thera.

For the sake of clearness, it is perhaps as well to state here by anticipation the later development of these types, as it will

¹ Part of the face has stains of bronze. This might seem to indicate it was originally covered with *epoxyphana* bronze plates. But there are no signs of the attachment of them, such as we should in that case expect to find.

² These two types are curiously enough illustrated by photography, which mechanically reproduces the realism of a primitive art.

³ Though the highest authorities have decided against the connexion of this figure with the Archermus pedestal, I venture to think the evidence for this identification is at least as strong as that for many others now accepted. Whether Archermus himself called the winged figure Nike is another question. As to the size of the base, which is

thought too small for the statue, the following measurements seem conclusive. In a precisely similar small figure in the Acropolis the height is $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the breadth from foot to foot $2\frac{1}{2}$, the length of the part inserted in the pedestal is only $1\frac{1}{2}$, for both feet are left free in the air, as in flight. The figure is supported by the drapery only. The height of the Archermus figure was about 40 in., the length of the hole in the pedestal 13 in. (Since writing the above note, I see that Prof. Petersen (*Mith. d. d. Inst.* 1888, p. 388) has, on the same grounds, connected the Archermus base with the winged figure from Delos: his thorough discussion may be held to settle the question finally.)

be traced and exemplified in the following pages. The first, or stolid, type is represented by *G* among the statues found on the Acropolis, and by the life-size statue found at the temple of Apollo Ptous: it seems not to have been so popular as the other for a time, but to have persisted till it was filled with life and idealised in the finest period. This improvement must have been gradual; we see the transitional period in *M* of the Acropolis; but it took place without passing through the stage of the so-called archaic smile. Finally it became the prevalent type of the schools independent of the Attic; we see its direct descendants in the works of Pythagoras of Paros and of Rhegium,¹ and of the Argive school.

The second, or grinning, type had a more varied history. It was adopted in a more refined form by the Aeginetan and Attic schools; and was especially, as we have seen, by the latter filled with a meaning and expression that it originally had not. The success of the Attic artists led to the spread of Attic influence; and hence we find elsewhere imitations that often fail to reproduce the life of the Attic models they strive to follow. Some interesting specimens of these imitations have been found, again at the temple of Apollo Ptous; and to them may perhaps be added a stele from Abdera.

This brief outline must now be filled in by a description of the newly-found examples, most of which have already been referred to. The statue *G*, as has already been said, is totally different from all the others found with it upon the Acropolis, and is made of a different marble. The subject is a female figure, who holds an apple or pomegranate to her breast in her left hand—a common archaic type. It certainly is not a product of Attic art. The eyes are small and flat, the lips simply drawn in incised outline; the mouth quite straight; thus it is very weak and lacking in character. The hair is rendered by shallow wavy lines in front; at the back it is blocked out in squares. The drapery is also indicated by parallel shallow lines, only varying slightly in their distance apart according to the texture represented; in arrangement and treatment it resembles that of the column-like figure found at Samos: but as that figure lacks its head, the comparison cannot be carried farther. The whole

¹ Assuming Dr. Waldstein's identification of the 'Apollo on the Omphalos' to be correct. If so it seems a Paeltean copy.

seems to show very timid work; and all effects are gained by very slight and diffident touches. The general forms are carefully shaped, and their details are added by the most shallow lines or modelling. The effect is painfully weak, in contrast



FIG. 6.

to the bold, often-exaggerated Attic work by which it is surrounded. In our dearth of exact knowledge as to other early styles, it seems inadvisable at present to assign this statue more definitely to any local school.¹

¹ M. Cayrolles at first suggested its connexion with Theodorus; but he has now given up that view, and associates it with Archermus, *Ep. Arch.* 1836. But for this latter view also

the evidence is by no means conclusive; there is no resemblance to the Nike which, as we have seen, probably is the work of Archermus.

Our next example, the life-size statue found by M. Holleaux at the temple of Apollo Ptous (Fig. 6), belongs to a well-known series; it takes its place, in the history of art as in the Museum at Athens, beside the 'Apollo' statues of Thera and Orchomenus. A comparison of the three is very interesting. The 'Apollo' of Palagia—for we may conveniently name the recently-found statue, like the others, after the place where it was found—is in general proportion nearest to that of Thera, but it has even rounder and slighter forms. The face is of an evenly rounded oval shape, without any marked projections in outline: the highest points of the arches of the eyebrows are nearer together than in the 'Apollo' of Thera, the eyes are more almond-shaped. The mouth, though it has not the brutal stolidity of the 'Apollo' of Orchomenus, is quite straight and absolutely lacking in expression—a great contrast to the broad grin of the Theraean figure: in this feature the 'Apollo' of Palagia strongly resembles the statue *G* on the Acropolis.

All the forms of the body have a more marked downward curve than is to be noticed in the other two 'Apollo' statues. The play of the muscles at the lower part of the chest is clearly but slightly marked; owing to the state of the surface they can now be seen only if caught in outline from the side. Below them the front of the body is not so flat as in the Theraean statue, but is well rounded. No muscles are distinguished, and thus we have a marked contrast to the strange and exaggerated ribbed surface of this part in the 'Apollo' of Orchomenus. The back is only roughly finished, and here again we find a contrast to the other Boeotian figure, which is in this part most carefully finished. The form of the arms is rather peculiar, as two of the surfaces form a sharp angle where they meet, close to the side; but this is perhaps only due to the position, as there is only a narrow opening between the arms and the body in this place. On the outside of the elbow is a decided hollow, but it is marked in the flesh, not in the skin, as in the case of the 'Apollo' of Orchomenus.

On the whole, this new statue is decidedly more advanced than either of its two fellows, yet it does not much resemble the

¹ The name 'Apollo,' usually applied to these statues, is so firmly established in usage that it is almost necessary to

adopt it. But it is by no means free from doubt. See below.

'Apollo' of Tenca; in the treatment of the face, especially, it is totally different. Thus it serves to fill a gap between the early 'Apollo' figures we before knew and the athlete statue of the more perfect art that succeeded.

The discovery of one of these 'Apollo' statues in the sacred precinct of Apollo Ptoos is of great importance: it seems to make untenable the theory that these figures stood upon graves as portraits of the deceased: but they may still be athlete statues; such were usually erected in the precinct of the god in whose honour the contest had taken place. Here, as in the case of the female statues on the Acropolis, it is as yet impossible to decide whether the statues represent a divine or a human personage.

The next example before us is that denoted as *M* among the Acropolis statues. This seems to be the product of an art quite as highly developed as that of *L*, but of a totally different kind. The face and figure seem younger and more girlish. The face certainly does not seem to be of an Attic type; it has a low brow, and rather strong and angular forms; the eyes are long and narrow, and the ridge of the eyelids strongly projects: the line of the mouth is nearly straight, but slightly depressed towards the corners, and thus is gained the half-contemptuous expression that we often see in fifth century work of other schools than the Attic. The drapery is very peculiar. Where it is thin, it can hardly be distinguished in texture from the nude: where of thicker material, it lies in very broad, smooth folds, almost devoid of any indication of texture. On the thin chiton, over the breast and the left shoulder, is a very peculiar ornamentation—a frieze of chariots and horses. These are drawn very freely in dark outline, and sometimes filled in with red colour. This decoration is again in marked contrast with the exclusively conventional ornaments found upon the dresses of the Attic statues. The work we see in this statue is perhaps more surprising than that in any of the others found with it, if it really belong to a date before 480 B.C.

One more head must be here mentioned—the remarkable small bronze in the Acropolis Museum, reproduced in *Les Musées d'Athènes*, Pl. XVI. In expression this is not unlike *M*; but it bears a strong resemblance to the Apollo of the West Pediment at Olympia. The significance of this resemblance cannot here

be followed out; it is enough to say that neither this head nor that found at Olympia bears any resemblance to the type we have in this paper regarded as Attic; they seem rather to belong to the other of the two great classes we have noticed.

We must now pass on to the second of these great classes—the class which starts from the archaic smile, turns it from a grimace into an expression, and thence derives its more perfect type. To the primitive specimens of this class belongs a small marble head in the Acropolis Museum, which even in details resembles closely the Hera of Olympia, thus affording another example of the wanderings of early artists, or the wide prevalence of early types. The two great schools which ennobled and handed on the characteristics of this class were, as has been said, the Attic and the Aeginetan. To the first of these the first section of this paper has been devoted. As to the Aeginetan, a few words may be here added. The close relation of the Aeginetan artists with Attica is proved both by inscriptions and by other evidence. A basis, bearing the name of Callon of Elis as its artist,¹ was previously known; recently another basis has been found, with the words *Ἰνδράτος ἐπιόντων*. Nor are we only tantalised by the bare name which shows that works of the two great Aeginetan masters existed once on the Acropolis. A life-size bronze head has been found,² which is so similar to what we recognise as specimens of Aeginetan work, that it can without hesitation be assigned to the Aeginetan school, perhaps even to one of its two best-known sculptors. In any case its importance can hardly be over-estimated. Our previous knowledge of the famous Aeginetan style was derived mainly from architectural works, the pedimental figures now at Munich. Now we have the head of an independent statue; and that too in bronze,³ the material constantly used by Aeginetan artists. Of its characteristics it is not necessary now to speak at length, as they are those with which we are already familiar in the Aeginetan pediments; but here more marked, as the material is that to which the artists are most accustomed. It is enough to observe that this head must in future occupy a most prominent place

¹ Loewy, *Inschr. gr. Bildh.* 27.

² Reproduced in *Museo d'Atene*,
Plate xv.

³ It would be worth while to analyse

this bronze, to discover the Aeginetan mixture which Myron preferred to all others.

in the account given of the Aeginetan school by any historian of Greek sculpture.¹

Next in order come those works which seem to show a more or less direct dependence on the Aeginetan and Attic schools. A remarkable example of these is the statue² found by M. Holleaux, with a dedication to Apollo Ptous inscribed on the outside of its thighs. In the treatment of the body there is a resemblance to the Strangford Apollo;³ and so to the Aeginetan sculptors to which the affinity of that statue is now generally recognised. In the face there is an exaggerated smile, which is very different from what we have seen in the earlier examples of Boeotian art; more expression is aimed at, though hardly attained. This may be also due to the Aeginetan influence; but the smile seems too strong for such an explanation. It looks more like an unsuccessful attempt to reproduce the lively expression of contemporary Attic works. In profile this statue is almost exactly similar to the head of a youth on a stele from Abdera;⁴ and it is perhaps easiest to trace the common influence in both cases to Athens.

But however this may be, the Attic influence in a female head, also found near the temple of Apollo Ptous, is unmistakable. Though similar statues are common,⁵ the resemblances in detail to the Acropolis statues are too strong for us to deny an Attic influence; we find the same diadem, the same ear-disks, the same spike in the top of the head. Yet the work is not Attic: the smile is copied, but its characteristic life is lost; in all the forms there is an absence of that delicacy and refinement of feeling that we find in a really Attic statue. Here then, beyond doubt, we see an attempt by a Boeotian artist to copy an Attic model: and thus we have a certain proof of the influence exercised by the Athenian school on its contemporaries.

There are many more statues that might be included in this notice; but those that have been selected seem to be the most representative. It is obviously beyond the scope of such a

¹ M. Cavvadias suggests that this head may be the work of Theodorus of Samos, whose name is found on a basis on the Acropolis.

² Reproduced in the *Bulletin*, 1886, pl. vi. (without the head, which has now been added).

³ Observed by M. Holleaux, *Bulletin*, loc. cit., but his further inferences are different.

⁴ Athens, central museum, No. 7.

⁵ As urged by M. Holleaux, *Bulletin*, 1887: he thinks the coincidences may be accidental.

paper as this to attempt a complete or exhaustive enumeration or discussion of the abundant new material that has been gained. Our object will have been attained, if we be found to have given some notion of the importance of last year's discoveries, and at least to have indicated the direction in which we may hope they will increase our knowledge of the early art of Greece.

ERNEST A. GARDNER.

THE LOMBARDS AND VENETIANS IN EUBOIA.

(Continued from Vol. VII. page 352.)

2.

(1303—1340.)

§ 33. *Disputes between Venetians and Lombards.*—In 1303 a subject of dissension arose between the Republic and the Lombard barons. It was probably about this time that Beatrice da Verona, who shared the Third of her father Giberto with her mother Maria, contracted a second marriage with John de Noyers, Lord of Maisy. Thus John became on his marriage lord of one Sixth, and as the Sixth of his mother-in-law Maria would revert on her death to Beatrice, he was prospectively lord of one Third. Moreover he was practically master for the present of the Sixth in the north of the island which had belonged to Beatrice's first husband Grapozzò, and was administered by her as guardian of her son Pietro. Hence John de Noyers was in a position to make his influence felt in Eubois; and being a man of energy he asserted himself. He assumed an independent attitude towards Venice.

A demand was made by the Lombard podestà in 1303 on a Venetian citizen named Meo, who resided in Lombard territory, to pay taxes. For twenty years he had been a resident in the island and never been called on to pay them before. The requisition is very plausibly ascribed by Hopf to the suggestion of John de Noyers. A dispute arose in consequence, and the attitude of the Lombards was so hostile that Venice directed Francesco Dandolo (4 January, 1304) to close the Venetian

quarter in Negroponte off from the rest of the town. That the affair assumed a really serious aspect is shewn by this measure and the means they took to execute it. The cost was calculated at 2,000 hyperpers. This sum was to be contributed by the Jews, and the 400 hyperpers which formed the salary of each of the Bailo's councillors, and was paid by them, was reduced to 300. Before the year 1308 the aspect of the town must have been somewhat changed as the walls were erected round the Venetian quarter, a new street for Jews was built and a Dominican monastery. Considerable care and money was spent on the Euboian settlement by Venice, and in 1309 provveditori were sent to report on the state of the island. It was ordained that the Bailo and one of the councillors should always be within the walls.

The double government in Euboa was sometimes found convenient for shifting blame. It is recorded that in 1309, one Enrico de Lusani put in at Oreos with a cargo of slaves. The slaves were disembarked, concealed in the houses of the Templars, and set free. Enrico, being a citizen of Spigno, laid the matter before Frederick, king of Sicily, who communicated on the subject with Venice. That city declined to interfere as Oreos was not completely Venetian, and directed the appeal to be made to the Lombard lords, who gave no satisfaction.

The Greek war had been in more than one respect advantageous to Venice. The lords of the islands who had been dispossessed by the Greeks used to acknowledge the overlordship of the dukes of Naxos. When Venice expelled the Greeks and restored the islands to their Latin lords, the latter professed allegiance to the Republic. This caused hostilities between Guglielmo Sanudo, who desired to restore the old relations, and the island lords with the exception of the Ghisi. Venice was often obliged to interfere, as indeed the matter more or less concerned her; privileges entail obligations. Sanudo imprisoned J. Barozzi; the Republic interfered; he was set free and sent to Negroponte. In these disputes Sanudo and Ghisi were for referring to Philip of Savoy, Prince of Achaia, as the suzerain of the Aegean islands, while their opponents desired to make the Bailo of Negroponte arbitrator.

The general result of all these quarrels was the growth of Venetian influence in the Aegean.

§ 34. *The Catalan Grand Company.*—After 1303 Venice had no occasion to feel much alarm from the Greeks in regard to Eubœia. But about that time a new power appeared in the East which was destined to occasion it considerable uneasiness in 1309 and the following years. The mercenaries who had been employed by the House of Aragon in the wars of Sicily and Naples were no longer required when the peace of Calatabellotta had been concluded in 1302, and were let loose on the East, where they appeared as the Catalan Grand Company in the service of the Greek Emperor Andronikos against the Turks under the leadership of Roger de Flor. Having inflicted perhaps more injury on their employer than on the foe, they finally quarrelled with him in consequence of the assassination of their leader. Roger was succeeded by Berenger d'Entenza who established himself in Gallipoli, as a basis for pillaging expeditions, and styled himself 'By the grace of God Grand-duke of Romania, lord of Anatolia and the islands of the empire.' He was taken prisoner in a battle with the Genoese and succeeded by Rocaforte. For two years the company resided at Gallipoli, until they had reduced to a wilderness all the land between Constantinople and Selymbria. They were then obliged to move their quarters; and as their leaders quarrelled they went westwards in three detachments, under Entenza (who had been released), Rocaforte and Fernando Ximenes. The members of the company always looked upon themselves as subjects of Frederick of Sicily, and he always showed himself interested in their fortunes. It was now threatened with dissolution on account of the divided leadership, an evil which Frederick tried to remedy by appointing his nephew the Infant Ferdinand of Majorca captain of the company. Ferdinand visited Negroponte on his way to Gallipoli, and was well entertained there. He soon discovered that it was quite impracticable to deal with Rocaforte, and that the problem of uniting the company was beyond his power, so that he determined to return to Sicily. It is from this point that the Catalan expedition begins to affect the affairs of Eubœia.

The Catalan expedition was fortunate in the fact that a gifted historian was in the number of the company; this advantage it shared with the Fourth Crusade. Ramon Muntaner resembles Geoffrey Villehardouin in that both were less personally ambitious and perhaps better than their comrades, and yet neither was too

good for the company he was in. Villehardouin's narration lends a dignity to the Fourth Crusade which few historians can resist, even though they should agree with Finlay that the heroes of 1204 were a mere crew of adventurers. Of Muntaner too, it is hard to say a hard word, though he belonged to a force purely and recklessly destructive, and yet never appears to doubt that the company was perfectly justified in their conduct. He attributes its success to two causes; they always attributed the glory to God, and they always practised justice among themselves. The second of these causes is a condition of the success of the unjust as well as of the just, as Plato explains in the Republic; and we may concede thus much to the apologists of the Catalan soldiers, that they were only 'half-wicked,' *ἡμιποχθηροί*. It is amusing and in some ways instructive to read the laudations bestowed by modern Spanish writers on the Catalan heroes. For example, a monograph, which shows considerable learning, entitled '*La Expedición y dominación de los Catalanes en oriente juzgadas por los Griegos*' by Don Antonio Rubió y Lluch glorifies the expedition as a series of exploits of which the Spanish nation and especially Aragon may be proud.¹

As midway between the virulent antipathy of the Greeks and the partiality of the Aragonese, we may note the simple statement of G. Villani, that under the leadership of Fra Rugieri, a Knight Templar, a dissolute and cruel man, the Catalan soldiers proceeded to Romania to conquer lands and '*si chiamarono la Compagna, stando e vivendo alla roba d'ogni huomo.*'²

§ 35. *The infant Ferdinand and Ramon Muntaner at Negroponte*.—Accompanied by Muntaner, the historian of the expedition, he set sail from Thessos with four galleys and two boats. He

¹ For example (p. 6) he speaks of 'los secretos de heroismo maravilloso que encierra la conquista del Oriente por nuestras armas, no menos digna de admiración, bajo muchos conceptos que las inmortales expediciones de las Cruzadas.' With less extravagance he compares the company (p. 7) to Xenophon's Ten Thousand. Characteristic of his point of view is the mode in which he introduces an extract from the violently anti-Catalan essay of Theodulus *κατὰ τὰς ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ Πελοποννήσῳ γεγενημένων*. He writes,

'Y así dello imperdurable de lea nacionalidad sería darla à conocer, si por una parte no la desvirtuara en salte anfitico y declamatorio,' &c.

² *Ric. x. Cap. 50*. But we may readily accept the words of Moncada in the Proemio to his celebrated history: 'las quales [fiestas] fueron tan formidables que causaron temor y acobro à los mayores principes de Asia y Europa, pérdida y total ruina à muchas naciones y provincias y admiración à todo el mundo.'

determined to visit Negroponte, remembering the good entertainment he had received on his outward journey; and they reached it by Halmyros and Skopeles, where they killed the inhabitants and plundered their property. At Negroponte they found ten Venetian galleys which had just arrived under the command of Giovanni Quirini and Marco Minotto,¹ sailing in the name of Charles Valois to join the company. The envoy of Charles, Thibaut de Cepoy, was also there. En Fernand demanded and received a safe-conduct from the lords of Negroponte and likewise from the captains of the galleys. But when he landed the Venetian galleys attacked the Spanish ships, especially that of Muntaner who was reported to have untold treasures. They killed forty men; Muntaner himself was fortunately ashore with the Infant. Cepoy then proceeded to hand over the prince and his attendants to 'Jean de Nixia,' that is Jean de Noyers, the triarch. John sent him to the Duke of Athens, who owing him a grudge for his behaviour at Halmyros, confined him in the castle of St. Omer at Thebes.

With Muntaner they dealt otherwise. He and one Garcin Gomès Palasin, a personal foe of En Rocaforte, were sent back to the company at Kassandria, the Euboians expecting that both would be put to death. And Rocaforte was highly pleased to see both, but for different reasons. Without sentence and in the presence of all he caused Garcin's head to be cut off; but Muntaner was treated by him and by all the company with the greatest consideration. In the negotiations which followed between Cepoy and Rocaforte, the latter made it a *sine quâ non* condition of his alliance with Charles of Valois, that Muntaner's property which had been robbed at Negroponte should be restored; the Venetians promised to restore it. Muntaner was determined to leave the company and did not listen to Cepoy's persuasions to remain. He returned to Eubŏia with the ships of Quirini, and as soon as he reached Negroponte, John de Noyers the triarch, Bonifacio de Verona and the Venetian Bailo—the three most important persons in the island—made a proclamation that Muntaner's property, valued at 100,000 gold florins, should be restored. It proved, however, impossible to recover it; but the matter was not forgotten. Fifty years afterwards, as we learn from a document in the *Libri Commemorativi*, Muntaner's

¹ Muntaner (Bachon's version): Jean-Tari et Mara Miyot.

grand-daughter Valenza, wife of Pasquasio Mazana received as an indemnity 10,000 gold florins.

Muntaner then proceeded to Thebes to visit the imprisoned En Fernand.

§ 36. *Attitude of the Venetians of Negroponte.*—Venice looked with great suspicion on the Grand Company. Its alarm for Negroponte had considerable foundation; for Duke Guy II. of Athens, the next neighbour of the islanders, was well-disposed to the Catalans, and his friend Bonifacio da Verona, the influential Baron of Karystos, was always on friendly terms with the Company. The Venetians feared that Bonifacio might invite the Spaniards to Negroponte and make use of them to diminish the Venetian power.

One of the elements which contributed to the dissolution of the Company was the want of unity among the leaders. Cepoy and Rocaforte were now at enmity, and it was the policy of Venice to keep this enmity alive. At this juncture Venice and Cepoy coalesced in preventing the projected marriage of Rocaforte with Jeannette de Brienne, step-sister of Duke Guy. Twice in 1308 was the Bailo of Negroponte warned to keep vigilant guard against Catalan designs.

A change in the situation was produced by two events. One of them was the death of Duke Guy and the succession of his step-brother, Walter of Brienne, to the dukedom; the other was the arrest of Rocaforte who died in the dungeons of Aversa, and the consequent assumption of the sole command by Cepoy. He conducted the Company to Thessaly, where they remained for a year 1309–1310 at peace with the Thessalians. Benedetto Falier, Bailo of Negroponte in 1309, received an embassy from Cepoy proposing a Veneto-Catalan alliance. Here again the existence of the Lombards in Eubolia made an evasive reply easy. Falier said that he could not conclude a treaty without consulting G. Ghisi and A. Pallavicini—John de Noyers is not mentioned. When information in regard to this matter had been received at Venice, the Bailo was directed to take the most careful precautions for the safety of the island and to arrange a money claim of Cepoy—probably the money claimed for Muntaner. The triarchs, Ghisi and Pallavicini presumably, were ready to pay two-thirds or half of the amount, and Venice hoped in time to be able to pay the residue also at the cost of the Lombards. But

the money was not paid. The directions from Venice to the Bailo are dated November 29, 1309; and Cepoy, weary of the Grand Company and despairing of making anything out of it, had left Greece in September.

The situation is now changed again. After Cepoy's departure the Catalans formed themselves into a republican company, and in the spring of 1310 passed into Boiôtia, to serve under Walter of Brienne, Duke of Athens, who had become acquainted with the ways and manners of the Catalans in Sicily, and knew their language. This alliance confirmed Venice in her distrust; and in the treaty with the Greek Emperor (Nov. 11, 1310) all Venetian Rettori were strictly forbidden to have any dealings with the Catalans or the lands in which they were quartered.

§ 37. *Battle of Képhisos*.—The Duke of Athens who had hired the company for the war in Epeiros obtained some successes there, but probably found, as the Emperor had found before, that the Catalans were troublesome servants. So having made peace with Anna, the Despoina of Epeiros, he resolved to dismiss them, and declined to pay the arrears. But the Catalans were not men to be so easily disposed of; they retired to Thessaly and prepared for war. Walter on his part made extensive preparations, and collected seven hundred chosen knights, including Pallavicini and Ghisi, the triarchs of Eubœia, and Bonifacio, Lord of Karystos, and a large army besides. The battle took place on the plain of Képhisos (March 15, 1311), and would have resulted in a victory for the Duke, whose army was far superior, but for the craft of the Spaniards, who, by means of the waters of Lake Kôpaia, turned the plain into a marsh. The knights advanced unsuspectingly on the Catalans who stood still where they were drawn up, and their steeds sank in the morass. Then the Spaniards rushed in and massacred them. Only two survived; Roger des Laux, who had arranged the negotiations between Walter and the company, and Bonifacio da Verona, who had always been friendly to the Catalans, and whose life was preserved as soon as he was recognised.¹

¹ An old wall fell in the citadel of Chalkis in 1840 and an immense number of arms was found behind it. Burhon put forward the theory that

these were the arms of the knights slain in this battle, suggesting that they were collected and heaped up as a monument by Bonifacio da Verona. Of

The company wanted a leader. Their republican government did very well while they were in Thessaly; but now they were in a more dangerous position, hedged round by foes, and they concluded that the rule of many was not a good thing. They offered the command to Bonifacio da Verona, but he prudently declined it, and Roger des Laux was appointed.

Thus in 1311 Catalan mercenaries were in possession of Attika, 'le dilizie de' Latini,' and the next neighbours of Euböia.

§ 38. *Schemes of Bonifacio da Verona.*—The triarch Giorgio Ghisi and the hexarch Alberto Pallavicini had fallen in the fatal battle of the Képhisos. The son of the former, Bartolommeo, inherited half of southern and half of northern Euböia, and the islands of Ténos and Mykónos; as he was a minor his mother Alice acted as his guardian. Pallavicini's widow Maria married Andrea Cornaro, lord of Skarpanto (Karpáthos), in the following year (1312), and thereby he became hexarch of Euböia and lord of half Bodonítza, the other half of which was the portion of Maria's daughter, Guglielma.

The third war in which Euböia was engaged during the Lombard and Venetian period now approached.

It became apparent to the Venetians that the lord Bonifacio was scheming to invite into Euböia the Catalans who were now established in Attika. If we inquire what would probably have happened had the Catalans conquered the island we may be able to guess the object of Bonifacio's design. The Venetians would have been expelled from it, or at least their influence would have been annulled; and the island would have been subject to a Spanish lord, or a lord in the Spanish interest. Bonifacio himself would have certainly been elected; he had already been offered the duchy of Athens; he might then have become the first Duke of Negroponto. In time Euböia would probably have become completely Lombard, as Bonifacio (or his successors) would have doubtless shaken off the Catalans when they had served his turn. It is at least plain that Bonifacio's motive was not a peculiar affection for the Spaniards; his object was the expulsion of the Venetians, for which purpose he planned to make use of the company.

this there is of course no proof, and it seems improbable, as the Catalans would have hardly granted all the valuable

arms to Bonifacio, even though he was their friend.

The Grand Company, which felt itself in a precarious condition and required powerful recognition and assistance against the enemies by which on all sides it was surrounded—the Franks of Morea, who had lost many of their best knights in the battle of Képhissos, the Venetians of Negroponte, the Angelei of Epeiros, who remembered their campaign with the Duke of Athens, the Palaiologoi, who had not forgiven their behaviour in Thrace—did not forget that they were subjects of Frederick of Sicily, and asked him to appoint one of his sons Duke of Athens. He appointed Prince Manfred, who was still a boy, and sent as his representative Berenger Estafiol to Athens, who governed the land during the years 1312-1316.

In the meantime Johanna, the widow of Walter of Brienne, was stirring up hostilities in the west against the new lords of Attika, and trying to enlist Robert King of Naples, Prince Philip of Tarentum, and Pope Clement in the interests of her son Walter. Many negotiations in the west took place, but they remained negotiations.

The republic of St. Mark did not delay to take measures in good time for the defence of the island against an only too possible attack. Money was borrowed in September, 1311, for this purpose; and in January, 1312, on the appointment of a new Bailo, Enrico Delfino, it was arranged that the salary of the Bailo should be increased by 200 hyperpers, and the salaries of the counsellors by 100 hyperpers, until the affairs of the island should again run smooth. In the following year more money was borrowed, and some reserve forces were sent from Crete. The organisation of a fleet was one of the most important measures, and in this Venice expected the Lombard barons to cooperate. Andrea Cornaro, the new hexarch, came to Negroponte in May, 1313, and took an energetic part in concert with the Bailo for the protection of the island. All the triarchs and hexarchs, that is, John de Noyers, A. Cornaro, and Alice the mother of Bartolommeo Ghisi, agreed to contribute their share to the costs of providing half the fleet.

At this juncture Bonifacio manifested openly his disaffection. He was asked to contribute his share to the costs of the fleet, and he refused.

Three other points in which he fell foul of Venice and the triarchs who were cooperating with Venice are recorded. (1) He

claimed a Jewess, doubtless a subject of Venice, as his slave; (2) he plundered the ship of Giacomo Buticlaro, which carried a cargo of barley for the triarchs: in regard to this point Bonifacio charged Buticlaro with having pillaged in his villages; (3) he committed some act of violence against the property or subjects of Cornaro who revenged himself in kind. These things took place in the spring and summer of 1313.

The hostile relations between Bonifacio and the other powers of Eubolia seem to have smouldered until 1317 without any serious outbreak. In the meantime Venice had made anti-Catalan alliances with the House of Anjou, Fulco Villaret, and the Pope.

§ 39. *Venice and the Triarchs at war with the Catalans (1317).*

—Berenger Estañol died in 1316. King Frederick's illegitimate son, Alfonso Fadrique, succeeded in 1317 (as Manfred was dead), and his arrival in Attika at the beginning of the year brought the relations with Negroponte to a point.

He immediately married Bonifacio's daughter, Marulla da Verona, a fair girl of sixteen, whom Bonifacio made his heiress, although he had a son, Tommaso. 'She is assuredly,' writes Muntaner, 'one of the most beautiful Christians in the world. I saw her in her father's house when she was only eight years old, the time when the lord Infant and myself were imprisoned and kept in the house of Messire Bonifacio.' From the same authority we learn that she brought her husband thirteen castles on *terra firma* in the duchy of Athens, and the third part of the town of Negroponte and of the island. The latter part of this statement is due to the false idea that Bonifacio was a *terziero*.¹

As early as March hostilities began. At first the Catalans were successful; Cornaro, with whom Bonifacio was especially at enmity, and the Bailo Morosini were forced to conclude a truce. The enemy then took possession of Chalkis; infantry and cavalry to the number of 2,000 marched from Boiôtia over the bridge, and having expelled Morosini from the city proclaimed Alfonso lord.

¹ Moncada, p. 63 (ed. G. Howell, 1852). 'Tenia esta señora la tercera parte de la isla de Negroponte y trece castillos en la tierra firme del ducado de Atenas. El infante don Alonso

tuvo en ella muchos hijos, y ella vino á ser una de las mujeres mas señaladas de su tiempo, aunque Zurita no alienta en esto con Muntaner á quien yo sigo.'

At this point the triarchs looking about for aid bethought themselves that Matilda, the princess of Achaia, was their liege lady. She was then at Andravida, and they sent to beg her protection. She could only appeal to the Doge to take the most rigorous measures to preserve the island and dissolve the truce (March 28). Venice acted with vigour. On July 10 Francesco Dandolo was named successor to Morosini, and money was borrowed for the necessary costs.

In the meantime Bonifacio of Karystos, just when he was beginning to see a chance of the accomplishment of his favourite design, died. Alfonso was acknowledged in Karystos and Larmena without resistance on the part of Tommaso. The truce had not expired, but the company, in possession of both Negroponte and the strong places of Bonifacio in southern Eubœa, proceeded to take possession of the rest of the island. Venice protested against this violation of the truce, and made representations to King Frederick, who, not wishing to exhibit himself with that state which was then supported by the pope, signed an order commanding the evacuation of the island. Francesco Dandolo sailed to Negroponte with twenty galleys, and laid the order before Alfonso. He refused to obey, and a battle ensued in which the Venetians were victorious. They recovered Negroponte, and the Spaniards had to recross the bridge to the continent about November, 1317.

The war of 1317, of which Venice had borne the brunt as champion of the island, served to increase her influence in it. In this way it proved advantageous to her domination there, just as the war against the Greeks had proved. She had advanced another step towards the complete possession of Eubœa. On December 6, 1317, a decree of the Doge was published announcing the intention of the Republic to occupy all the towns and fortresses and calling on the triarchs to act cordially in unison with Venice, their protectress. The measure was carried out without resistance. It was soon found necessary to appoint a second chancellor to administer justice in the new acquisitions of Venice (1319).¹

§ 40. *Hostilities continued* (1318).—Venice was inclined to make peace with the Catalan Duke of Athens, and Frederick

¹ The Jews were very loyal to Venice in the war and were released from the duty of 5 per cent. on exported wares.

of Sicily did his utmost to promote it. On the other hand, pressure was brought to bear on Venice by the Angioyins of Naples and Pope John XXII., as well as by Walter II. of Brienne, titular Duke of Athens, to continue the war.

The arguments of Philip of Tarentum, the titular Emperor of Romania, and King Robert of Naples, rested on the conduct of Alfonso, who had both devastated Eubolia and invaded Morea.

The arguments used by His Holiness (in a letter) for war against the Catalans were that they employed Turks to devastate Christian lands and that Alfonso ousted Tommaso da Verona from his rightful heritage.

The envoys of Brienne (March 1318) promised material advantages to Venice if he were restored to his duchy; namely, complete exemption from custom duties within the limits of his ducal territory and an arrangement whereby Eubolia should become completely Venetian. In regard to the latter point it is not certain whether Walter intended to induce the triarchs to do homage to Venice as suzerain, or to persuade the Prince of Achaia to transfer his feudal rights over Eubolia to Venice. They asked Venice for a loan of 40,000 gold florins, 400 to 500 cavalry, and 1,000 to 1,500 infantry.

But Venice did not see her way to closing with these proposals, and took no hostile measures against Alfonso, but strictly preserved the truce.

Some time after this, perhaps in May, three Catalan ships captured and plundered a number of individuals, among them two Venetians who were soon released, as Alfonso hitherto punctiliously observed the peace with the Republic. But the Bailo Francesco Dandolo acted here independently. In June he induced Nicolaus, the patriarch of Constantinople and Bishop of Negroponte, to dispatch a *summatio* to Alfonso, which two Franciscan brothers delivered. For the plundered Venetians forty hyperpers were claimed, but the cause of the other sufferers was also espoused.

On June 21, before receiving a reply from Alfonso, the Bailo heard that a galley was to sail to Athens to hire Turkish mercenaries, and gain imperial aid. He commanded Captain Ruggiero Foscari to keep watch for it in the Euripos; and he, hearing that two of the three vessels which had caused the dispute then pending were anchored at Talandi, and the crews

had disembarked, immediately repaired thither, and burned the two vessels.

In the meantime Alfonso's reply arrived; it was to the effect that he was most strict in his commands that no harm should be offered to Venetians, and was most unwilling to break the truce. He advised Venice to remember that war was a risky thing and to beware of rushing into it without justification.

If this refusal to take the claims of the two Venetians into consideration seemed equivalent to a declaration of war, Alfonso made a more unequivocal declaration when he learned that his two ships were burned. He forbade all traffic and intercourse with Euböia; for the intercourse of the island with Attika had not been disturbed for the last six months.

We learn from a letter of the Duke of Kandia, dated July 16, that Alfonso obtained aid from that island to reconquer Euböia. At the same time he made an expedition against his enemy the Duke of Naxos, and plundered Mélos, carrying off 700 prisoners. There can be no doubt that at the same time he used his strongholds, Karystos¹ and Larmena, for plundering southern Euböia.

Meanwhile King Frederick had been endeavouring at Venice to bring about peace between the Euböian Venetians and the Catalans; and King Robert, on the other hand, had been continuing his attempts to bring about an offensive alliance between Venice and Walter of Brienne. In September the two chief charges against Alfonso, to which the envoys of the King of Sicily at Venice had to reply, were the expedition against the Duke of Naxos and the occupation of southern Euböia. In reply to the latter charge it was said that he had taken possession at the wish of his wife, Marulla, her brother Tommaso not objecting at first. When he afterwards protested and appealed to John de Noyers, his overlord,² John decided the matter in favour of Alfonso. Besides, Alfonso had further interests in Euböia, as Pietro dalle Carceri had transferred to him a third of all his property in the island including the vassals, castles, and villages therein contained. As for the Duke of Naxos, he was the vassal of the Princess Matilda, not of

¹ The castle of the barons of Karystos may be seen in Boisson's *Atlas* (pl. xv.).

² When Bonifacio disinherited Tommaso he procured him an appanage in

this island. It must have been in Central Euböia and belonged to John de Noyers.

Venice. At the same time the envoys, demanding that Alfonso should be recognised as a feudal lord in Eubœia, undertook that he would pay the usual tribute to the Republic and recompense all injury that had been done to their citizens.

On September 4—two days after this statement—Venice was called upon by the Cardinal Nicolaus, Bishop of Ostia, in the name of the Pope and King Robert, to take measures against the Catalan Company, 'the *canaille* of humanity.'

But Venice was disposed to make peace. The truce with Alfonso expired on December 24, and when that day came the senate informed the Sicilian ambassadors that the Republic would renew this truce until April if Frederic and Alfonso promised to repair completely all injuries and losses inflicted by the Catalans, to renounce corsairs, to maintain no ships except a boat for the transfer of envoys, to surrender the towns in Eubœia unjustly occupied. The Duke of Naxos and his son Nicolò as well as the triarchs, were to be included in the peace. Venice surrendered all claim to Larmena and Karystos. It seems to have been also stipulated that Alfonso was to have his share of the tolls of the bridge of Chalkis, and a collector of his own.

The peace was concluded on those terms, and in the following year (June 9, 1319) was renewed for six months. The triarchs are enumerated: John de Noyers, Pietro dalle Carceri (now of age), Andrea Cornaro, Bartolommeo Ghisi.

§ 41. *Pietro dalle Carceri*.—Tommaso da Verona had not inherited the ambition and energy of his father Bonifacio. But about the time at which Bonifacio died (1317), or not long before, Pietro dalle Carceri, the son of Beatrice de Noyers and Grapozzo, came of age and soon showed that the cloak of Bonifacio—ambition and anti-Venetian tendencies—had fallen upon him. His character set a new obstacle in the way of the development of Venetian influence in Negroponte.

The first hint we receive of disputes among the Venetians and Lombards at this time is the announcement of the Bailo Dandolo, shortly after the affair of Talandi in 1318, that the presence of the ships of Foscariui at Negroponte was absolutely necessary to check the hostile feelings prevailing among the Lombards who were like to annihilate each other. We cannot doubt that the young hexarch, Pietro, was at the bottom of these feuds.

The next point is the important statement, cited above, of the Sicilian envoys in the Venetian senate on September 2. This proves that Pietro was already following the policy of Bonifacio, and had entered into an alliance with the Catalans contrary to the interests of Venice and the other Lombards.

Pietro was not at all satisfied with being merely a hexarch. Half of southern Eubœia belonged to his first cousin Maria, Marchioness of Bodonitza, and her husband Andrea Cornaro. Maria died in 1322, and Pietro immediately occupied her Sixth. Cornaro, who was absent in Crete, appealed to Venice, and an investigation of the matter was arranged. But Cornaro's death in 1323 secured to Pietro his acquisition. Maria's daughter Guglielma, wife of Bartolommeo Zarcharia, laid claim to it, but her claims did not endanger Pietro's possession, who in the meantime took care to foster good relations with Alfonso Fadrique.

§ 42. *The affairs of Larmena.*—For some time Alfonso remained at peace with the Baili of Negroponta. In 1321 (May 11) the treaty was renewed for a year with certain new conditions. When Alfonso's treaty with the Turks expired, he was to cease relations with them and take measures to protect Christian states against their plundering expeditions. He was to build a new castle in the barony of Karystos, and Venice undertook to erect no fortified place between Larmena and Karystos. The triarchs as before subscribed to the treaty, Michele da Benevento representing B. Ghisi, and T. Sturione acting for A. Cornaro.

The hostility of the Pope to the Catalans did not alter their relations to Venice; on October 1, 1322, he promulgated a bill against them. But the Turks, Alfonso's discarded allies, continued hostilities, and in 1324 carried off a large number of Euboians into slavery.

Venice made attempts to purchase Karystos from Alfonso, offering as much as 30,000 hyperpers, but in vain. In 1324, however, he conceded Larmena to Tommaso da Verona, who lived only two years to enjoy it. His death at the beginning of 1326, probably in February, formed a turning-point. It occasioned the causes of the second war between Alfonso and Venice.

Tommaso's only daughter and heiress was Agnese Sanudo, the wife of Angelo Sanudo, one of the Naxos family. But she was not allowed to inherit Larmena peaceably. On March 1, Athenian ships well-manned appeared at the bridge of Chalkis, and Marulla the wife of Alfonso demanded admission to the capital to do homage to the Bailo Marco Minotto. He, suspecting the designs of the Catalans, referred her to the Doge, and immediately sent information to Venice; Bartolommeo Ghisi and Beatrice de Noyers took his part, for which support the Bailo expressed his acknowledgments. He then invested Agnese Sanudo with Larmena. Preparations were made for defending the island in case Alfonso should begin hostilities.

In May 1327 the news arrived in Venice that Alfonso had declared war. In the island itself, moreover, there was a philo-Catalan coalition against Venice. Pietro dalle Carceri, who had all along acted as an ally and friend of Alfonso, induced Bartolommeo Ghisi, Constable of Achaia, to Catalanize also, and Ghisi went so far as to betroth his son Giorgio to Simona, the eldest daughter of Alfonso, while Alfonso invested him with the castle of St. Omer at Thebes. The disaffection of Ghisi was a great blow to Venice.

In the following year (1328) the death of his mother Beatrice de Noyers, whose husband John had died two years before, gave Pietro an opportunity of extending his influence and possessions in the island. He immediately took possession of the central Third, and was thus lord of two Thirds of Eubolia. Thus in 1328 there were only two triarchs, and both were anti-Venetian; and so Venice was apparently in a worse position than she had been in 1317 when all the triarchs (except Pietro, who had then little influence), supported her.

§ 43. *Eubolia plundered by Catalans and Turks.*—We have not a detailed account of the warfare of 1328 and the following years; we have only a few notices in letters of Sanudo that Eubolia was laid waste by Catalan and Turkish corsairs. (1) Sept. 18, 1328, the Bailo Marco Gradenigo wrote to Sanudo that there was imminent danger of Eubolia and the Archipelago falling into the hands of the pirates (Ep. 20). (2) In the latter part of 1329 the archbishop of Thebes (Ep. 23) mentioned that the Turks had laid waste Thrace since Easter, and had even approached Chalkis. (3) In 1330, Negroponte was again

harrassed with the plundering raids of the infidels, and the danger was very serious.¹

During the following three years, 1331–1333, the terrible devastations of the Turks continued, fraught with slavery to multitudes. In 1331 more than 25,000 Christians were led captive and sold into bondage. But Alfonso was becoming tired of these Turkish allies, who did not in the least scruple to plunder their employers; and Walter of Brienne was making active preparation against the company,² with the help of Pope John XXII., who in 1330 commanded the patriarch of Constantinople to bid them depart from the duchy. These two circumstances determined Alfonso to conclude a truce with the Bailo (Filippo Belegno), April 5, 1331, on condition that he was to remain in possession of Karystos. The term of the truce was fixed at two years, commencing May 1, 1331, and the two triarchs were included. The triarchs had no doubt soon experienced that war under the conditions of the case was very disadvantageous, and that an alliance with an ally of the Turks was not in every respect desirable. Alfonso pledged himself to give up his alliance with the infidels, to build no forts in Euboia, and to pay the Venetians 5,000 hyperpers for the damages they had suffered since the war began in 1327. It was arranged that corn-growers in Alfonso's Euboian possessions might bring it in safety to Negroponte for sale. In 1333 this treaty was renewed, and again in 1335, the Republic preferring these minor treaties to a peace of a long term, which Frederick of Sicily wished to bring about. In 1333, Alfonso consented to surrender a portion of Tommaso's property to Agnese, in whose favour the Assizes of Morea had decided.

There were two places in the island which Venice was especially anxious to secure for herself—Oreos, the chief town

¹ Compare G. Villani, x. 156: 'Ellaudio i detti Turchi con loro legni armati corrono per mare e presono e rubano più isole dell' Arcipelago . . . E poi continuamente ogni anno feciono loro armate quando di 500 o di 800 legni tra grandi e sottili e correvano tutte l'isole d'Arcipelago rubandole e commandole e menandone li homini e femine per schiavi e molti ancora ne fecero tributarii.'

² G. Villani, x. 120, notices this expedition. At the end of August, 1331, 'il duca d'Atene, cioè conte di Breuns, al parti di Branditio e passò in Romania,' with 800 French cavalry and 500 Tuscan infantry. In open battle he would have regained his land, but 'quelli della compagnia maestre volentieri si tennero alla guardia delle fortezze e non vollon venire a battaglia'; so that the expedition came to naught.

in northern Euböia, and Karystos, the most important place in southern Euböia. She made further attempts in 1332 and 1333 to acquire these places; Pietro dalle Carceri would not concede Oreos, and Alfonso was determined on retaining Karystos. At the end of 1334 she gained possession of Larmena, and placed in it Giovanni Dandolo as castellan.

The treaties of the Catalans did not bind the infidels. In May and June 1332, 380 Turkish ships plundered Negroponte and the archipelago.¹ Pietro Zeno, the Bailo, was obliged to pay tribute to save the inhabitants of the island from extermination.

In the meantime in the west Marino Sanudo and others were preaching a combination of Christians against the Turkish infidels.

§ 44. *Increase of Venetian influence in Euböia.*—Troubles with the Catalans of Attika were now over. They began to turn respectable and make common cause against the Turks, who inflicted as much injury upon them as upon the Euboians.²

Alfonso Fadrique died in 1338. In the same year the Venetian senate commanded that the walls of Negroponte should be raised higher and the expense defrayed by a tax of 5 per cent. on all wares imported. The measures which the Republic was obliged to take for protection against the Turks

¹ These misfortunes are mentioned by two Italian contemporaries, G. Villani and L. Monaldeschi. The latter writes (*Memorie*, S.R.I. xii. p. 534): 'Nel detto anno [1332] li Turchi messero al Mare 280 navi e andarono a Constantinopoli contro l'Imperatore dei Greci; ma fu ajutato l'Imperatore da' Venetiani e Genovesi; così hanno la grande impresa e fecero gran guadagno, che pigliarono più di mille Greci, fecero tributarli li Negropontini.' Villani (x. 224) says that in May and June 1332 the Turks manned 380 vessels with more than 40,000 men and attacked Constantinople. Desisting from this enterprise, as the emperor was strongly supported, they 'guastarono più isole d'Arcipelago e menarono in servaggio più di 10 mila Greci e quelli di Negro-

ponte per paura di loro si fecero tributarli, onde venne in Ponente grande clamore al Papa e al Re di Francia e ad altre Signori di Christiani; per la qual cosa s'ordinò per loro che l'anno appresso si facessero armate sopra Turchi e così si fece.'

² The impression made by the Catalans on the Greeks of Euböia has survived to the present day in a proverb, *abro abro al Karaládoi rō adarou* (E. Stamatíades, *oi Karaládoi to rē 'Avardáy*, 1869, quoted by Rubió y Lluch, *op. cit.*). Similarly in Thracæ, the scene of many Catalan cruelties, a curse came into use, *ō dēlōgati tōu Karaládoi álpeu ou*. In Akermania the name Catalan is the equivalent of a brutal villain.

helped to consolidate and extend its power in the island. The chief object of taxation is the protection of the community, and conversely the protecting power has a claim to the right of taxation; Venice looked now on the whole island as taxable.

It had been a subject of complaint that criminals in Negroponte found shelter in the territories of the triarchs. It was now ordained that for such the triarchs must be responsible to the Bailo, who should decide criminal cases every Friday. The triarchs were made aware of this on Sept. 8, 1338, and informed that all persons banished by the Bailo were banished from the territory between the rivers Lílantos (Lélantos) and Arguleos (a river to the north of Chalkia). This territory was in the central Third, which belonged to Pietro dalle Carceri, and as he did not approve of this obligation, which he could not however resist, he resorted to the plan of selling central Eubolia to the Duke of Naxos. But the Duke of Naxos was too powerful to be an acceptable triarch in the eyes of Venice, and the Bailo succeeded in hindering the proposed transaction. The affair shows how the power of Venice had increased and that of the triarchs diminished during the preceding fifteen years. The Baili had still their eyes on Karystos, which they had so often attempted in vain to obtain; it was now in the possession of Alfonso's son, Bonifacio Fadrique. In 1339 the castellan offered for a certain sum to give it up to Venice, but the Bailo unfortunately had not the requisite money to hand.

In order to strengthen Venetian influence among the inhabitants, Venetian citizenship was bestowed on many individuals. The Jews who used to pay taxes to the amount of 100 hyperpers to the Lombards were transferred to the jurisdiction of Venice, and payed 200 hyperpers.

In the year 1340 (December) the chief element of opposition to the Venetian domination was removed by the death of Pietro dalle Carceri. After him the triarchs were never recalcitrant; the footing of the Republic was securely established, and the suzerainty of the Princes of Achaia was a thing forgotten.

The history of the Venetians in Eubolia is a good example of the manner in which the efficient protector becomes the ruler. It was the three wars, (1) with the Greeks, (2) with the Catalans, (3) with the Catalans and Turks, that contributed more than

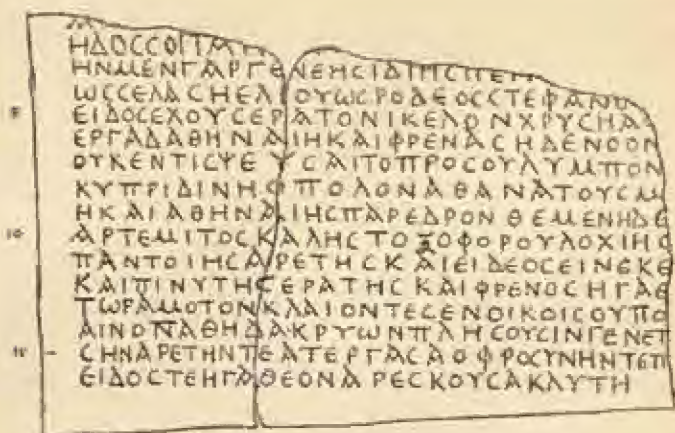
anything to secure the Venetian supremacy in Negroponte. The other side of the same fact is the declining power of the Lombards; Pietro dalle Carceri was less powerful than Bonifacio, and Bonifacio was less powerful than Guglielmo da Verona.

JOHN B. BURY

(To be continued.)

AN INSCRIPTION FROM BOEAE.

By the kindness of the Rev. H. J. Bidder, we are enabled to publish the following inscription, obtained by him from Boai, the modern Neápolis, in Laconia. On a slab of white marble: size 11 in. \times 7½ in. \times ½ in., height of letters ¾ in. The slab is broken away at the top and right side; more lines may be lost above; it is also broken across.



The forms of the letters are somewhat inconsistent: thus we find Δ l. 6, Α l. 11, Ρ twice, l. 15, besides the more characteristic forms. In l. 14, the fifth letter was first inscribed as Ν, by a mere inadvertence, and then corrected.

Before the inscription was cut, faintly scratched lines were ruled to keep the letters in even rows.

The date, from the forms of the letters, seems the second or third century of our era.

Transcription :—

- Ἀ[ρ]έσκουσαν τήνδε γυνῆς κλαίονσι θανοῦσαν,
 ἥδ' ὅσσου ταί[την] λαοὶ ἔχουσι πόλιν
 ἦν μὲν γὰρ γυνεὴς ἰδὼς περι[καλλῆς ἀγαλμα,
 ὡς σέλας ἡελίου, ὡς ῥάδιος στέφανο[ς,
 5 εἶδος ἔχουσι] ἐρατὴν ἱκελὸν χρυσῇ Ἀ[φ]ροδίτῃ,
 ἔργα δ' Ἀθηναίῃ καὶ φρένας ἡδὲ νόον.
 οὐ κέν τις ψεύσεται πρὸς Οὐλύμπον [κληθεῖσαν
 Κύπριδι νηοπόλον ἀθανάτοισι μ[ε]θέπων,
 ἥ καὶ Ἀθηναίῃς πύριδρον θέμεν, ἥδ' ἔτι νύμφην
 10 Ἀρτεμίτος καλῆς τοξοφόρου λοχίης,
 παρτοόης ἀρετῆς καὶ εἰδὸς αἰνεσ[ε]ν ἄγνοῦ
 καὶ ποντῆς ἐρατῆς καὶ φρενὸς ἡγασ[σ]έης.
 τῷ ρ' ἅματον κλαίοντες, ἐν οἴκοις οὔπο[θ'] ὄρωντες,
 αἰνῶπαθῇ δακρύων πλήσουσιν γενέ[σ]ται,
 15 σὴν ἀρετὴν τίά τ' ἔργα σαιοφροσύνην τε π[ο]θοῦντες
 εἰδὼς τε ἡγάθειαν, Ἀρ[έ]σκουσα κλυτή.

The name Ἀρ[έ]σκουσα (= Blandina, Pope) occurs in a Boeotian inscription, *C.I.G.* 1626. The wish to introduce it as near the end as possible seems the cause of the lameness of the last pentameter: and that before it is made equally bad, perhaps by way of preparation.

E. A. GARDNER.

NOTES ON A TOUR IN ASIA MINOR.

IN the summer of 1884 I was permitted to accompany Professor Ramsay¹ on his journey in Asia Minor, assisted by the Senate of the University of Cambridge with a grant from the Worts Fund. To my great regret, however, a fever compelled me to return home after spending only two months in the country, during which time I had been a novice in the various arts required for scientific travel. Hence, therefore, so far as my personal share in the expedition is concerned, the results obtained are limited both in number and in value. Such as they are, they are embodied in the following pages, and in the accompanying map; I have also introduced matter, as will be seen by the references, of which the credit belongs entirely to Professor Ramsay.

It will be seen from a study of the map, that our route during the part of the journey to be discussed in these pages, lay in the upper valley of the Maeander, with its tributary the Karasu (Morsynus); in the upper valley of the Gerenis Tchai (Indus); in the valleys of the Gebren Tchai and of the Istanox Tchai, and in the district west of the Lake of Buldur. As regards the political divisions, it lay in the border lands of Caria, Phrygia, and Pisidia. The whole journey occupied about five weeks, as we left the railway at Kuyujak on May 28, and rejoined it near Denikli on July 5.²

¹ To avoid the necessity of constantly quoting the name of Professor Ramsay, I must at the outset make a general acknowledgment of my obligations to him for much help received. I must also express my thanks to the Rev. E. L. Hicks for his kindness in reading

these sheets, and making valuable suggestions.

² Some account of the route followed, with dates, will be found in the *Cambridge University Reporter*, May 5, 1885, in the form of a letter to the Vice-Chancellor of the University.

Different parts of the district had already been visited by various travellers, some of whom carefully worked out their routes. But no rigid survey has ever been made, and great inaccuracy of detail must necessarily therefore prevail in the maps. And until a scientific triangulation shall have been made by skilled observers, of which event there seems to be no near prospect, recourse must be had to the rougher methods of map-making, and a certain value attaches to each observer's results, erroneous though they may be. In the absence of absolute knowledge, the result is inevitably a compromise based upon the various and sometimes apparently conflicting pieces of evidence available, each of which is in itself imperfect.

The materials which I have attempted to combine in the construction of the present map are as follows:—

(I) *Astronomical positions.*

(a) *Latitude.*—I have a few observations, taken with a 3-inch sextant and artificial horizon kindly lent me by the Geographical Society. The only other observation that I have used in the construction of the map, is that of Hamilton for Denikli, as I was then unaware where Wronchenko's results could be found,¹ and I know of no other observations within the area in question, with the exception of an untrustworthy observation by Fellows at Aphrodisias,² and those quoted below, for Buldur.

¹ T. F. de Schubert, *Exposé des Travaux Astronomiques et Géodésiques, &c.*

² CL Vivien de Saint Martin, *Hist.*

des Découvertes Géog. des nations Européennes, ii. p. 604.

LIST OF OBSERVATIONS FOR LATITUDE.

Date.	Place.	Value.	Method.	Remarks.
June 17, 1884	Andysa, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile S.	37° 13' 53"	Polaris and Antares.	
" 18	Foula, $\frac{1}{2}$ mile N.E.	37° 16' 0"	ditto	
" 21	Kastel.....	37° 24' 6"	ditto	
" 23	Baldur, N. outskirts.....	37° 44' 18"	Polaris.....	{ Wrantchenko 37° 42' 34"
" 25	Gulde Chiflik.....	37° 29' 18"	Polaris and Antares.	{ Hamilton 37° 42' 45"
July 1	Derokewi on Beyinder Göl.	37° 36' 1"	Polaris.	{ Pococke 37° 39'
I take this opportunity of publishing the latitudes I obtained in the second part of the journey, before I was obliged to start home.				
July 14	Hannampler	38° 38' 47"	Polaris and Antares.	
" 15	Schudi, S.E. of	38° 46' 39"	Polaris.....	Wrantchenko 38° 41' 36"
" 17	Iahki Inn	38° 40' 47"	Polaris and Antares.	
" 18	Kushu.....	38° 57' 21"	ditto	
" 21	{ Shapkhani, $\frac{1}{4}$ mile to the North }	39° 0' 55"	Polaris and ϵ Ophiuchi.	

(b) *Longitude*.—In placing the lines of longitude I have assumed as an arbitrary initial point the position of Karayuk-bazar as given by Wrontchenko, and have not used any other astronomical observation.

(2) *Measurements of Distance by Time*.—It is obvious that this method of measurement is only approximately accurate, if the roads are of varying degrees of straightness, as is usually the case in a rough country, and if the horse varies his pace.

(3) *Prismatic Compass Observations*.—Apart from the risk of local variations in the amount of deviation, it is very difficult even for a practised observer accurately to fix points on either side of his course, if there is uncertainty as to the lengths of the base lines, and any error tends continually to increase. In constructing the map, I have assumed a uniform deviation of 5° W. In two instances in this map, a region has been mapped in from observations taken at the two ends of a base, estimated with some care, though not measured. The cases are (a) in the neighbourhood of Kizil-Hissar, (b) between Tefeny and Sazak.

(4) *Other Sources*.—The Macander and its villages are inserted from a railway survey, a copy of which is in the possession of Mr. Ramsay. The villages immediately north of Karayuk-bazar are entered from Mr. Ramsay's map.

Considering the character of the materials, it will readily be seen that the results obtained can only be approximate, and that it is therefore likely that discrepancies should appear in the results of two observers passing over nearly the same ground. That being the case, I ought expressly to assume sole responsibility for the map as here given, since, in certain details, it does not exactly agree with Mr. Ramsay's results, and further observations are required to ascertain the truth. I append in a note¹ references to the best maps published for studying the general lie of the ground in this region.

¹ 1. Kiepert, Karte von Kleinasien und Türkisch Armenien (1842), with corrected sheet for Lykia and Pisidia (*Memoir über die Construction der Karte Kleinasiens*, redigirt von Dr. H. Kiepert, Berlin, 1864, taf. iv.). 2. Kiepert, Fünf Inschriften und Fünf Städte in Kleinasien, 1846. 3. Kiepert's map

illustrating Tschihatschew's routes, *Perthes Mittheilungen, Bryantzungsheft* 20, 1867. 4. Kiepert, Prof. G. Hirschfeld's Reiseroute in südöstlichen Kleinasien, 1874; *Monatsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Berlin*, 1879. 5. Kiepert, *Lykia*; Wien, 1884.

The observations for altitude were made with an aneroid and two boiling-point thermometers, lent me by the Geographical Society, and all corrected at Kew. The altitudes thus calculated cannot of course claim to be as precise as they appear with respect to the sea, though fairly true with respect to the neighbouring heights. On returning, however, to the sea-level after about five weeks, and after having ascended 6,000 feet, the discrepancy between the real and calculated height was only about fifty feet. The results are also satisfactory, when they can be compared with other observations. Thus Spratt, and Forbes¹ give the altitude of Istanos as 3,500 feet, whilst I make it 3,522 feet; Tschihatscheff² makes the altitude of the Kestel-Göl 2,608 Paris feet = 2,856 English feet, whilst I obtain 2,813 feet.

The chief topographical results of our expedition have been already published by Professor Ramsay,³ who has made his own the study of Hierocles and the Byzantine lists considered in relation to the actual topography of the district.

The following tables contain the names of the sites established within the area of the map. The first table contains the names of towns that had been already determined or plausibly conjectured before our expedition, with references to the evidence on which the identification is based. The second table gives the sites ascertained by inscriptions found on the spot; and the third table gives certain conjectures, based upon other arguments, which have been published by Professor Ramsay.

¹ *Travels in Lycia*, vol. I. p. 244.

² *Athenaeum*, Dec. 20, 27, 1884;

³ Rüstow, *Erkundung von Asien*, ix. ii. p. 975.

Mittheilungen des arch. Inst. in Athen, i. p. 385.

TABLE I.

Ancient Name.	Modern Name.	Proof.	Observations.
Antiochia ad } Mamandrum } Aphrodisias } Altuda } Chrysa }	Ali Agha Chiflik Guzin Amat [= "Iqalli-Hisar"] Horozon	(Pliny (v. 108) and the Hieronymus Pococke, { <i>Observations on Asia Minor</i> (1745), p. 68. Inscriptions. C.I.G. 3950; cf. No. 1. Spratt and Forbes, <i>Travels in</i> <i>Lycaia</i> , i. p. 256. Spratt and Forbes, i. p. 260. Schonborn, in Ritter, <i>Erzkunde</i> <i>von Asien</i> , IX, ii. p. 691. Collignon and Diebmann, <i>Bull. de</i> <i>Corr. hell.</i> ii. p. 248. Identity of name. Klopert, <i>Mémoire</i> n. s. v. p. 74.	
Laghen Ofhan Ornellen Pogla	Abu Faradlu Yalla Belimli Near Tafany* Foula		

* This name is spelt Tafany in official documents, but travellers are unanimous in representing the local pronunciation by a single u; Klopert, *Epist.* p. 48.

TABLE II.—List of Places Identified, 1864.

Andeda Berbe Cinnama Kasia Moarpsan Aqout Moarpsan	Andya Zivint Between Urgudlu and Karibitulu Berket Kizil-agatch	Inscription, <i>Mithrasfungen</i> , x. p. 327 x. p. 238. <i>Epist. Epigr.</i> v. 1357, 1368. No. 10. <i>Mithrasfungen</i> , x. p. 241, No. 5.	Names also identical. = <i>Ἐναος Μαρσπολίς</i> , Hierocles, 680, 3.
Sigalouss (W.) boundary } Takhia }	Duwar Yacihli	{ <i>Epist. Epigr.</i> v. 1356, <i>Amer. Journ.</i> <i>of Arch.</i> 3, 1, 2 (and No. 11). No. 13.	Previously misread Lakhina.

The following conjectures have been offered by Mr. Ramsay.¹

TABLE III.		
Ancient Name.	Modern Site.	Observations.
Adriane	Belunli	= Olbasa.
Ceretapa	Kayadibi.	
†Idmohrama	On Kestel Göl	= Iamnohria †
Lysimla	Eürsh I	
Maximasopolis	Tefeny	= Ormellion.
Phylakion	Elles.	
Rego-salamara	<i>Rege</i> on Lake of Buldur.	
Sinda (near Olyra) ...	Alankewi	So Kiepert.
Sinda (= Isinda, &c.)...	Near Istanur	Mandropolis of Spratt and Forbes (vol. I. p. 247).
Trebenna	Between Elmaly and Termessus.	At Eyde Khan. ²

PART I.—TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND INSCRIPTIONS.

ATTUDA.

In the year 1701 Dr. W. Sherard, at that time British consul at Smyrna, visited Aphrodisias,² accompanied by the physician Picenini. Thence they crossed over the shoulder of the Baba Dagb, and returned to the valley of the Maeander. At a distance of 'four short hours' from Aphrodisias they arrived at a village whose name they give as 'Ipsili-Hissar.' Here

¹ *Athenaeum*, Dec. 20, 1884.

² *Mittheilungen des arch. Inst.* x. p. 343.

³ I should like to take this opportunity of calling attention to a fact which has not been noticed, so far as I am aware. If it has not been destroyed by Turks or other barbarians, there is an elaborate piece of sculpture at Aphrodisias, which seems to belong to the Pergamene school. 'In the walls of the city, towards the south-west corner, there are some very fine reliefs, which seem to have been part

of a frieze; they are mostly Cupids or winged persons, encountering the giants with spears, bows, and arrows; the latter are represented below with two serpents instead of feet, turning up like the tails of Tritons. At one end Jupiter in a small figure has one under his feet, and is hurling his thunder at another; a person near is drawing a bow at them, and there is a trophy near Jupiter.'—Pococke, *Observations on Asia Minor* (1745), p. 70.

they copied certain inscriptions (*C.I.G.* 3950-3952) assigned indeed by Sherard to Aphrodisias, but more rightly by Pichenini to the so-called Ipsili-Hissar (*C.I.G.* 3950).

One of the inscriptions in question (No. 3950) contains a part of a name restored by Boeckh, 'Α]τρουδα[ω]ρ and hence Attuda has been placed at Ipsili-Hissar. Mr. Ramsay's inquiries of the natives failed to discover any place of that name, but it is certain, from Chandler's account, that we followed the same route across the shoulder of the mountain as did Sherard, and that the place described by him as Ipsili-Hissar is a village now known as Assar, which we reached in about four and a half hours. We failed, unfortunately, to discover the important inscription above quoted, but we found in this village another of the inscriptions assigned by Pichenini to the village of Ipsili-Hissar, thus confirming the inference, based upon Chandler's account, that Ipsili-Hissar is identical with Assar.

This inscription, a decree in honour of the boy athlete Neikias, has been published (*C.I.G.* 3952) from an excessively incorrect copy by Sherard. Le Bas (pt. v. No. 743-744) and Bailie (cf. *C.I.G. add.* p. 1105) have furnished more correct copies of this inscription, which apparently are derived from an identical source, Bailie's version having been touched up by himself.

The inscription, as we saw it, appeared to be complete, having a margin of four inches at the bottom, and consisted of the same twenty-five lines that had been copied by Sherard; nor was there anything further to be found in the village. On the copy, however, given to Bailie and Le Bas there is an addition of several lines, chiefly made up from data furnished by the first part of the inscription. This fragment is certainly not inscribed on the stone in question, and if it comes from Assar, it must have been arbitrarily connected with the chief inscription. The copy given by Le Bas is nearly correct, and I will therefore only give differences of reading.

No. 1.

Le Bas.

W. M. R. and A. H. S.

Line	Le Bas.	W. M. R. and A. H. S.
2.	ΤΩΝΕΥΓΕΓΟΝ . ΤΩΝ	ΤΩΝΕΥΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝ
6.	ΑΡΧΑΣΚ-	ΑΡΧΑΣ . Κ-
8.	ΕΚΤΕΤΙ	ΕΚΤΕΤΕ
9.	ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΙ	ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝ
11.	ΤΩΝ .	ΤΩΝ
13.	ΤΑΚ	ΙΤΑΚ-
14.	ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΕΙΑΠΑΙΔ Σ	ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΕΙΑΠΑΙΔΟΥ
15 (14).	ΠΑΛΗΝ	ΠΑΛΗΝ .

In line 13, the erasure of 12 in. is deliberate. In line 14 *ν* is written in the middle of *Ω*.

Line 14. ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΕΙΑ is certainly the true reading as given by Le Bas, though Sherard reads ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΙΑ, which Boeckh emends to ΑΔΡΙΑΝΕΙΑ, as does Bailie. These games therefore were not held in honour of Hadrian, but were probably established by the *agonothetes* Andreas, and named in his honour. Cf. Le Bas, V. 1233 (*O.I.G.* 4380m, *addenda*, p. 1169) 'Αγωνοθετοῦντος . . . Εὐαρέστου παμηγυρίως ἐ [ἀγώνων] Εὐαρεστέων ἢς αὐτὸς συνεστήσατο κ.τ.λ.

THE RIVER CADMUS.

At a distance of about six miles (one hour, fifty minutes) from Denisli, and in a direction from it of about east-south-east, there is a remarkable natural phenomenon which has already attracted the notice of travellers, and has been discussed by Arundell.*

The road from Kizil-Hissar to Denisli traverses a narrow pass between Khonnas Dagħ on the east, and the eastern spurs of Baba Dagħ on the west. This pass is also traversed by a stream of some size, the Tchukur Tchai (see Kiepert's map), which drains a small deep valley, shut in on all sides by mountains. On entering the pass from the south, the stream is at first on a level with the road. But, as commonly occurs in Asia Minor, the stream has made a deep gorge for itself in the narrow part of the pass, whilst the road skirts the side

* Cf. Ramsay, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv, p. 58.

* *Diaz*, in *Asia Minor*, vol. ii. p. 159, ff.

of the hill, and descends more gradually into the plain. Hence, towards the northern end of the pass, the road is some 200 feet above the river bed. At this point the pass becomes somewhat broader, so as to form a small green valley. Here, at a point slightly to the west of the road, a copious supply of water springs into a pool forming a charming natural bath, and thence flows under the road which crosses this stream by a bridge, and onwards towards the main stream. After flowing thus for a few hundred yards the stream disappears in the ground, and makes its way by a subterranean passage to the main river. It is heard flowing from the side of the deep gorge and falling down to the bed of the river.

Arundell recognises (p. 174) that there are two noteworthy instances of a river disappearing in this neighbourhood. There is the disappearance of the Lycus at Colossae, which is described by Herodotus,¹ and which has probably been identified by Hamilton,² though Arundell himself failed to find it, and there is the disappearance of the Cadmus mentioned by Strabo (xii. § 8, p. 578): 'Υπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως ὁρος Κάδμος ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Λύκος ρεῖ, καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος τῇ ὄρει. τὸ πλεον δὲ οὗτος ὑπὸ γῆς βυεῖς, εἰτ' ἀνακύψας συνέρπεισεν εἰς ταὐτὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις ποταμοῖς κτλ. It is possible indeed to make οὗτος refer to ὁ Λύκος, regarding the mention of the Cadmus as inserted parenthetically, and so to make Strabo refer to the same disappearance as Herodotus. But seeing that the disappearance actually takes place at Kara Göl as well as on the Lycus, we are justified in understanding Strabo's text in the natural manner. It has been shown³ that Mount Cadmus must be identified with Khonas Dagħ rather than with Baba Dagħ, which is Salbakos. Two streams flow from Khonas Dagħ, one of which, the Tchuruk Su, drains its north and north-east sides, and the other, the Tchukur Tchai or Gieuk Bounar Su of Hamilton, drains the west side. The Tchuruk Su is undoubtedly the Lycus, and hence the River Cadmus must be the only other important stream flowing from the mountain, namely the Tchukur Tchai, or Gieuk Bounar Su, for the Bounar Bashi Su is not of any great length. This is the view of Arundell, though his account of this river is not quite accurate, and of Hamilton

¹ vii. chap. 30.

² *Asia Minor*, i. p. 511.

³ Hirschfeld, *Monatsh. der Akad. zu Berlin*, 1879, p. 325.

(i. p. 153), though he does not recognise that the Cadmus disappears.

KARAYUK-BAZAR (THEMISONIUM ?).

No. 2.—Milestone, built into a fountain, outside the village.
Diameter of column, 21 in.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

ΟΙΣ ΟΙΣ ΗΛΩΝ
ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡCΙΝ
ΔΙΟΚΛΗΤΙΑΝΩΚΑΙ
ΚΑΙ Μ ΜΙΑΝΩCΕΒΒ
5 ΚΑΙ ΚΩCΤΑΝΤΙΩ
ΚΑΙ ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΩ
ΕΠΙΦ'Φ'ΚΕCΑΡCΙΝ

Μ Α

Τ]οῖς [όσιωτάτ]οις ἡμῶν
αὐτοκράτορσιν
Διοκλητιανῷ καὶ
καὶ Μ[αξι]μιανῷ Σεβ(άστοις),
5 καὶ Κωσταντίῳ
καὶ Μαξιμιανῷ
ἐπιφ(ανεστάτοις) Κέσαρσιν,
μ(λια) ᾧ.

SAZAK.

No. 4.—Rectangular basis, in the graveyard, about 3 ft. high.
On side to left of main inscription, Hermes, with wings. On
side to right, a female head, perhaps Hera. In centre of front
side, bust of Zeus, with chlamys over left shoulder and sceptre.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

ΑΠΟΚΟΙΤΕ • Μ • ΚΑΛ
ΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΥΛΟΓΓΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΩΝΟCΙΔΙΟΥ

Bust of Zeus

Μ· ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΟΣ
 5 ΕΠΙΝΕΙΚΟΣ ΜΙΘΩ
 ΤΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΤΕΡΙΑΔΑΣΤΟ
 ΤΟ ΠΩΝΔΙΗ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΩ

Ἀπὸ κοίτης Μ. Καλ-
 πουργίου Λόγγου
 πατρωνος ἰδίου

Μ. Καλπούρνιος
 5 Ἐπίνεικος μίσθω-
 τῆς τῶν περὶ Ἀλαστοῦ
 τόπων Διὸ Μεγίστῳ.

Cf. Collignon, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 173.

M. Collignon does not attempt 1-3. Line 6, ΤΕΡΙΑΔΑΣΤΟΝ.

* *Lies.*

The name of M. Calpurnius Epineikos appears on an inscription at Karamanli, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 263.

Δῆμος Περμινοδέων.

Opposite the spot marked in the maps as Kizilkaya-bazar, a place altogether deserted except on market days, is the village of Kizil-agatch. The village stands near the mouth of a small valley, or rather of an arm of the plain, which penetrates a short distance into the group of hills upon the south side of the Lake of Kestel.

At a little distance up this valley, there are interesting remains of a rock-cut shrine, proved by its inscriptions to have been dedicated to Apollo. A terrace has been cut into the rock some twenty feet above the level of the plain, and in front of this terrace of rock there seems to have been an additional level space made up with soil, and bounded by a perpendicular wall. For though the earth has now fallen forwards into the plain, and there is now no difficulty in approaching from the front, the original mode of approach appears to have been by a passage in the rocks, and a small staircase. This passage is at the south-west rock of the shrine. At the north-west angle there is a rock of a peculiar natural shape, which perhaps reminded the Perminodeis of the Omphalos of Apollo at Delphi,

and so suggested the construction of the shrine. In this omphalos-like stone there are a few small niches cut, whilst there are other niches in the main or east wall. The niches were empty, and no trace remains of the figures presumably once placed in them. But the following inscriptions still remain, being cut in the rock itself:—

No. 5.—A panel in the rock-shrine of Kizil-agatch.

A. H. S.

ΜΑΙ, Α, ΙΟΥΠΕ
ΥΙΟΙΛΛΙΟΥΘΙ Ν ΞΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΠΕΡ
ΔΕΩΝΕ ΠΗΚΩ
5 ΧΗΝ

Μαι[κ]αι[
υίοι
'Απόλλωνι Περμ[ισο-
δέων ἐπηκόοι
5 εὐ]χῆν.

No. 6.—Rudely scratched on rock.

ΕΤΡΤΡΟ	'Ε(πι)τρο-
ΙΟΣ ΕΥΧΗΝ	π]ος εὐχῆν
ΑΠΟΛΛΩ	'Απόλλω[νι.

No. 7.—On northern side.

//////	
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχῆν

No. 8.—On northern side.

W. M. R.

ΜΑΡΚΟΤΙΒΕ	Μάρκος Τιβέριος
ΡΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩ	'Αντώνιος 'Ισινδευς
ΝΙΟCΙCΙΝΔΕ	εὐχῆν.
ΥCΕΥΧΗΝ	

Cl. *Mittheilungen des arch. Inst. in Athen.* x. p. 340, for 'Ισινδεύς, a native of Isinda or Istanoz.

No. 9.

W. M. R.

ΤΙΚΑΡΟΥΣΩΝΑΓΓΟΛΛΩΝΙΠΕΡΜΙΝΟ
ΔΕΩΝΕΥΧΗΝ

Τι(Βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) 'Ρούσαν 'Απόλλωνι Περμυνο-
δέων εὐχὴν.

In the list of Hierocles (680, 3) an entry occurs *δήμου Μενδενέω(ν)*. It has been shown by Mr. Ramsay¹ that these inscriptions, and the position that the Mendeneis occupy in the list of Hierocles, plainly justify the correction of the text to *δήμου Περμυνοδέων*, and at the same time establish the ancient name of this site.

BERREKET.—Κώμη Μοατρέων.

No. 10.—Rude figure in high relief: stone 4 ft. 6 in. high, with inscription at side. Figure that of Herakles, nude; head lost; lion's skin and club in left hand, patera in right hand.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

ΗΡΑΚΛΗΣ	1 'Ηρακλῆς
ΚΩΜΗCΜΟΑΤΡΕ	κώμης Μοατρέ-
ΩΝΔΙΑΕΠΙΜΕ	ων· διὰ ἐπιμε-
ΛΗΤΩΝΜΑΝΟΥ	λητῶν Μάνου
5 ΤΑΤΑ	5 Τατᾶ,
ΚΑΙΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ	καὶ 'Αττάλου
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ	'Απολλωνίου
ΚΑΙΤΡΟΙΛΟCΑΡΝΕ|C...	καὶ Τρ(ώ)ιλος 'Αρνέ[ος
ΤΟΥΤΥΔΕΩC	τοῦ Τυδέως
10 ΗΡΓΑCΕΤΟ <i>sic</i> €	10 ἡργάσεται.

Line 10 *ἡργάσεται*, cf. No. 57, line 4, *ἐστρατεύσεται*.

The existence of this village of the Moatreis is only recorded in this inscription. In the lists of Hierocles there is no name

¹ *Athenaeum*, Dec. 20, 1884; *Mittheilungen des arch. Inst. in Athen*. x. p. 334.

in which the true title of the place can be lurking concealed. The town can never have been of much importance—for it is high up amongst the spurs jutting out on the western side of the Kestel range, where I came upon it without previous warning.

At the same time the existing remains are not altogether inconsiderable. The adjacent Turkish graveyard contains a large number of architectural fragments, and there are also still *in situ* the four lower courses of a heroon or some such building, whose dimensions were 26 ft. 5 in. × 32 ft.

DUWAR.

No. 11.—Stelè in centre of village.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΕΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙ
ΓΑΙΩΔΥΡ'ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΩΔΙΟΚΛΗ
ΤΙΑΝΩΕΥΣΕΒΙΕΥΤΥΧΙΣΕ
ΒΑΣΤΩ'ΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΩΔΥΡΗΛΙΩ'

5 ΟΥΑΛ'ΜΑΞΙΜΙΑΝΩΕΥΣΕΒΕΙ
ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩ'ΚΑΙ
ΦΛΑΒΙΩΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΩΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΩ
ΚΑΙΓΑΛ'ΙΩΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΩ
ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙ

10 ΗΛΑΝΠΡΑΣΑΓΓΑΛΑΣΣΙΩΝ
ΠΟΛΙΣ

Αὐτοκράτορες Καίσαρες
Γαῖορ Δυρ. Οὐαλερίω Διοκλε-
τιανῷ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχί Σε
βαστῇ, καὶ Μάρκῳ Δυρηλίῳ

5 Οὐαλ(ερίῳ) Μαξιμιανῷ Εὐσεβεῖ
Εὐτυχεῖ Σεβαστῇ, καὶ
Φλαβίῳ Οὐαλερίῳ Κωσταντίῳ
καὶ Γαλ[ερ]ίῳ Κωσταντίῳ
ἐπιφανεστάτοις Καίσαρσι

10 ἡ λαμπρὰ Σαγαλασσίῳ
πόλει.

The stone is a large one, and it is not likely that it has travelled far from its original position. Hence follows the natural inference, that the territory of Sagalassus extended along the south side of the Lake of Buldur, and this is proved by a boundary-stone found by Mr. Ramsay in the burying-ground of Duwar—*ὁροθέτησαν τὰ μὲν ἐν δεξιᾷ εἶναι Σαγαλασσίῳ τὰ δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ κ.τ.λ.* (*Athenaeum*, Dec. 20, 1884; *Eph. Epigraphica*, v. 1355; *American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii.).

YARISHLI (TAKINA).

No. 12.—Stone built into the village fountain.

- 1 ΙΑΚΚΑΙ ΑΙ ΙΟΥΔΙΑ
ΜΟΝΗCΤΩΝΜΕΓΙCΤΩΝΚΑΙΑΙ...Ι...ΙΩΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝ
- 2 CΕΟΥΗΡΟ ΙΜΑΥΡΑΝΤ
ΩΝΕΙΝΟΥ ΑΚΑΙCΗ
- 3 ΝΕΑCΗΡΑCΙΟΥΛΙΑC [Here follows a long
erasure of about seventy letters.] ΚΑΙΤΟΥ
- 4 CΥΝΠΑΝΤΟCΟΙΚΟΥΤΩΝCΕΡΑCΤΩΝΚΑΙΙΕΡΑC CΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΔΗΜΟΥΤΟΥΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΕΠΙΑΝΟΥΠΑΤΟΥΤΟΥΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥ
- 5 ΤΑΡΙΟΥΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΥ· ΤΗΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΩΤΑΚΙΝΕΩΝΔΗ
ΜΩΜΕΤΑΠΑCΑCΑΡΧΑCΤΕΚΑΙΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑCΚΑΙΔΙΑΠΟΝΤΙΟΥ
- 6 ΠΡΕCΒΕΙΑCΑCΗΝΥCΕΝΕΠΙΘΕΟΥΚΟΜΜΟΔΟΥΤΡΥΦΩΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΥΠΟCΧΟΜΕΝΟCΑΠΟΠΡΟΙΚΟCΙΑΔΟCΟΥΓΑ
- 7 ΤΡΟCΙΔΙΑC·ΡΩΛΟCΚΑΙΠΡΟCΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΗCΑΜΕΝΟCΜΕΤΑ
ΤΗCΓΥΝΑΙΚΟCΑΜΜΑCΔΑΟΥΚΑΙΕΙCΤΟΝΒΑCΙΛΩΤΗC
- 8 [ΟΥΓΑΤΡΟCΑ . . . ΩΝΛΟΤΟΝΕΠΙΤΩΚΑΙΑΥΤΑCΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ
ΜΕΤΕΧΕΙΝΕΚΤΕΛΕCΤΟΒΑΛΛΑΝΕΙΟΝΠΑΡΕΔΩΚΕΝ]

- 1 Ὑπὲρ ōωτηρ]ίαc καὶ [νείκηc κ]αὶ [αἰών]ίου διαμονήc τῶν μεγίστων
καὶ ἁ[νείκ]ητ]ων αὐτοκρατόρων
- 2 Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου καὶ] Μ. Αὔρ. Ἀντωνείνου [καὶ
- 3 Νέας Ἡρας Ἰουλίαc [καὶ Π. Σεπτιμίου Γέτα] καὶ τοῦ
- 4 σύνπαντοc οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶc ōνκλήτου καὶ δήμου τοῦ
Ῥωμαίων ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου
- 5 Ταρίου Τιτιάνου τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τῷ Τακινέων δήμῳ μετὰ
πάcαc ἀρχάc τε καὶ λειτουργίαc καὶ διαποντίουc]

- 6 πρεσβείας ἧς ἦνυσεν ἐπὶ θεοῦ Κορμόδου, Τρύφων Ἀπαλλωνίδου
ὑποσχόμενος ἀπὸ προικὸς Ἰαδὸς θυγα-
7 τρὸς Ἰδίας ἡρω[ίδ]ος, καὶ προσφιλοτειμησάμενος μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς
Ἀρμίας Δάου καὶ εἰς τὸν Βασιλῶτης
8 [θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν λό(γ)ον, ἐπὶ τῇ καὶ αὐτὰς διὰ βίου μετέχειν,
ἐκτελέσ(ας) τὸ βαλανεῖον παρέδωκεν].

This inscription, which must have been copied very hastily by Arundell [*Asia Minor*, i. 117] was first published by him as restored, and translated by Colonel Leake [*loc. cit.* p. 115, *C.I.G.* 3956b]. Bailie's copy, *U.I.G. add.* p. 1106, Le Bas V. No. 1700, is not an independent copy, but Arundell's version, slightly improved; it is given an affected appearance of originality by the use of uncials.

A very faulty but independent copy is given by Mr. E. J. Davis,¹ who makes a correct division of the lines. Line 4. Leake, τῶν Ρωμαίων; Davis, ΤΟΥΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ; Leake, ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου λαμπροτάτου; Davis inserts ΤΟΥ. Line 5. Leake, Τατιῶν; Davis, ΤΑΡΙΟΥ; Leake, Λακινέων; Davis, ΤΑΚΙΝΕΩΝ. Arundell remarks (p. 118): 'The name ΛΑΚΑΝΕΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣ occurs in the inscription on the fountain. From the form of the first letter it might be mistaken for ΤΑΚΑΝΕΩΝ.' It is, however, undoubtedly ΤΑΚΙΝΕΩΝ. Cf. Waddington—Le Bas, V. 745, ΤΩΤΑΚΙΝΕΩΝΔΗΜΩ, communicated to Le Bas by Dethier, the companion of Arundell, as the first line of a long inscription copied by Arundell. It can hardly fail to be derived from this inscription, though not from the first line. Line 7. Arundell, Ἀρμίας; Davis, ΑΜΜΙΝΕ.

Νέα Ἥρα Ἰουλία is Julia Domna. Arundell's copy gave Ῥωμαίας instead of Ἰουλίας, which is the true reading (Davis, ΙΟΥΜΑΣ). Hence the commentators have hesitated between Plautilla, wife of Caracalla (Leake and Boeckh, *C.I.G.* 3956b) and Julia Domna (Boeckh, *C.I.G. add.* p. 1106, and Waddington, *Fastes des Provinces Asiatiques*, No. 162). Τῇ Τακινέων ὁμηρ = Takina. This place does not appear in Hierocles or the *Notitiae*. Mr. Ramsay² conjectures that it has dropped out from Hierocles, p. 680, 8.

This inscription in 1872 was a 'cornice over the fountain.'³ But since then the fountain has been rebuilt, the inscription

¹ *Anatolien*, p. 125.

² *Ateneum*, Dec. 26, 1884.

³ *Anatolien*, p. 123.

occupies a different position, and its last line has gone. This is given, however, by Davis as above. With the help of a correction by Mr. Hicks, ΛΟΓΟΝ for ΛΟΤΟΝ in the line now wanting, the general sense becomes clear: Tryphon, a munificent citizen of Takina, had done good service by holding various civic offices, and by going as an envoy (to Rome?) in the time of Commodus. Then, when the public bath needed building or rebuilding, he undertook the cost of it out of the portion he had intended for his daughter Ias, who had died (*ἡρώϊδος*). Moreover, he made a further generous contribution, acting in concert with his wife Amma, and making a payment on the account of his daughter Basilote, the two ladies making their contributions on the condition that they, as well as Tryphon (*καὶ αὐτὰς*), should have the use of the bath for life, free of charge. Tryphon, on these conditions, completed the *βαλανεῖον*, and handed it over to the state.

PART II.—MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS.

The preceding inscriptions have been grouped together, as being of topographical interest. Those which follow are of a miscellaneous character.

No. 13.—Dede to the north-east of Ali Agha Chiflik.

Stone 28½ × 12 in.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΖΗ

Τὸ μνημεῖον
Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ
Ἀπολλωνίου.
Ζῆ.

KARAYUK-BAZAR.

No. 14.—Circular tombstone, by mosque.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

ΑΙΜΟΥΝΑΝΙΣΑΓΓΟΛ
ΛΩΔΟΣΠΑΕΥΡΟΥ

ΜΑΝΗΔΙΚΑΙΧΟΓΔΑΔΗ
 ΤΟΙΣΑΔΕΛΦΟΙΣΚΑΙ
 5 ΜΑΝΗΔΟΣΤΕΚΝΩΑΠΟΛ
 ΑΩΔΕΙΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΙΩΝΙ
 ΤΩΣΥΝΤΡΟΦΩΙΛΙΕΙΑ
 ΗΜΗΤΗΡΖΩΣΑΜΝΕΙ
 ΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Λιμούνανις Ἀπολ-
 λῶδος Πλευίου or Πλεύ(ρ)ου?
 Μάνηδι καὶ Χο[ρ]δαδῇ
 τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ
 5 Μάνηδος τέκνῳ Ἀπολ-
 λῶδει καὶ Πρωτίωνι
 τῷ συντρόφῳ . . . εἰς
 ἡ μήτηρ ζῶσα μνη-
 σκεται χάριν.

C.I.G. 3953m.

This inscription was copied by Fellows and Schönborn, who omitted to uncover the left-hand side of the lines.

Line 7. Schönborn ΓΑΡΕΙΑ.

YUSUFCHA.

No. 15.—Circular basis, beside entrance to the mosque.

A. H. S.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΚΑΙΟΙΠΡΑΓΜΑ
 ΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΙ ΕΝΤΑΥΘΑΡΩΜ
 ΟΙΕΤΙΜΗΣΑΝΜΙΘΡΗΝΕΥΠΡ
 ΧΡΥΣΩΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΙΤΙΜΟΙΣ
 5 ΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΙ

Ὁ δῆμος καὶ οἱ πραγμα-
 τεύόμεν[οι] ἐνταῦθα Ῥωμ[αῖ]-
 οὶ ἐτίμησαν Μίθρην Εὐ[.....]
 χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ.....
 5 καὶ εἰκόμ.

Copied by Falkener, and published by Henzen, *Annali dell' Inst.* 1852, p. 177, and Waddington—Le Bas V. No. 1218. The

right side of the stone is engaged in a wall, and difficult to see from its position as well as obliterated. My copy adds several words to that of Falkener.

Falkener reads L. 2, ΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΙ: L. 4, ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΤΙΜ:
L. 5, ΕΙΚΟΙ.

Compare with this stone the inscription of Cibyra (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 598, No. 5).

Compare also the inscription of Cibyra (*Ibidem*, p. 599, No. 6), which can be restored with the help of the inscription here given.

RELIEFS REPRESENTING THE θεὸς σωζών.

The inscriptions from Tefeny, Nos. 16, 17, were found in company with a series of rock-reliefs of a class already well known as existing in this neighbourhood.

Having been informed of the existence of 'written stones' whilst at Tefeny, we went somewhat sceptically to look at the rocks on the south-east side of the hill to the west village. We found it covered with a large number of reliefs of this peculiar class. The usual type of relief may be described as follows: A seated figure on horseback is carved on the rock in low relief. He wears a flying cloak, the left hand rests on the horse's neck, and the right hand brandishes a club. In one instance the figure carries an object on his shoulder, hardly distinguishable from the effects of weather, and presumably a double axe, though to me the group was suggestive of a Hermes on a ram, carrying a caduceus.

The series of figures on these rocks may be classed as follows:—

	Specimens.
(1) The Hermes-like figure just mentioned . . .	1
(2) Large figure in high relief. The figure is 1 ft. 2 in. high, and the horse is 1 foot from head to tail,	1
(3) Figures of horsemen 9 in. high, the right arm extended to the back waving a club, the left hand on the horse's neck	54
Total number	56

All the figures are enclosed in shallow niches, which are either square, or with a rounded top, or surmounted by a pediment. These reliefs are additional members of a class which is already numerous, and has been discussed and illustrated by M. Collignon, who met with several examples, all of them in the immediate neighbourhood.¹ The most important group is at Khodja Tash, a short distance to the south-west of Tefeny. The sculptures of Khodja Tash are very similar to those of Tefeny.² Of the accompanying inscriptions, however, only insignificant fragments remain.

Thus the title of the god cannot be ascertained from the inscriptions either at Tefeny or at Khodja Tash.

But No. 18, from Karamanli (Collignon, *Bulletin*, iv. p. 293), a marble seen by Collignon at Tefeny (*ibidem*), and a marble at Adalia (*ibidem*, p. 294) leave little doubt that the same title of θεὸς σώζων must be given to the equestrian figures of Khodja Tash and Tefeny. The θεὸς σώζων is thus a local god, who, as M. Collignon points out, shares the attributes of Men, of Zeus Labrandeus, and of Zeus Masphalatenos, but is not identical with any of these deities.

TEFENY.

No. 16.—Rock inscription, upon the rocks to the west of the village, attached to one of the best preserved reliefs of mounted horsemen.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

ΜΕΝΕΛΑΟΣ ΜΗΝΙΔΟΣ

ΟΡΟΦΥΛΑ

ΕΥΧΗΝ

ΕΤΘΥΣ

ΣΟΡ

Μενέλαος Μήνιδος

ὀροφύλα[Ξ

εὐχὴν.

ἔτ(ο)υς

(ε)ορ'.

εορ' = 175. Assuming that these inscriptions employ the era of Cibra, the date is 199 A.D.

'Οροφύλαξ is a word which I cannot find elsewhere. It

¹ Collignon, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* i. iv. p. 291.
p. 366; ii. p. 170; iii. p. 334, 346;

² *Bull. de Corr. hell.* iv. pl. ix.

seems to mean 'guardian of boundaries,' used as a title of an official; a word based on the model of *λιμενοφύλαξ* (Dittenberger, No. 343), *ὀπλοφύλαξ* (*C.I.G.* 3902*g*), &c. Or perhaps the word is *ὄροφύλαξ*, mountain-guard.

With reference to the reliefs, *vide supra*.

No. 17.—Rock inscription on cliffs.

Engraved on a panel 11 × 9 inches. Remainder of panel never engraved.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

ΕΤΘΥΣ · ΒΟΡ
ΙΕΡΩΝΒΥΚΟΙΟΥ

Υ (if any letter should be read here, which is doubtful).

Ἐτ(ο)υς Βορ'
Ἱέρων Βυκοίου

or a more probable reading of the inscription

Ἐτους Βορ'
Ἱέρων Β' Κοίου

Βορ' = 172 = 194 A.D., according to the era of Cilyra.

KARAMANLI.

No. 18.—Stone built into a fountain, outside the village. On the lower part is a relief representing a horseman, riding towards the right, and carrying a double axe on his shoulder.

Stone 1 ft. 10½ in. × 11½ in. Height of figure 12 in.

About three inches broken away on left [= three letters].

A. H. S.

ΟΣΑΕΙCΑΤΤΑΛ
ΟΥΙΑΡΑCΑΜΕΝ
ΩΖΟΝΤΙCΓΗΚΟC

Transcribed and took an
impression.

ΕΥΧΗΝ ΑΝΕΘ
✠ ΗΚΕΝ

Relief of
Horseman.

Ὅσαεῖς Ἀττάλ-
ου ἰ(ε)ρασάμεν-
ος Σ[ω]ζοντι [ε]πηκόω
εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν.

The inscription is published by Collignon, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 172, and the relief, *ibidem*, iv. pl. x. fig. 3. Line 1. Collignon, ΑΜΑΔ; Duchesne, ΑΡΤΑΛ. I have no doubt the true reading is ΑΤΤΑΛ. Line 3. Collignon reads ἐτη κθ', but suggests ἐπηκόω as a possible reading.

The name Ὅσαεῖς appears to have been very common in this particular region. Cf. *C.I.G.* 4366*w*, line 16, Ὅσαεῖς Ἀττάλου and *passim*. Compare also No. 23, side *A*, line 7, Ἀττάλου Ὅσαεῖ.

TEFENY.

No. 19.—Large pedestal, standing in a cross-road, in a suburb of the village.

A. H. S.

ΔΟΥΑCΕΜΗΝΙ
ΔΟCΚΑΙΟΙΥΙΟΙΑΥ
ΤΟΥΕΠΟΙΗCΑΝΜΗ
ΝΙΔΙΠΟCΙΔΩΝΙΟΥ
ΜΗΗΜΗCΕΝΕΚΑΝ

sic A

Καὶ δούας Μήρι-
δος καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐ-
τοῦ ἐποίησαν Μή-
ριδι Ποσιδωνίου
μνήμης ἕνεκα.

TEFENY.

No. 20.—In the yard of the Bey's house.

A. H. S.
J. R. S. Sterrett.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ
ΕΛΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ
ΖΩΝΕΠΟΗΣΕΝ

sic X

Δημήτριος Δημητρίου
ἐαυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί
ζῶν ἐποίησεν.

γυναιχί, cf. ὅκλον and ὄχλον used indiscriminately in the Hei-ja inscription, No. 23.

TEFENY.

No. 21.—Stelè (six feet high) in front of a house near that of Bey.

A. H. S.

ΕΝΑΧΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΙΕΡΩΝΟΙΥΙΟΙΑΥ
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ
Sic Y. 5 ΟΑΝΥΨΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ 5
ΑΡΤΕΜΙ ΤΩ ΠΑΤΡΙ
ΜΝΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

*Ερας ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ
καὶ Μουσαῖος καὶ
Ἰέρων οἱ υἱοὶ αὐ-
τοῦ καὶ Μουσαῖος
ὁ ἀνύψιος αὐτοῦ
Ἀρτεμί[σίῳ] τῷ πατρὶ
μνίας χάριν.

No. 15 (b).—On the lower part of the same stelè, somewhat further round to the right, the same inscription is repeated.

Sic ΕΝΑΧΓΥΝΗΑΤΟΥ
 ΚΑΙΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ
 10 ΙΕΡΩΝΟΙΥΙΟΙΑΥ
 ΤΟΥΚΑΙΜΟΥΣΑΙΟΣ
 Sic Υ. ΟΑΝΥΨΙΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΩΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ
 ΜΝΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἐνας ἡ γυνὴ α(ὐ)τοῦ
 καὶ Μουσαῖος καὶ
 10 Ἱέρων οἱ υἱοὶ αὐ-
 τοῦ καὶ Μουσαῖος
 ὁ ἀνύψιος αὐτοῦ
 Ἀρτεμισίῳ τῷ πατρὶ
 μνιάς χάριν.

The name *Ἐνας* does not seem to occur elsewhere, except in this neighbourhood; cf. No. 68. It may perhaps be restored in No. 27, and in *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 603, No. 15.

TEFENY.

No. 22.—Stone built into the wall of a house, in the street leading towards Szak.

A. H. S.
 W. M. R.

ΕΚΑΙΜΗΝΙ
 ΙΑΚΟΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΑ
 ΖΩΕΙΝ

..... καὶ Μῆνις
 Ἰάκωνι καὶ Εἰᾷ.
 ζῶειν.

Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 263. The edges of the stone are perfect, and it is therefore impossible to restore *Εἰδοθείς*, as Collignon conjectures.

ΗΚΙ-ΙΑ (near Tefeny).

No. 23.—Square base, inscribed on all four sides.

Height, 4 ft. 2 in. Breadth, 1 ft. 5 in. at top, 1 ft. 7 in. at bottom.

Side A.

W. M. B.

ΑΓΑΘΗ uncut

ΚΑΤΡΟΦΙΜΟCΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΥCΤΙ

ΜΗCΕΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*Λ

ΓΑΕΙΟCΔΙCΜΗ uncut

5 ΑΝΕCΤΗCΕΝ

ΕΠΙΠΡΟΑΓΟΝΤΩΝ ΜΗΝΙΔΟCΔΙC
ΝΕΙΚΑΔΟΥ

ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΟCΑΕΙΑΥΑΤΤΗΣ

ΔΙCΤΟΥΟCΑΕΙΠΡΟΑΤΩΝ

ΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ

10 *ΡΟCΑΕΙCΜΗΝΙΔΟCΟCΑΕΙΟΥ

ΑΔΑΡΟΥΟΚΕΡΗΓΕΛΛΟCΕΤΙ

ΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*Ν

ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΗCΜΗΝΙΔΟCΜΕΑ

ΤΩΝΟCΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟ

15 ΧΛΟΝ*C

CΟΛΩΝΝΙΚΑΔΟΥΜΕΝΕC

ΘΕΟCΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝ

ΟΧΛΟΝ*Ν

ΠΑΝCΑCΚΛCΙΟΥΕΤΙ

20 ΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*ΚΕ

ΜΗΝΙCΝΕΑΡΚΟΥΛΑΠΟΥ

ΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΚΛΟΝ*Ν


ΜΗΝΙCΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΚΑC

ΤΟΡΟCΕΤΙΜΗCΕΤΟΝ

25 ΟΧΛΟΝ*ΚΕ

ΑΤΤΑΛΟCΚΕΜΑΚΟCΟΙΔ

ΟΝΥCΙΟΥΤΟΥΒΡΟΜΙΟΥΕ

ΤΙΜΗCΑΝΤΟΝΟΚΛΟΝ*

—ΛΗΝΙCΔΙCΚΑΔΑΥΟΥΕ

30  ΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*Ν—

ΔΗΜΗCΣΥΜΑΚΟΥΤΟΥΙΟΥ

ΝΙΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΚΛΟΝ

ΧΝΜΗΝΙCΔΙC πνευτ
ΡΩΝΟCΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΚ

35 ΟΝ*ΚΕ

Ἀγαθῇ (τύχη)
Κλ(αύδιος) Τρόφιμος Ἰταλικού [ε]τι
μῆσε τὸν ὄχλον * λ.
Γάειος δις Μή(μίδος)

5 ἀνέστησεν

ἐπὶ προαγόντων Μήμίδος δις
Νεικάδου,

Ἀττάλου Ὀσαεῖ. Αὐ. Ἀττης
δις τοῦ Ὀσαεῖ προά(γ)ων
ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄχλον

10 *ρ. Ὀσαεῖς Μήμίδος Ὀσαεῖ Ὀυ-
αδάρου, ὁ καὶ Ῥήγελλος ἐτί-
μησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Καλλικλῆς Μήμίδος Με(λί-
τωρος ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄ-

15 χλον * σ.

Σόλων Νικιάδου Μενεσ-
θέος ἐτίμησεν τὸν
ὄχλον * ν.

Πάνσας Κ[α]σίον ἐτί-

20 μῆσεν τὸν ὄχλον * κε.
Μῆνις Νεάρκου Λάππου
ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Μῆνις Ἡρακλείδου Κάσ-
τορος ἐτείμησε τὸν

25 ὄχλον * κε.

Ἀτταλος καὶ Μά(ρ)κος οἱ Δ[ι]-
ονυσίου τοῦ Βρομίου ἐ-
τίμησαν τὸν ὄχλον *...

Μῆνις δις Καδαύου ἐ-

30 τίμῃσεν τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Δημῶς Συμάκου τοῦ Ἰου-
νίου ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄχλον
* ν. Μῆνις δις [Ιέ-
ρωνος ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄκ[λ

35 ον * κε.

Side B.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

ΚΑΣΙΟΣ ΔΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΣΑ ΕΤΙ
ΜΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ρ
ΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΣ ΛΥΔΙΟΥ ΕΤΙ ΜΗ
CΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ρ

5 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΔΟΤΟΣ ΜΗΝΙΔΟΣ
ΜΙΔΑΚΟΣ ΕΤΙ ΜΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ν

ΜΗΝΙC ΤΡΙC ΜΕΛΙC CΟ
ΡΓΟΥ ΕΤΙ ΜΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ
ΟΧΛΟΝ * ΘΕ ΑΠΟΛΛΟ

10 ΔΟΤΟΣ ΔΙC ΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥ ΜΙΛΛΑΚΟΣ ΕΤΙ
ΜΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ρ
ΜΗΝΙC ΑΠΟΛΛΩΔΟΤΟΥ
ΜΙΛΛΑΚΟΣ ΚΕΛΥΤΟΣ Ε

15 ΤΙ ΜΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ν
ΜΑΡΚΟΣ ΜΗΝΙΔΟΣ ΔΙC
CΑΤΑΡΑΔΟΣ ΕΤΙ ΜΗCΕΝ
ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ν
ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ ΜΕΝΝΕΟΥ ΚΙC

20 ΚΟΥ ΕΤΙ ΜΗCΕΝ ΤΟΝ ΟΚΛΟΝ * Ν
ΜΕΝΝΕ ΑC ΚΙC ΚΟΥ ΕΤΙ
ΜΗCΕ ΤΟΝ ΟΚΛΟΝ * Ν
ΑΡΑΓΔΟΥ ΕΤΙ

25 ΗΝΙΔΟΣ
ΥΕΤΙ
ΟΧΛΟΝ

Κάσιος δις τοῦ Πάνσα ἐτί-
μησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ρ.
Κρατερὸς Λυδίου ἐτίμη-
σεν τὸν ὄχλον * ρ.

- 5 Ἀπολλ(ό)δοτος Μήνιδος
Μίθακος ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Μῆνις τρίς Μελισσό-
ργου ἐτίμησεν τὸν
ὄχλον * οε Ἀπολλό-
10 δοτος δις Ἀπολλω-
νίου Μίλλακος ἐτεί-
μησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ρ.
Μῆνις Ἀπολλοδότου
Μίλλακος κὲ αὐτὸς ἐ-
15 τίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Μάρκος Μήνιδος δις
Σατάραδος ἐτίμησεν
τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Ἄτταλος Μεννέου Κί-
20 κου ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
Μεννέας Κίρκου ἐτί-
μησε τὸν ὄχλον * ν.
ὁ δεῖνα Σμ]αράγδου ἐτί [μησε τὸν
ὄχλον * . . . [ὁ δεῖνα Μ]ήνιδος
25 τοῦ δεῖνος] ἐτεί [μησε τὸν
ὄχλον [* . . .

Side C.

- ΙΗΝΙCΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΜΑΡΚ
ΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ * ΚΕ
ΧΑΛΠΧΑΡΕΤΩΝΝΕΑΡΚΟΥ ΜΙ^ω
ΝΕΙΑΝΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ
5 ΚΑCΤΩΡΜΗΝΙΔΟC ΜΟ
ΛΥΚΟCΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟ
ΧΛΟΝ*ΡCΟΥΡΝΟCΣΥΜ
ΜΑΧΟΥΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥΕΤΕΙ
ΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*ΛΑ
10 ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟCΜΗΝΙΔΟC
ΙΒΥΡΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝ
ΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*ΝΔΗΜΗCΜΗ
ΙΔΟCΚΙΒΥΡΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝ
ΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*ΚΕ

- 15 ἈΗΝΙCΔΙΑCΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥΒΙ
 CΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*
 ΜΕΝΕCΘΕΥCΔΙCΦΥΡΡΟΥΕΤΙ
 ΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*ΚΕ
 ΑΔΑΥΑCΜΚΝΙΔΟCΚΑΔΑΟ
- 20 ΑΙΟΥΙΟCΑΥΤΟΥΜΗΝΙCΚΑΔ
 ΟΥΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ
 ΟΝΗCΙΜΟCΜΗΝΙΔΟCΜΟΛΥ
 ΚΟCΕΤ ΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ * Κ
 ΎΠΟΛΛ ΕΟCΚΛΙC
- 25 ΙΟCΑΥΤΟΥ
 ΤΡΙCΕΤΙ ΜΗCΑΝΤΟΝΟΧ/

M]ῆνις Μενάνδρου Μάρκ[ου
 ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * κε.
 Χαλπ. Χαρέτων Νεάρχου Μι[
 νεάρχου ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄκλον [*...

- 5 Κάστωρ Μήνιδος Μυ-
 λυκος ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄ-
 χλον * ρ. Σοῦρνος Συμ-
 μύχου Κρατέρου ἐτεί-
 μησεν τὸν ὄχλον * λ.
- 10 Ἀντώνιος Μήνιδος
 Κ]ιβύρου ἐτείμησεν
 τὸν ὄχλον * ν. Δημήτρης Μή-
 νιδος Κιβύρου ἐτείμησεν
 τ]ὸν ὄχλον * κε.
- 15 Μ]ῆνις Διασκουρίδου Βί[ω-
 νο]ς ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * ...
 Μενεσθεὺς δις Φύρρου ἐτί-
 μησεν τὸν ὄχλον * κε.
 Κ]αδάνας Μ(ῆ)νιδος Καδ(ύ)α[ν
- 20 κ]αὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μῆνις Καδ[αύ-
 ου ἐτείμησεν τὸν ὄχλον [*...
 Ὀνήσιμος Μήνιδος Μόλυ-
 κος ἐτ[είμ]ησεν τὸν ὄχλον * κ.
 Ἄ]πολλ[ώνιος] εὐσ] κ[a]i [ὁ
- 25 υ]ιὸς αὐτοῦ
 τρίς ἐτίμησαν τὸν ὄχ[λον] *

Side D.

- ΜΗΝΙCΑΧΙΛΛΕΟCΕ
 ΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*Ν
 ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥCΜΗΝΙΔΟCΜΟ
 ΥΝΓΟΥΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟ*Ν *sic*
 5 ΕΡΜΗCΒΚΑΔΟΥΡΚΟΥΕΤΙ
 ΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*Α
 ΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟCΔΙCΤΟΥΒΙΡΙΗΝ
 ΟCΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*Κ
 ΜΕΝΝΕΑCΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥΜΕΝ
 10 ΝΕΟΥΚΙΚΟΥΕΤΙΜΗCΕΝΤΟ
 ΝΟΧΛΟΝ * ΛΕ
 ΔΗΜΟΦΩΝΔΙΟΝΥCΙΟΥΕΤΙΜ
 CΕΝΤΟΝΟΧΛΟΝ*ΚΕ
 ΜΕΝΝΕΑCΚΑΡΠΟCΑ
 15 ΠΟΛΛΩΝΕΙΟΥΕΙC
 ΡΕΟCΕΤΕΙΜΗCΕΝ
 ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ * Ν

Finis.

- Μῆνις Ἀχιλλέος ἐ-
 τίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * $\bar{\nu}$.
 Ἀχιλλεύς Μήνιδος Μο-
 ὕργου ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄχλο(ν) * $\bar{\nu}$.
 5 Ἑρμῆς β' Καδούρκου ἐτί-
 μησεν τὸν ὄχλον * $\bar{\lambda}$.
 Διόνυσιος δις τοῦ Βερ . . .
 ος ἐτίμησεν τὸν ὄχλον * $\bar{\kappa}$.
 Μεννέας Διονυσίου Μεν-
 10 νέου Κί(κ)ου ἐτίμησεν τὸ-
 ν ὄχλον * $\lambda\epsilon$.
 ΔημόφωΝ Διονυσίου ἐτίμη-
 σεν τὸν ὄχλον * $\bar{\kappa}\epsilon$.
 Μεννέας Καρπὸς Ἀ-
 15 πολλωνείου εἰ[ε]-
 ρέας ἐτίμησεν
 τὸν ὄχλον * $\bar{\nu}$.

Side *A*, line 10. ΟΥΑΔΑΡΟΥ. So also, in an inscription at Tefeny, Collignon and Duchesne (*Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 58, l. 85), correct Schönborn's reading (*C.I.G.* 4366*a*, l. 56) ΟΥΑΛΑΡΟΥ to ΟΥΑΔΑΡΟΥ.

C, line 15. ΔΙΑΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥ. Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 254, l. 21, 24.

This large stone was standing, inverted and half-buried, in the grave-yard of Hei-ja, a village somewhat to the north of Tefeny. It had been seen both by Schönborn¹ and by Collignon.² Schönborn copied a considerable part of one side (*A*), beginning at line 7, and a few words on a second side (*B*), but did not observe that the stone was engraved on more than two sides. Collignon copied nearly the same part of the side *A* that Schönborn had done, beginning at line 12, but did not observe that the stone was engraved on more than one side. When the stone had been dug out, and set erect by the united efforts of the villagers, it proved to be closely inscribed on all four sides.

The stone contains little except a list of subscribers with their respective contributions for some public purpose. Collignon (*loc. cit.* p. 257) conjectures that the money was distributed amongst the people, but as the inscription opens after the invocation, Ἀγαθῇ (Τέχῃ) (and some interpolated names) Γάειος . . . ἀνέστησεν, the rest of the list seems to refer to contributions towards the expenses of erecting a statue. Mr. Hicks suggests that possibly the statue may have represented the ὄχλος or people.

Inscriptions containing similar long lists of names are of frequent occurrence in the neighbourhood of Tefeny.³ In many instances, as might be expected, the same names and combinations of names occur on more than one inscription.

Line 6, ἐπὶ προαγόρων κ.τ.λ. This title of a magistrate occurs on other inscriptions from this neighbourhood, but does not appear to be met with elsewhere.⁴

¹ *C.I.G.* 4367.

² *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 255.

³ Cf. *C.I.G.* 4368*a*. = *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 256, No. 1 (at Tefeny);

and *Bull. de Corr. hell.* pp. 243—257, Nos. 7—10, 12 (at Karamauli).

⁴ Cf. *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 250, l. 8; p. 253, l. 9.

SAZAK.

No. 24.—Fragment in a wall.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

IO IXI
NEIAOC
EAENOY

.....
Νεῖλος
Ἑλένου

So Collignon.¹ The lines, however, are complete at each end, instead of being fragments from the centre of the stone as represented by Collignon.

HEI-JA.

No. 25.—Fragment of a stèle, lying in graveyard.

Inscription hastily and rudely scrawled.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

MHNICΔΟΥΛΑΑ
ΕΠΟΗΣΕΜΗΝΙ
ΔΙΤΩΑΔΕΛΠΩ
ΚΑΤΗΜΗΤΡΙΚΑΙΑΥ
5 ΤΩΚΑΙΤΗ^ε *sic*

Μήνις Δούλ[α]α
ἐποίησε Μήνι-
δι τῷ ἀδελπῷ
κα(ι) τῇ μητρὶ καὶ αὐ-
5 τῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικί

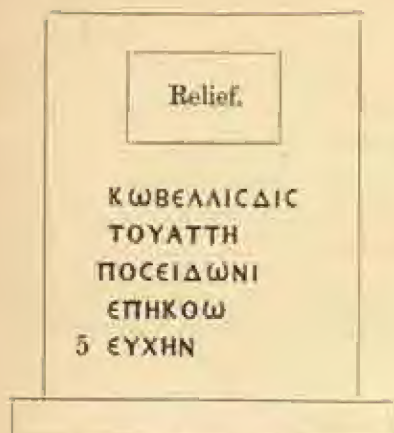
KALJIK.

No. 26.—Built into house of Bey.

Relief of man on horseback, as on other inscriptions in this neighbourhood. Cf. No. 16.

¹ *Bull. de Corr. hell.* ii. p. 263, No. 17.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.
J. R. S. S.



Κώβελλις δῖς
τοῦ Ἀττῆ
Ποσειδῶνι
ἐπηκόῳ
5 εὐχῆν.

Cf. a similar inscription¹ in cemetery at Karamauli. Δάμας
Μήνιδος Διφίλο[υ] θεῷ ἐπη[ε]δ[ε] Ποσειδῶνι εὐχῆν.

No. 27.—Small rude stone, about one foot high.

J. R. S. S.
A. H. S.

ΠΟΛΩΝΙΣ
ΣΔΙΠΛΟ
ΥΤΩΝΙΕ
ΘΑΝΙΤΟΛΟΙ
5 ΙΟΝΕΥΚΗΝ sic

Ἀπολ[λ]ώνιο-
ς Διὶ Πλο-
ύτωνι Ἑ.....
.....τὸ λοι-
5 πόν εὐκῆν.

Mr. Hicks suggests 'E[π]ι | (φ)άνι for the illegible epithet of line 3.

¹ Bull. de Corr. hell. ii. p. 178.

No. 28.—House of Bey.

J. R. S. S.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

ΕΜΜΕΝΙΔΗΣ
ΑΡΧΟΝΤΟΣ
ΑΓΕΥΚΕΥΣΙ
ΕΜ ΔΛ

Ἐμμενίδης

Ἀρχοντος

Ἀγευκεύς

Ἐμ[μενί]δα

UZ-BAGHSHE.

No. 29.—Base in graveyard—much weatherworn.

A. H. S.

ΚΑΣΤ ΩΡ
ΝΑΣΚ ΑΙΑΤΑΣ
ΟΠΟΣ
ΟΙΚΛΗΟΝΟΜΟΙ

5 ΙΑΤ
ΙΜ ΙΚΚΕΝ

Κάστωρ [καὶ Ἐ-
νας καὶ Ἀτας

ὁ Ποσ[.
οὶ κλη(ρ)ογόμεοι

5 κατ[εσκεύασαν
μνημ[ῆος] ἐν[εκεν.

Ἐνας, compare remarks on No. 15.

KALOWISLAR.

No. 30.—Stone outside mosque.

Defaced relief. Inscription below.

A. H. S.

ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΣ
ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΚΟΡ
ΝΗΛΙΑΤΥΧΗΜΑΡΚΩ
ΚΑΛΠΟΥΡΝΙΩΒΙΡΡΙΩ

5 ΕΥΤΥΧΗΤΩΥΙΩΑΥ
ΤΩΝΚΑΙΕΑΤΟΙΣ
ΜΝΗΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ

Πόπλιος Κορινθίος
Ἀβάσκαντος καὶ Κορ-
νηλία Τύχη Μάρκη
Καλπούρνιος Βιρρίος

5 Εὐτυχῇ τῷ υἱῷ αὐ-
τῶν καὶ ἑα(ν)τοῖς
μνήμης ἔνεκεν.

6. *ἑατοῖς*. Cf. No. 15 (b), line 1, *ἀτοῦ*. The form frequently occurs in inscriptions of the post-Augustan period. Cf. Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 69.

BELENLI (OLRASA).

No. 31.—Stelè in front of mosque. The latter parts of the lines much obliterated.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΜΑΡΚΩΤ
ΙΩΚ Τ
ΚΙCΕ, ΝΚ
5 ΑΙΩΤΩΥΙΩ
CΙΟΝΑΙΛΗ
ΤΡΙΖΩΝ
ΕCΤΗCΑΜΝ
ΗΜΗC /

Νικανδρος
Μάρκω τ[ῷ] υἱ-
ῷ κ[ε] Τ[ατία] γυνε-
κί [κ]ε . . .

5 λίω τῷ υἱῷ [κ]ε
Εἰο(ν)λί[α] τῇ [θνηα-

τῇ ζῶν [ἀν-
 ἔστησα μν-
 ῆμης χάριν.

Parts of the above are taken from Mr. Ramsay's copy.

ISTANOL (ISENDA ?).

No. 32.—Small stone, about two feet high, produced by a native.

Beneath a rude relief apparently representing a female figure.

ΕΡΜΑΙΣΤΡΟΣ
 ΟΝΔΟΥΘΥΓΑ
 ΤΡΙΜΝΗΜΗΣ
 Χ ΑΡΙΝ

Ἑρμαι(ο)ς Τρο(κ)
 ὄνδου θυγα-
 τῇ μνήμης
 χάριν.

Cf. *Τροκόνδας Ἑρμαῖον* on an inscription from the supposed site of Cretopolis, published by Mr. Ramsay, *Bull. de Corr. hell.* vii. p. 268. See also *C.I.G.* 4367g.

Names in -ας are often thus contracted into -is in late documents. Cf. Keil, *Specimen Onomatol. Gr.* p. 78.

No. 33.—In graveyard.

The stone is broken in two, and the fragments are a little distance apart.

W. M. R.
 A. H. S.

ΔΟΥΛΙΚΟΣ
 ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΣ
 ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥΚΑΙ
 ΚΕΣΤΡΟΥΚΑΙΔΑ
 Ὡ ΜΟΣΤΟΥΤΩΝΙΑ
 ΤΩΝΟΕΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ
 ΚΑΤΕΣΤΗΚΕΤΙ

Δουλικόν
 ἀπελεύθερος
 Ἀττάλου καὶ
 Κέστρου καὶ Δα-
 Ὡ μοσ(ί)ου τῶν Πλαί-
 τωκος Ἀττάλου
 κατέστησε τῇ

	ΚΑΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΜΕΛΙ	[σορὸν ἑαυτῷ]
10	ΤΙΝΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΡΙΛΛΗ	καὶ γυναικὶ Μελι-
	ΤΗ ΠΕΝΘΕΡΑΥΤΟΥ	τῇ πενθερᾷ αὐτοῦ.
	ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ ἸΤΙΕΡΟΝ	Ἐὰν δέ τις ἴτιον
	ΒΙΑΣΗΤΑΙ ΔΩΣΕΙ	βιάσῃται δώσει
	ΤΗ ΠΟΛΕΙ ΧΑΦ	τῇ πόλει χαφ

ABY FARADIN YAILA (LAGBON).

No. 34.—Large rock tomb, with sculptured lion, upon lid of sarcophagus.

(a) On lid.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΡ' ΚΕ
ΚΑΤΕΣ

(b) On face of tomb.

ΚΑΙ ΤΗ	ΔΕ ΝΙΕΞΟΝ
ΕΣΤΑΙ ΕΠΙ	ΣΤΑ ΟΕΠΙ Η
5 ΤΩ ΕΡΓΩ ΤΟ	ΕΑΙ ΕΡΩ ΑΤΩ
ΜΙΕΙΩ Χ ΒΦ	ΦΚΑΙ ΤΩ ΑΤ
	ΟΝ ΜΙΘΩ ΤΗ
	ΧΧΩΡΙΟ Χ Φ
	ΙΔΕ ΤΙ ΒΟΧΛΕ Χ Σ
10	ΤΑ ΕΤΙ ΖΩΝΕΤΙ ΓΡΑΥ

ἔτους εἰς. Αὐρ Κε [τὴν σόρον
κατεσ[κεύασεν ἑαυτῷ
καὶ τῇ [γυναικὶ "Ἄλλω δὲ οὐδ'] ἐνὶ ἔξον
ἔσται ἐπισ[ενέγκειν

5 τῷ ἔργῳ το [τῷ] ἱερωτάτῳ [τα
μείῳ Χ ΒΦ [καὶ τῇ πόλει Β] Φ' καὶ τῷ [κ]ατὰ
τοπ]ὸν μίσθῳ, τῇ [δὲ
γερουσίᾳ τῇ κηδομένῃ το]ῦ χωρίου Χ Φ'
ἐ]ἰ δὲ τι βουλε[ύ]σ[ω ἄλλο
10 ταῦ]τα ἐτι ζῶν ἐπιγράψω.

εἰς = 215, which by the era of Cibra, is equal to 237 A.D.

ZIVINTKEWI.

No. 35.—On a stone lying by the side of a street, carved in a sunk panel.

5

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΜΑΡΚΟΝ
ΠΛΑΝΚΙΟΝΛΕΛΕΓΑ
ΤΟΝΚΤΙΣΤΗΝΚΑΙΦΙΛΟ
ΠΑΤΡΙΝ

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησεν Μάρκον
Πλάνκιον Λέλεγα
τὸν κτίστην καὶ φιλό-
πατριν.

For a similar decree in honour of the wife of this M. Plancius see No. 36.

Line 3. *Λέλεγα*, cf. Strabo, *Geog.* 570.

ZIVINTKEWI.

No. 36.—Square pedestal, 4 feet high.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΙΟΥ
ΛΙΑΝΧΛΙΔΗΝΥ
ΝΑΙΚΑΜΑΡΚΟΥ
5 ΠΛΑΝΚΙΟΥΛΕΛΕΓΟ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑΚΑΙΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΙ

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησεν Ἰου-
λίαν Χλιδην γυ-
ναῖκα Μάρκου
5 Πλανκίου Λέλεγο[ς
σώφρονα καὶ ἐνάρετο[ν.


For M. Plancius, cf. No. 35.

No. 37.—Part of a small relief. The lower three-fourths of a female figure, closely draped.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ
ΔΙΑΙΜΝΗΤΟΥ ΜΝΗ
ΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

*Διονύσιος Διονυσία-
δι 'Αιμνήτου μνή-
μης χάριν.*

ΑΝΔΥΑ (ANDEDA).

No. 38.—Inside mosque. An oblong marble slab. On top, a surface of polished marble with device  in the centre.


Probably a Christian altar dedicated to Constantine and Helena. Cf. *C.I.G.* 8742.

On side

A. H. S.

⳦ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΩΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΥ ⳦
ΚΕΤΙΣ ΑΓΙΑΣ ΕΛΕΝΗΣ

On front face

ΕΥΧΙ ΦΙΛΙΠΟΥ  ΟΜΕΝΟΥ
ΑΜΙ

⳦ Τοῦ ἁγίου Κωσταντίνου ⳦
καὶ τῆς ἁγίας Ἑλένης.

Ἐυχὴ Φιλίππου (Κ)ομεν(ί)ου
Ἀμ[φ]

Εὐχὴ. Cf. *C.I.G.* 8863.

FOULA (FOULA).

No. 39.—On a pedestal in the graveyard near Foula.

ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΣΑ
Τ

*Ζώσιμος καὶ
Σα...*

No. 40.—Architectural fragment in the graveyard at Foula.

ΜΕΤΑ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΩΝΩ

...ς μετὰ ἀνθρώπων.

No. 41.—Pedestal at entrance to the mosque.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ

ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΑΥΡΗΛΙ

ΑΡΜΑΣΤΑΝΤΗΝΚΑΙ

ΤΕΨ ΤΙΑΝΜΕΛΟΝΙΟΣ

5 ΑΡΤΕΜΕΟΥΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ

ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑΓΕ ΝΟΥΣ

ΤΟΥΠΡΩΤΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ

ΙΕΡΑΣΑΜΕΝΗΝΗΡΑΣΒΑ

ΣΙΛΙΔΟΣΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΗ

10 ΣΑΣΑΝΑΡΧΙΑΙΡΑΣΑΜΕΝΗΝ

ΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΑΤΑΕΠΙΤΟΥΤΟΙΣ

ΝΕΝΟΜΙΣΜΕΝΑΠΟΙΗΣΑ

ΣΑΝ ΤΟΝΔΕΑΝΔΡΙ

ΑΝΤΑΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝΑΥΡ

15 ΑΡΤΕΙΜΙΑΝΟΣΔΙΛΕΙΤΡΙ

ΑΝΟΣΑΡΤΕΙΜΑΣΘΑΝΙ

ΑΥΤΗΣ

Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος
ἐτείμησεν Ἀυρηλ[αν]
Ἀρμ[έν]σαν, [τ]ὴν καὶ
Τε[ρ]τίαν, Μέλ[δ]ον[τ]ος,

5 Ἀρτεμέους γυναῖκα

σώφρονα, γένους

τοῦ πρωτεύοντος,

ἱερασαμένην Ἡρᾶς βα-

σιλίδος, δημιουργή-

10 σασαν, ἀρχιαιρασαμένην,

καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ ταυτοῖς

νενομισμένα ποιήσα-

σαν. Τὸν δὲ ἀνδρι-
άντα ἀνέστησεν Αὐρ.

- 15 Ἀρτεμιανὸς Διλειτρι-
ανὸς Ἀρτεμῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ
αὐτῆς.

For a defective copy of the first ten lines by Schönborn, see *C.I.G.* 4367f.

Line 10, ἀρχιαιρασαμένην. Compare a companion inscription from Foula, published by Mr. Ramsay, *Mittheilungen*, x. p. 335.

Line 5, ἀρχιαιρείως.

KARIBTCHE.

No. 42.—Square base in front of a house in the village.
Small relief, of two figures.

A. H. S.

ΔΑΜΑΣΤΗ ||||| ΟΥ	Δαμῶς Τη.....τ]οῦ
ΟΣΑΕΙΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ	Ὅσ' αἰεὶ (ἔ)ποίησεν
ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗΤΩΟ	Καλλιόπῃ τ(οῦ) Ὁ-
ΣΑΕΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΚΙ	σ' αἰεὶ τῇ γυνα(ι)κὶ
5 ΜΝ-Μ-ΣΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν,
ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩ	καὶ ἑαυτῷ.

Cl. Schönborn, *C.I.G.*, No. 4367i.

KESTEL.

No. 43.—In graveyard on hill, one hour to the north-east.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜ	Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος
ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝΓΟΥΑΛ	ἑτείμησαν Γ(αίου) Οὐαλ-
ΕΡΙΟΝΙΟΥΑΙΑΝΟΝΙΟΥΝΟΡΑ	ἱριον Ἰουλιανὸν Ἰούνορα
ΗΡΩΑΤΟΝΔΕΑΝΔΡ	ἥρωα. Τὸν δὲ ἀνδρ[ε-
5 ΑΝΤΑΛΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΕΝΗ	5 ἀντα ἀνέστησεν ἡ
ΜΗΤΗΡΑΥΤΟΥΑΥΡ	μήτηρ αὐτοῦ Αὐρ.
ΜΑΡΚΙΑΜΗΤΡΩΝ	Μαρκία Μητρών-
sic ΛΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ	(δ)ου Δημητρίου
ΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΚΑΙ	φιλοστοργίας καὶ
ΟΙ ΜΝΗΜ ΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ	10 μνήμης χάριν.

SITE TO WEST OF GULDE CHIFLIK.

No. 43.—Two large architectural fragments.

(a)

MENANΔΡΟΣ ΤΡΩΙΛΟΥ ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝΙΚΑΙΚΙΣ ΠΡΕΥΧΗΝΕΚΤΩ
ΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ

(b)

Μένανδρος Τρωίλον Πλούτωνι καὶ Κόρη εὐχὴν ἐκ τῶ-
ν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκε.

No. 44.—Rude late relief. Two figures. Line 5 is cut on
the field of the relief.

A. H. S.

W. M. R.

ΩΝΚΟΛΑΙΝΟCΑΝΕΘΗ
ΚΕΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΝΜ-Ν-ΜΕΙΟ
ΝΑΜΜΑΘΟΥΓΑΤΡΙΜΝ C
/ΑΡΙΝΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑCΤΡ
5 ΕΙCΕΛΥΤΗΝ

.....ων Κόλαινος ἀνέθη-
κε τοῦτο τὸ <v> μ<η>νημείο-
ν Ἀμμά τῇ θυγατρὶ μν[ήμη]ς
χάριν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς
5 εἰς ἑαυτήν.

Line 5. Apparently a scribe's blunder for ΕΛΥΤΟΝ.

No. 45.—Fragments of panel of a sarcophagus.

W. M. R.

A. H. S.

a	b
ΚΕΝ	ΤΗΝΕΟΡΟΝ
ΤΑΥΤΗ	ΛΗΡΟΝΟ
ΜΟΙCΘ	ΚΟΛΟΥ
ΘΗCΕΙ	

These two fragments may perhaps be fitted together thus

ΚΕΝ [ὁ δαίμα ἀνέθη-
τὴν σορὸν

ταύτη[ν. Τοῖς κ]ληρονό-
μοις ο[ὗ]κ ἀ]κολου-
θήσει.

Τοῖς κληρονόμοις κ.τ.λ. a translation of the ordinary Latin formula, 'Heredem non sequitur.'

Cf. *Rev. Archéologique*, N. S. xxx. p. 51, an inscription at Smyrna, Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ μνημῆον κληρονόμῳ ο[ὗ]κ ἀκολουθήσει.

HADJILAR.

No. 46.—Small sepulchral relief in wall of a fountain opposite the mosque.

ΛΩ ΟΛ¹
Λ/Γ ΕΠΟΙΗC
Γ ΟΥΓΑ

Relief. Three
figures.

ΤΡΙΜΝΗΜ

Ζώ[σιμ]ος
... ἐποίησ-
[ε ... τῆ]θνηγα-
τρὶ μνήμ-
[ης χάριν].

YARIKEWL.

No. 48.—In graveyard.

1	ΛΒΗΝ	[Λουκίῳ Σεπτι]
	ΟΙCΠΑΡΘΙ	[μίῳ Σεουήρῳ]
	ΚΟΙC....	[Εἰσεβεί Περτίνα-]
	.....	[κι καὶ Μάρκῳ]
5	.....	[Λέρηλίῳ Ἀντωνέινῳ]
	.....ΙΤΩΝ	[Σεβάστοις μεγίστοις]
	ΜΕΓΑΛΩΝ	[Ἀραβικοῖς]	
	ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ	1 Ἀδ[ε]λ[φ]ο[ν]ο[ν]ο[ν]ο[ν]	
10	ΚΑΙΠΟΥΛΙΑ	κ[ο]ῖς Παρθι-	

ΔΟΜΝΗ
ΜΗΤΡΙΚΑ
ΣΤΡΩΝ

κοῖς.[καὶ Π.
Σεπτιμίῳ
5 Γέτα
.]τῶν
μεγάλων
βασίλειων
10 καὶ Ἰουλίου
Δόμνῃ
μητρὶ καὶ
στρῶν.

The inscription was written between the elevation of Caracalla to the empire (198 A.D.) and that of Geta (208 A.D.).
Cf. *C.I.G.* 4371.

ELLES.

No. 49.—In graveyard,

	ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΝ	[Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ]
	ΜΕΜΕΟΥΜΕΙΚΥ	[δῆμος ἐτείμησαν]
	ΣΑΝΔΑΝΔΡΩ	Ἀντωνεῖνον
	ΠΑΛΗΘΕΜΙΔΟΣ	Μεννίου νεκρί-
5	ΛΟΝΤΙΛΛΗΣΑ	σαντα ἀνδρῶ[ν
	ΠΟΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ	πάλην θέμιδος
	ΜΑΙΜΙΛΙΟΥΛΟΝ	5 Λονγιλλῆας ἀ-
	ΓΟΥΠΡΩΤΗΣ	πὸ χρημάτων
	ΑΧΘΕΙΣΙΚΤΟΥ	Μ. Αἰμιλίου Λόν-
10	ΚΑΙΑΓΩΝΟΘΕ	γου πρώτης
	ΤΟΥΝΟΣΔΙΑ	ἀχθείσης τοῦ
	ΒΙΟΥ	10 καὶ ἀγωνοθε-
		τοῦντος διὰ
		βίου.

YARISHLI.

No. 50.—Square stone inscribed on its four faces, supporting one beam of porch of mosque.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

Side A.

- 1 ΝΥΝΣΟΙΠΑΝΤΑΤΕΛΕΙΔΑΙΜΩΝΚΑΙΕΙΣ
ΟΡΘΟΝΟΔΗΓΕΙ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣΠΑΝΤΑΚΑ
ΤΑΝΟΥΜ-ΚΕΤΙΤΡΥΧΕΣΕΑΥΤΟΝ
sic Ζ ΕΠΙΤΕΥΖΗΣΥΤΕΑΜΕΜΠΤΩΣΩΝΑΝΕΠΙ
5 ΘΥΜΕΙΣ

Side B.

- ΙΣΚΑΙΑΜΗΧΑ ,C...OCA
ΣΥΛΗΝΗΝΠΡΑΣΣΕΙΣΘΕΟΣΟΥΚΕΑΑΛΛΑΝΑΜΕΙΝΟΝ
ΕΙΝΟΝΔΕΕΙΣΕΡΙΝΕΡΧΕΘΑΙΚΑΙΑΓΩΝΑΔΙΚΗΝΔΕ
ΓΓΓΔ ΙΔΦΛΑΚΤΙΖΕΙΣΠΡΟΣΚΕΝΤΡΑΠΡΟ
10 ΝΤΙΑΚΥΜΑΤΑΜΟΧΘΕΙΣΦΙΧΘΥΝΕΝΠΕΛΑΓΕΙ
ΗΤΕΙΣΜΗΣΠΕΥΔΕΤΙΠΡΑΞΙΝΦΟΥΣΟΙΧΡΗΣΙ
ΟΝΕΣΤΙΘΕΟΥΣΒΙΑΣΑССΘΑΙΑΚΑΙΡΩΣ
ΤΑΑΓΓ ΙΔΦΜΗΔΕΣΥΦΡΙΚΤΑΝΟΕΙΜΗΔΑΝ
ΤΙΑΔΑΙΜΟΝΟCΕΡΧΟΥΦΠΑΝΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙΝΟΥΘΕ
15 ΓΑΡΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΝΕCΤΙΝΑΠΑΥΤΟΥΦΟΥΔΟΔΟΝ
ΗΝCΤΕΙΧΕΙCΚΕΡΔΟCΤΙCΟΙΕCΤΙΝΑΠΑΥΤΗΣ

Side A.

- Νῦν σοὶ πάντα τελεῖ δαίμων καὶ εἰς
ὀρθὸν ὁδηγεῖ. Πράξεις πάντα κα-
τὰ νοῦν, μὴ κέτι τρυχεῖ σεαυτόν.
Ἐπιτεύ(ξ)ῃ σὺ τε ἀμέμπτως ὧν ἂν ἐπι-
5 θυμεῖς.

Side B.

- ς καὶ ἀμήχανα
Βούλην ἦν πράσσεις θεὸς οὐκ ἔφ'· ἀλλ' ἀνάμεινον.
Δεινὸν δὲ εἰς ἔριν ἔρχεσθαι καὶ ἀγῶνα, δίκην δέ.
γγηδ'· ἰδ' & Λακτίζεις πρὸς κέντρα, πρὸς
10 ἀντία κύματα μοχθεῖς. & Ἰχθὺν ἐν πελάγει
ζητεῖς, μὴ σπεῦδες τι πράξιν· & Οὐ σοὶ χρήσι-
μὸν ἔστι θεοῦς βιάσασ<σ>θαι ἀκαίρως.

- γ]ααγγ' ἰδ' ὧ Μῆδέ σν φρικτὰ νοῖει μῆδ' ἀν-
 τία δαίμονος ἔρχου. ὧ Πάντα φρονεῖν οὐθέ[ν
 15 γὰρ ὀνήσιμόν ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, ὧ οὐδ' ὁδὸν
 ἦν στείχεις, κέρδος τί σοί ἐστιν ἀπ' αὐτῆς.

Side C.

- 17 ΝΟΔΟΝΟΡΜΑΣΘΑΙΚΑΙ
 ΣΣΕΙΝ uncut ΣΣΣΣΣ uncut
 ΑΜΒΑΙΝΕΟΥΜΕΛΛΕΙΣ ΣΟΙΕΣΤΑΙΑΜ
 20 ΟΝ ΟΡΟΝΓΑΡΣΟΙΟΡΑΜΣΙΝΟΝΜΕΤΑ
 ΤΑΔΕΕΣΤΑΙΩΤΟΝΤΕΦΟΣΟΝ
 ΝΟΝΤΑΔΕΟΡΑΣΕΙ

Side D.

- ΣΣΣΑΘΕΛΕΙΣΠΡΑΞΕΙΣΕΥΡΗΛΕΙΣΟCΣΑ . . . ΜΝΑ
 ΕΝΧΕΙΡΙΖΕΝΕΘΑΡΧΗCΑCΠΑΝΤΕCΤΙΝΕΤΟΙΜΑ
 25 ΗCΥΧΑΒΟΥΛΕΥΟΥΚΑΙCΟΙΘΕΟCΗΓΕΜΟΝΕΥΕΙ
 ΓΓΓCΣ ΚΔ
 ΕΙCΙΚΑΛΑΙΠΡΑΞΕΙCΠΕΥΔΕCΕΧΡΗΜΟCΟΔΑΥΔΑ
 ΕΚΦΕΥΞΗΓΑΡΝΟΥCΟΥΧΑΛΕΠΗCΠΑΝΤΩΝΔΕ
 ΚΡΑΤΗCΣΙCΘΚΑΙΤΟΝΑΛΩΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΞΕΝΙΗΩ
 30 ΡΗΗΞΕΙΝΘΕΟCΑΥΔΑ

Side C.

τῇ]ν ὁδὸν ὁρμᾶσθαι καὶ
 ...σσειν. σσςς'
 ἄμβαινε οὐ μέλλεις, [τόδε γάρ] σοί ἐσται ἁ-
 εῖνον. ἀμείνον μετὰ
 τάδε ἐσται. ὧ

Side D.

"Ο]σσα θέλεις πράξεις, εὐρήσεις ὅσσα [μερι]ανᾶ[s].
 Ἐν χειρὶ, [ἐ]νε θεοῦ, πάντ' ἐστὶν ἔτοιμα.
 "Ἡσυχὰ βουλεύου καὶ σοὶ θεὸς ἡγεμονεύει.
 γγγςς' κδ'
 Εἰς] καλὰ πράξεις· σπεῦδέ σε χρη(σ)μὸς ὁδ' αὐδᾶ.
 Ἐκφεύξῃ γὰρ νοῦσου χαλέπης, πάντων δὲ
 κρατήσ[ε]ις. Καὶ τὸν ἀλώμενον ἐν ξενίᾳ (χ)ώ-
 ρῃ ἤξειν θεὸς αὐδᾶ.

In Arundell's time, the stone stood against a wall, and he could only copy sides *A* and *D*.¹

Side *C* is very much defaced, and difficult to read.

For a series of *γνώμαι μονόστιχοι* (in iambs) very similar to this, cf. *C.I.G.* 4310, *addenda*.

No. 51.—In graveyard.

A. H. S.

W. M. R.

1 ΕΤΟΥΣΣΙΘΜΗΝΟΣΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΟΥΣΥΡΟ
 ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΟΣΚΑΙΜΥΡΣΙΝΗΝΑΝΑΣ
 2 ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΑΜΕΝΟΥΔΙΑΤΗΣΝΕΟΤΗΤΟΣΤΕΛΕ
 ΙΟΥΠΡΟΣΠΑΝΤΑΗΘΗΚΑΙΦΥΣΙΝΑΤΗΕΠΙΛΗ-

1 Ἐτους σιθ', μῆνος Ἀρτεμισίου, Σῦρος Ἀρτέμωνος
 καὶ Μυρσίνῃ Νανᾶς

2 ἀποδειξαμένου διὰ τῆς νεότητος τελείου πρὸς
 πάντα ἦθη καὶ φύσιν, ἀ(ν)επιλήσ[του].....

These two lines, which are incomplete on the right, are inscribed on a large architectural fragment, doubtless the cornice of a heroon, erected by Syrus and Myrsine to their son (?), whose name is lost. *ἀνεπλήστος* is given by Liddell and Scott, as used by Aristaenetos (†50 A.D.) in the sense of 'never to be forgotten.' One would expect *ἀνεπιλήπτου*, 'blameless,' reading the inscription: *ἀποδειξαμένου διὰ τῆς νεότητος τελείου πρὸς πάντα, ἦθη καὶ φύσιν ἀνεπιλήπτου*; but the stone hardly admits this reading. σιθ' = 219 = 135 A.D.

KAYADIRI.

No. 52.—Sarcophagos in main street of village.

A. H. S.

ΕΛΠΙΣΑΛΥΛΠΕ
 ΜΗΝΙΑΙΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΥ
 Θ ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩΑΝΔΡΙ
 ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΤΗΝΕΩ
 ΡΟΝΚΑΤΕΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ

¹ Arundell, *Disc. in Asia Minor*, ii. p. 116; *C.I.G.* 3956 b.

Ἑλπις Ἀλὺ(δ)ος
 Μήνιδι Τροφίμου
 γλυκυτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ
 καὶ ἐαυτῇ τὴν σο-
 ρὸν κατεσκέυασεν.

No. 53.—Stelè built into a house in the Bazaar.

A. H. S.
 W. M. R.

ΕΝΑΣΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ
 ΓΥΝΗΚΑΙΠΟΠΛΙ
 ΟΣΔΙΣΚΑΙΜΗΝΙΣ
 ΟΙΑΔΕΛΦΟΙΑΝΕΣ
 ΤΗΣΑΝΤΟΙΣΓΟΝΙ
 ΕΥΣΙΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

*Ενας Ποπλίου
 γυνὴ καὶ Πόπλι-
 ος δις καὶ Μήνις
 οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἀνέσ-
 τησαν τοῖς γονι-
 εῦσι μνήμης χάριν.

*Ενας, cf. No. 15.

No. 54.—On a small altar, lying in the Bazaar.

A. H. S.
 W. M. R.

ΔΙΕΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙ
 Διε Καίσαρι.

No. 55.—Built into a house adjoining the Bazaar.

A. H. S.

ΜΗΤΗΡ
 μητῆρ.

No. 56.—Built into a house at corner of Bazaar. In part concealed; but the missing parts were communicated by a Greek living in village.

A. H. S.

5

ΟΥΣΤΑΘ
 ΜΟΣΓΤΟΥΠΑΠΙΟΥ
 ΥΑΣΕΛΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗΓΥ
 ΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΑΥΡ·ΑΛΛΛΙΑΖΩCΙΧ
 ΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝ

*Ετ]ους τλθ'
 Τρόφι]μος γ' τοῦ Παπίου
 κατέσκε]ύασε (ἐ)αυτῷ καὶ τῇ γυ-
 ναικὶ αὐτοῦ Αἰρ· Ἀρμίου Ζωσίμου
 5 τὸ ἀνγείον.

τλθ' = 339 = 255 A.D.

No. 56a.—Built into a house in the Bazaar.

A. H. S.

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΠΟΛC
 ΝΟCΚ ΑΜΜΙΑC
 ΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΤΡΟ
 ΚΟΝΔΑΤΩΤΕΚΝΩ
 5 ΦΙΛΟCΤΟΡΓΙΑCΚΑΙ
 ΜΝΗΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ
 ΦΙΛΩΝΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ
 ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ

Ἀρτέμων Πολέ[μ-
 ω]νος κ[αὶ] Ἀμμίας
 ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Τρο-
 κόνδα τῷ τέκνῳ
 5 φιλοστοργίας καὶ
 μνήμης ἔνεκεν.
 Φίλων Ἀνδρονίκου
 ἐποίησεν.

No. 57.—Built into a wall near the Bazaar.

A. H. S.
W. M. R.

ΧΕΡΕΤΕΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑΙ

χίρετε παροδείται

Relief.—A man on
horseback, and a
small figure in
front.

sic

5

ΛΥΡΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟCΕΙC
ΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΗCΕΤΡΑ
ΤΕΥCΕΤΟΕΝΔΟΞΩC
ΠΟΛΛΟΥCΩΛΕCΕΝ
CΤΑCΔΙΑΧΙΡΩΝΕΤΕ
ΛΕΥΤΗCΕΝΕΝΛΥ
ΚΙΑΛΙΛΥΡΟΙCΕΙ
ΔΙΩΘΑΝΑΤΩΟΙ
10 ΔΕΛΠΟΙΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΑΠΙΑCΚΑΙΤΕΙΛ
ΙΑCΟΙΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΟΥΤΟΥCΥΡΙΧΕ

10

[A]ύρ· Εἰρηνναῖος εἰς-
τρατιώτης εἰστρα-
sic τεύσετο ἐνδόξως.
5 πολλοὺς ὤλεσεν.
στὰς διὰ χιρῶν ἐτε-
λεύτησεν ἐν Λυ-
κία Διμήροις εἰ-
δίῳ θανάτῳ. Οἱ[α]-
10 δελποὶ αὐτοῦ
Παπίας καὶ Τειμ-
λαί οἱ Ἀπολλω-
νίου τοῦ Συριχί[ος
[ἀνέστησαν μνίμης]
[χάριν.]

Line 4, *εἰστρατεύσετο*, cf. No. 10, line 10, *ἡργάσετο*. Line 2, *εἰστρατιώτης*. An example of the introduction of a vowel before a double consonant [cf. *Ismir* = *Smyrna*, etc.]. So *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. p. 26, *Ἰστρατιώτου*.

The meaning seems to be that Eirenaeus slew many of his enemies, and finished by dying himself in hand-to-hand combat. I have failed to find any special warfare in which this veteran met his death. Lycia had been made a Roman province by Claudius, on account of intestine quarrels, and it doubtless remained a very wild region.

The following inscriptions, copied during this journey, have already been published elsewhere, from our copies.

No.	Site.	Ancient Site.	Place of Publication.	Observations.
58	Beledi	Olthia	<i>Eph. Epig.</i> v. 1359	W. M. R. <i>Ct. Bull. de Corr.</i> <i>hell.</i> l. p. 236, No. 5.
59	"	"	" " 1360	<i>Ct. Bull. de Corr. hell.</i> l. p. 234, No. 2.
60	"	"	" " 1361	<i>Ct. Bull. de Corr. hell.</i> l. p. 334, No. 1.
61	"	"	" " 1362	<i>Ct. Bull. de Corr. hell.</i> l. p. 334, No. 3.
62	"	"	" " 1363	W. M. R.
63	Hasan Pascha	"	" " 1364	"
64	Between Urgulu and Karlıtepe.	Comana	" " 1367	"
65	"	"	" " 1368	"
66	"	"	" " 1367	"
67	Puwat	"	" " 1355	" <i>Amer. Journ. of Arch.</i> [vol. II.
68	Yarishli	Saglasaus (W. boundary of territory)	" " 1402	A. H. S.
69	Eles	Takina	" " 1403	"
70	"	[Phylakion ?]	" " 1404	"
71	Fonla	"	<i>Mithrasdigena</i> x. p. 335.	W. M. R.
72	Andys	Contains OTEPIANON	" x. p. 338.	
73	Kizil-agatch	Διοτ Τρεπρεβτωρ	" x. p. 340.	
74	"	"	" x. p. 341.	

Where the initials are quoted, the inscription has only been seen by the observer indicated.

VASES REPRESENTING THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.

(NOTE.)

With reference to the plate and the amphora with representations of the Judgment of Paris, published in the last number of the *Journal*, Professor Milani, Director of the Museo Greco Etrusco at Florence, kindly sends me the following note:—

‘ Il piatto fu di me acquistato pel Museo di Firenze insieme con tutta la collezione Spannochio Sergardi di Cortona e so esattamente di esso proviene dagli scavi fatti presso l' ipogeo di Camucie. Riguardo all'anfora, essa entrò nel Museo insieme con molti altri vasi a f. n. (corinzi ed attici arcaici) e vasi di bucchero trovati dieci o dodici anni or sono alle Pescie Romana.’

By some mistake I had understood Professor Milani to say the provenance was unknown.

JANE E. HARRISON.

EXCAVATIONS IN GREECE, 1886-1887.

THE following list enumerates the chief places in Greece where archaeological investigations are now, or have very recently been carried on, namely, Athens, Piræus, Eleusis, Oropus, Thoricus, Sicyon, Mycenæ, Ptoos, Elateia, Orchomenos, Dimini near Volo, and in the islands of Delos, Thasos, and Cephalonia, to which Tiryns, Olympia, and Epidaurus should be added, although at these places,



FIG. 1.

for the present, the works have been discontinued. There is also the expectation that the French examination of Delphi will be shortly resumed.

In Athens very important results have been obtained. First in interest is the ancient temple on the Acropolis which, although some of its foundations were visible even in 1845, has been practi-

cally discovered and the discovery energetically followed up by Dr. Dörpfeld. The position of the temple is shown on the sketch-plan (fig. 1) which accompanies this paper. A careful plan of the site and the foundations, and a description, has been contributed by Dr. Dörpfeld to the *Mittheilungen* in the first part for 1887 (see p. 337, and plate). A plan of the restored temple is given by him in the *Antike Denkmäler* of the *Kaiserlich Deutsch. Archæol. Institut*, band 1, 1887.

I have not yet been able to devote sufficient time to go into the architectural evidence of the restoration which Dr. Dörpfeld has made from a diligent combination of scattered fragments found in the Cimonian wall and various parts of the Acropolis, and which he also supports by ingenious references to passages in the ancient writers; but I cannot but think that much will have to be considered before a final judgment can be passed on the exact restoration or history of this temple. It is, however, a most reasonable supposition that most of the archaic sculptures recently found were contained in it.

A very important discovery is that of the Calchotheke near the Propylæa, and towards the north-east. It seems to have been built earlier than the Propylæa of Mnesicles, and to be founded on walls of a still older structure, apparently those of a large cistern; for a drainage channel connected with the older structure has been solidly filled up by its walls. An inscription having reference to the Calchotheke was found in the excavations, and two bronzes in its immediate vicinity.

The true access to the grotto of Aglauros has been found where marked on the sketch-plan, so that the stair-case a little to the east of it, which, though itself evidently of more recent construction, had generally been thought to follow the old direction, has been proved to be of Turkish or mediæval work.

Around the Erechtheum the ground has been almost entirely ransacked and the rock exposed to view. This operation has been rewarded by the discovery of the archaic statues which have become so famous, and by the discovery of some foundations of buildings, of one especially of great solidity, as the sketch-plan will show, and others of a slighter and domestic character. There are also a few remains which will merit careful study, due west of the Erechtheum in the place where probably the Arrhephori had their dwelling. In the *Ephemeris Archæologike* of 1886, p. 73, is an account by Cavvadias of the archaic sculptures, and also in the *Practica* of 1886, p. 11. The exposure of the back of the Acropolis wall to the north and north-east of the Erechtheum, where the wall rests upon drums

of marble columns, shows that the lower courses were constructed in great haste, whilst above them a wall of very carefully squared and jointed masonry was subsequently erected. It is into the latter that the entablatures of the original Parthenon (as I still must hold, notwithstanding Dr. Dürpfeld's desire to attribute them to his 'ancient temple') have been inserted. The appearance of these lower courses seems therefore to confirm the theory of their Themistoclean construction during the crisis so well-known.

A very deep excavation has been made at the south-east angle of the Parthenon, nearly forty-feet below the upper step of the temple. The architectural results obtained have been the recovery of some very curious materials—fragments of pre-Persic architecture—some of which must have belonged to the ancient temple, and others no doubt to the earlier Parthenon as well as to other buildings. One fragment is remarkably curious, namely of poros stone, apparently the drum of a column with twenty or twenty-four Doric flutes covered with the usual fine stucco of the early period: but the flutes twine spirally up the column—an arrangement with which we are familiar in very late Roman work, but which seems to be a solecism in Greek architecture of an early period: and this fragment, found in company with pre-Persic remains, was certainly thrown into the place where it was found at least as early as the time of Pericles. One of the architectural fragments is of a Doric cornice fully coloured, in which the guttae stand out white, having been formed of white stone and inserted into the mutules like so many pegs. Some pieces of sculpture were also found which are preserved in the Museum.

Near the extreme east end of the Acropolis some walls of a large building have long been visible. The site has now been cleared and some marble fragments of columns have been found, and of a cornice with extremely peculiar mouldings. The execution, however, shows it to be a work of the best period. This building abuts against a portion of very ancient walling of polygonal masonry which formed once the outer defence of the Acropolis; filling up a weak place in the rock. This wall has been laid open on both sides.

All the above-named works have been undertaken at the cost of the Athenian Archaeological Society. In the lower town, under the auspices of the German Archaeological School, search has been made for the ancient Agora in the valley or rather gentle slope lying between the Pnyx and the Temple of Theseus. Nothing of any importance has been discovered excepting that in the part of the excavation nearest the Pnyx an enormous depth of earth had to be removed; which seems to have been washed down by the rains

from the Pnyx itself, confirming an opinion which had already been advanced by an American archaeologist, that originally the Bema of the Pnyx was the centre of a theatre-shaped *cavea* which was upheld by the wall of massive stones, of which part still exists, but which was originally very much higher than at present.

Also, in the Dionysiac Theatre, an excavation conducted by the Germans has exhibited a wide and deep channel resembling a drain in front of the lowest row of seats and concentric with them. Similar channels have been found in other theatres, for instance, Epidaurus, Oropus, and lastly, Sicyon. At Epidaurus, however, the depth is not great. The very great area given to the section of this channel in the other instances is difficult to explain if merely

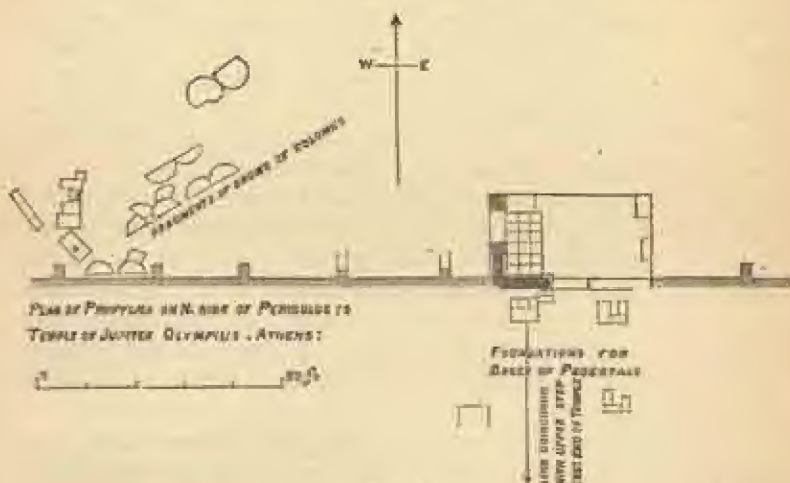


FIG. 2.

intended for the discharge of rain water; but it could also have been used in fine weather, and during the performance of a play, as an underground and concealed passage from one side of the stage to the other.

At and around the temple of Jupiter Olympius a good deal has been done. An accidental cutting to improve the road on the north side of the Peribolus disclosed a portico of which the plan can be perfectly recovered, as well as the pedestal and base of its columns and antae, which formed a sort of Propylaea ranging with the east end of the temple. There was probably a similar portico westwards, but whatever existed there has been entirely cleared away. I give on fig. 2 a plan of this portico, which, from the style

of the architecture, may with the greatest probability be assigned to the time of Hadrian. It was never completely finished. Near it are the foundations of pedestals of statues and parts of the pedestals themselves with inscriptions upon them were found near them.

Near to this portico as shown on the plan are the foundations of a building evidently of an earlier epoch, which are formed of segments of the drums of large columns unfluted and of poros stone. The diameter of one of them is not less than seven feet ten inches. It can hardly be doubted but that they are parts of Doric columns prepared by Peisistratus. An examination of the temple itself has shown that one of the isolated standing columns rests upon a pile of complete drums of similar material and diameter, and probably some of the other columns were supported in the same way. Some excavations for the purpose of determining the plan of the temple itself have been carried on by the Society of Dilettanti under my direction, and have resulted in proving that the temple was octastyle instead of decastyle, as generally supposed. The foundations have been much uprooted by the searchers for building stone in past times, but amply sufficient has been found for recovering the complete plan of Antiochus' temple, and also some interesting particulars respecting the earlier foundations. It is remarkable, however, how very few fragments of the superstructure, excepting drums of the external columns, have been brought to light, and absolutely no sculpture.

A little more clearance has been made in the interior of Hadrian's stoa, where a fine Roman mosaic was discovered two years ago. See *Practica*, 1886.

The *Practica* of 1886 gives a description, page 63, and also a plan, of the slips or docks of the port of Zea; and connected also with the Piræus is a paper in the *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique* for 1887, p. 129, on the fortifications &c., of the harbour, by M. Barnay.

The most important investigation out of Athens has been that of the temple at Eleusis, see plan in *Practica* 1885 by Dr. Dörpfeld, and in the same volume is a description by the Ephor Philios who superintended the work; p. 64. Since that year the whole of the Peribolos has been excavated, and a stoa and an apsed structure, which has been named the Bouleuterion, has been found between the church shown on the plan and the gate marked B, but little else of importance in that part.

The most conspicuous objects in the interior of the temple itself are the shafts of columns four and a half feet in diameter of Eleu-

sinian stone, of some of which the lower drums are standing. These are marked on the plan by the numbers 1, 2, 3, &c. They seem to belong to a comparatively late period and to be of Roman construction. The traces of the pre-Persic temple, which are marked in red colour on the plan, can be very clearly made out. It did not, however, occupy much more than one quarter of the area finally covered, and there are also evident traces of a subsequent reconstruction; in which perhaps the columns of the pre-Persic temple may have been re-used; which extended the building considerably towards the north-west: these are marked by the letter β on the plan. The great and celebrated work of Ictinus, by which the area of the construction which immediately preceded it was nearly doubled, is represented on the plan by three square spaces in the lower left-hand corner of the plate, where solid piers were found. These have been since covered up, but other traces of a corresponding size cut in the rock, which were subsequently discovered, are left in evidence. They occur in the continuation of the line δ δ' and in the parallel line passing through the δ of the plan. The intercolumniation was upwards of twenty-eight feet, so that no doubt the architraves were of timber. Besides the above there are some traces sufficient to show that even the pre-Persic temple, referred to above, was not itself the original foundation.

In the *Ephemera Archaeologica* for 1886, p. 188, is printed a curious inscription, giving instructions to an architect $\Phi\lambda\alpha\gamma\gamma\eta\sigma$ relative to the supply of stone from Pentelicus, Aegina, Piræus, and the local stone of Eleusis for the use of the temple.

Near the summit of the Acropolis of Mycenæ the Athenian Archaeological Society have found the remains of a building resembling that excavated by Dr. Schliemann at Tiryns, having a strong confirmation of a very early date, because a Doric temple has been founded upon a portion of the site, subsequently to the destruction of the older building.

At Corinth the whole plan of the temple has been laid open and found to have been built upon foundation lines cut in the rock. The temple, shown on the accompanying fig. 3, was peculiar, having been distinctly double; with entrances and pronai both east and west. A careful plan by Dr. Dörpfeld is given in the first part of the *Mittheilungen* of 1887, and there is a description, also by him, at page 297 of the preceding number. I took the levels of the western stylobate of this temple, and of the contiguous portion of the south flank, and found that a curvature had been given to the horizontal lines amounting to a rise in the centre of the front of .070 feet (not quite $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch) in a length of about seventy

feet, or one part in 1000. This was probably one of the earliest experiments in this direction. Afterwards it was found desirable to make the 'adjection,' as Vitruvius calls it, more considerable. In the Parthenon it is one in 400. There was a corresponding rise from the south-west angle towards the east extending a short distance along the flank: but the general line of the flank appears to be level. In this respect the temple resembled that of Neptune at Paestum.

The work of the Athenian Archaeological Society has been very successful at Oropus. A plan of the Amphiarœum in the *Practica* of 1885 shows what had then been found. During the last autumn a very important extension of the excavation has been made to the right hand of what is there shown, and extremely interesting remains of a theatre has been discovered. Some account of this has been given in the *Mittheilungen* of 1886, p. 328. By these

NORTH

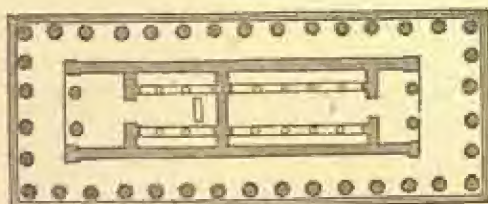


FIG. 3.—PLAN OF TEMPLE AT CORINTH: SCALE 1 : 350.

excavations a considerable portion of the Proscenium with small Doric columns, still erect, has been found, together with the orchestra and with five chairs for the dignitaries level with it. The actors also were clearly on a level with the orchestra.

A drain channel similar to that at the Dionysiac Theatre at Athens has already been noticed. Two valuable inscriptions were found on friezes lying outside the Proscenium wall recording that one of the Agonistæ built the Proscenium and the Pinakes, and another, which belonged to the outer architrave, refers also to some donor. The two are:—

α]ΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΑΣΤΟΓΠΡΟΣΚΕΝΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΓΙΝ[ακαρ
ΤΗΝΣΚΗΝΗΝΚΑΙΤΑΘΥΡΩ[ματα

The grooves in the stone between the columns of the Proscenium for inserting the Pinakes still remain in their original places. The cavea has not yet been excavated.

Neither at Olympia nor Tiryns has anything fresh been done recently. During the autumn a Roman structure of no particular interest was found at Epidaurus, but the workings there were shortly discontinued.

At Orchomenos Dr. Schliemann has further explored the domed building resembling the Treasury of Atreus at Mycenæ, and two other similar structures have been found; one in Mazarakata of Cephalonia; and the other at Dimini near Volo, where the Athenian Archaeological Society have also found some very curious gold ornaments.

The researches of the French Archaeological School are being continued at Delos, where the general plan of the temple of Apollo and of the sacred Temenos has been established. A plan by M. Nenot has been published in a work entitled *Les Archives de*

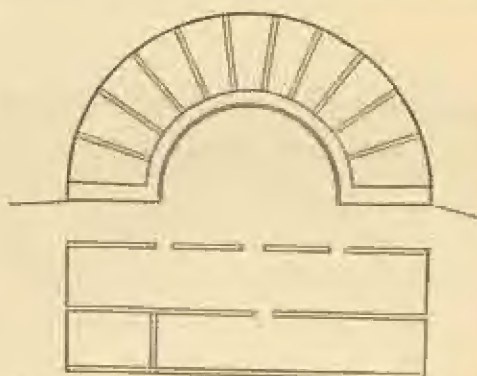


FIG. 4.—SECTION-PLAN OF THEATRE AT SIKYON.

l'Intendance Sacrée à Delos, par Théophile Homolle, Paris, 1887. Also at Ptoos the site of the temple of Apollo has been found, together with some good specimens of painted architecture, as well as the sculpture of which full accounts have been given from time to time in the *Bulletin*, but there is much difficulty in exploring these ruins completely; owing to the Byzantine and other more recent buildings which occupy the site.

The work at Elateia has also been prosecuted diligently, and the last number of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, page 39, contains a very full and interesting account of the researches on the temple of Minerva Cranaia.

The French archaeologists have lately obtained leave from the Greek Government to resume their explorations at Delphi, discontinued since 1881.

The Committee of the American School have excavated at Thorikos a theatre, which is in many respects remarkable. The plan of the cavea is not, as usual, the segment of a circle, but more of an elliptic shape, and of rather irregular curvature. It was evidently a rough and provincial work. A small temple, probably of Bacchus, opens directly upon the scena.

The Americans have also commenced operations at Sicyon with very promising results; the primary object being the theatre. It occupies a large area, but it would be premature to give dimensions or any definite particulars. I am enabled, however, to give a rough sketch-plan showing what the excavations have already pointed out. Fig. 4.

Mr. Theodore Bent at Thasos has discovered a Roman triumphal arch and some pieces of sculpture. One of these, representing Hercules and the Lion, he considers to be the work of a good period. He has also found some inscribed pedestals.

F. C. PENROSE.

April 22, 1887.

SCULPTURE AND EPIGRAPHY, 1886-1887.

There are two directions in which there has been much good work to report from Greece during the last few months; the discovery of new antiquities, and the arrangement and exhibition in accessible places of those which were known before, the whole now profiting by the able direction of M. Cavvadias. All students of archaeology will be glad to hear that the excellent principle has been adopted of bringing together all the most important sculptures now on Greek soil in the new Central Museum at Athens: the only considerable exception will be in the case of the Olympian discoveries, for which a fine Museum has been built upon the spot. It is thus possible now for archaeological travellers to study the art treasures found upon any site in Greece at their leisure, while living comfortably at Athens: they will then be free, when travelling in other districts, to devote their attention to those questions of architecture and topography that can only be studied upon the sites themselves. In accordance with this principle, many sculptures from various sites have been brought to the Athenian Central Museum; and the arrangement of that Museum is now rapidly progressing. Among well-known works now exhibited there may be mentioned the heads of two heroes and the boar from the pediments of the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which we know to have been designed by Scopas; the archaic statues from Delos, including that dedicated by Nicandra, and the pedestal of Archermos, with the winged figure that high authorities now refuse to associate with it; and the statues found in the Greek excavations at Epidaurus before 1884, notably the pedimental figures of mounted Amazons, &c. Other and more recent discoveries have also been brought to the Museum; but these must be mentioned rather among the new results of excavation.

While we are expressing our gratitude to the authorities for thus facilitating the study of the objects in their charge, it may be as well to refer to one thing that does much to impair the

enjoyment that students and lovers of Greek art can now gain in the Central Museum. The pedestals and the large frames in which the most beautiful of the Attic grave reliefs are set are constructed of wood; and over its surface the brushes of a gang of those workmen who produce imitation marbling of the most gaudy description have been allowed to run riot. The result may be better imagined than described. It is obvious that it thus becomes impossible to duly appreciate the effect of the simple and delicate work that is surrounded on every side by these unsightly frames. Surely better pedestals might as easily have been obtained in the land of marble; or at least the wood might have been painted a neutral and inoffensive colour. It would be easy even now thus to restore a possibility of undisturbed appreciation to the works preserved in this unrivalled collection.

The Acropolis Museum is rapidly filling, though it receives only the objects found on the spot. It has also been arranged now in such a way that one can easily see and enjoy the most interesting works it contains. The largest hall is occupied by the statues found in February, 1886.

At Olympia no fresh excavation is being made, but the working up of the abundant material already found is still being vigorously carried on. Professor Treu is in charge of the work on the spot. An important acquisition to our knowledge of the topography is an inscription, proving that Herr Bötticher was right in identifying the south-west building as the Leonidaum. The building of the great Museum is now practically finished: it contains, as well as smaller rooms and galleries, a great hall, large enough to contain in their full length the pediments of the temple of Zeus. Here the German sculptor, Herr Grüttner, is employed in piecing together and erecting in their proper position all the statues and fragments that have been found. The arrangement adopted for the originals is that advocated by Prof. Curtius, which is certainly the most harmonious and imposing, whatever may be the technical arguments for and against it. The metopes are also being pieced together, in many cases out of a great number of fragments. The Hermes of Praxiteles is not yet finally put together and erected; but in choosing a position for this statue, due care will be taken that the light shall, as far as possible, fall upon it in the same way as in its original position in the Heraeum—a consideration that will be appreciated by all who have seen the wonderfully soft and delicate modelling of its surface.

The new discoveries of the past year are already in part known, for some of them are of such importance and interest that they

could not long remain in obscurity. Many sites have contributed their share, but it is the Acropolis that has yielded the richest and most varied results: these are now mostly in the Acropolis Museum. Two very archaic works there exhibited may perhaps be mentioned here, though, having been known since 1884, they do not take their place among new discoveries: for their extreme importance as the earliest specimens of pedimental grouping is hardly yet recognised. It is pointed out indeed in a paper by Herr Studniczka in the *Mittheilungen d. deutsch. Inst.* of 1886, but with a criticism that seems hardly convincing; the relief, though low in one of them, is well rounded, and does not seem to show any trace of wood technique. This pediment in low relief (one and a half inches) represents the fight of Heracles and the Hydra: the fitting of the design to the space is excellent. Iolaus has a chariot, in which the fastening of the yoke is very clear and interesting. The other pediment, of a relief varying from six inches in the middle to four inches at the sides, represents the struggle of Heracles with the 'old man of the sea.'

The statues found in February, 1886, have already received so much attention that it is not necessary to again describe them here. They exhibit specimens not only of the Attic school, but of two others—of what it is difficult to decide. Their number has been increased by the discovery, on March 10, 1887, of another similar statue, of Attic type: though less advanced than many in drapery, its treatment of face seems in some ways to fill the gap between the earlier and the most advanced of those before known. This statue was found almost immediately when the level was reached at which its fellows had been discovered: but now the whole neighbourhood has been nearly cleared, and there seems little hope of any more for the present.

Several recently discovered fragments have been with considerable ingenuity and probability explained by Herr Studniczka (*Mitth. d. deutsch. Inst.* 1886), as coming from a pediment representing a gigantomachy: several are limbs of conquered giants; the most important is the upper part of the body of Athena, with an aegis splendidly decorated with red, white, and blue scales. On this has been fixed the well-known archaic head of Athena found before on the Acropolis. But its connexion is hardly incontestable.

Two other statues, which formed part of the great find of February, 1886, call for notice. One of these is a winged Nike, in rapid motion, and is a most interesting study of floating drapery, though often inadequate. On the whole it is the most advanced piece of work in this direction that was found: unfortunately the

head is lost. The other is a great contrast; it represents a nude horseman. The treatment of the man's body is very curious. The outlines of the muscles, both in front and behind, are most carefully drawn, by incised lines; but are hardly modelled at all. The work in the horse is much better, the chest, in particular, being very finely modelled.

One of the best preserved specimens of coloured sculpture yet remains to be noticed—the fragments of a Phrygian archer clad in a tightly-fitting dress, which is divided in a lozenge-shaped pattern, and brilliantly coloured.

Bronzes have also been found; two or three to the north-east of the Propylaea, whence some think this the probable site of the Chalcotheca. Some of these are of great interest. One is a small head that recalls in type that of the Apollo of the Olympian pediment. Another, of a bearded and once helmeted warrior, is distinctly Aeginetan, and in connexion with the names of Aeginetan artists found on the Acropolis seems to afford a proof of close artistic relations between Aegina and Athens. The age of the inscriptions, in the Attic alphabet, precludes the possibility of their importation from Aegina after the Athenian conquest.

Another most interesting small bronze was found last month in the excavations to the north of the Erechtheum: it is fifteen inches high, and represents Athena, unhelmeted, but clad in chiton and aegis. Its construction is very peculiar. It is nearly flat, and consists of two bronze plaques worked in very low relief and then fastened together; the feet, the right arm, and the left wrist are worked almost in the round. Both sides were gilded. The right, which represents the body about three-quarter face, is the best preserved; on the left, which is consequently three-quarters back for the body, the aegis hangs lower down, as is usual. On both sides alike the face is exactly in profile. The work is extremely careful and delicate, of the finest archaic style, the forms of an exaggerated slimness. It is difficult to conjecture for what purpose this bronze was used: a hole in the top of the head and several remains of nails or attachments elsewhere seem to show it was part of the ornamentation of some richly-decorated piece of furniture, perhaps a tripod: both sides must have been visible, though probably the right was meant to be seen more clearly.

Near the Erechtheum there has also been found, at a depth of half a metre, a life-size marble head: it certainly belongs to the period after Alexander the Great, to whom its likeness is considerable.

Together with the statues upon the Acropolis have been found

numerous inscriptions: especially interesting are those containing the names of artists, which already make a supplement to Loewy's invaluable collection desirable. Most are probably Attic, for instance Euenor (three times), Antenor (the sculptor of the original tyrannicides), Eleutherna, Philo, &c.; Thebades seems Boeotian. Other foreign artists' names are well known to us; such as Onatas and Theodorus; Archermos of Chios also occurs in an inscription, the alphabet of which differs greatly from that used in the Delian dedication of Archermus; it seems then that not he, but a local stone-cutter, is responsible for the strange forms we find on his Delian basis. Some of the inscriptions referred to have been published in the *Εφημερίς Ἀρχ* for 1886: so also has a list of dramatic victories dating from the latter part of the fourth century, recording among others the year when Aeschylus won with the Agamemnon.

Elsewhere in Attica the interest has chiefly centred in the plan and architecture of the buildings discovered. At Oropus an inscription has been found containing regulations as to the management of the sanctuary of Amphiaras. At the temple of Apollo Ptoos in Boeotia the French excavations, conducted by M. Holleaux, have found some most valuable statues; these have been brought to the Central Museum. They throw considerable light on early Boeotian art. As they have all been published by M. Holleaux in the *Bulletin de Corr. Hell.* 1886-7, it is not necessary to describe them here: but one or two seem worthy of especial notice. The bottom of a ξάρον preserves *αρος*, half an artist's name, and the form *ἑποίησε*, similar to which one is already known on the inscription of 'Aroros or 'Aroros of Argos. May this be an earlier member of the same family? There are two almost perfect statues of the 'Apollo' type, one inscribed, several other heads, and some small bronzes. Two of these are inscribed, one with *Εὐχαρίας ἐκείνης τῷ Πρωτοῖ* (genitive, read *τοῦ Πρωτοῦ* [i] by M. Holleaux); the other with a name *Κίπος* (which is known, and seems more probable than M. Holleaux' *Κῶος*.) Taken altogether, these discoveries rank only second to those of the Acropolis statues in their importance for the history of early art.

The excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society at Epidaurus have been resumed during the last year, and have again proved very rich in their yield. The inscriptions are only of Roman period, and do not seem to approach the interest of those previously discovered; but the newly-found statues, now all in the Central Museum, are numerous and important. They make an imposing list, arranged according to subjects. (*Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, October, December, 1886.)

Asclepius standing ; seven. One life-size, and a relief, representing *Asclepius* seated.

Aphrodite ; four. One, life-size, represents the goddess standing, in a transparent chiton, and with a himation round her lower limbs ; she wears a sword slung over her shoulder.

Athena ; three. Two of these, though only of Roman period, are very interesting, as being extreme examples of the *λαοσσόος* type ; armed with shield and spear, the goddess rushes violently forward, stretching out her arm to incite her followers.

Hygieia, with a snake wound about her body ; three.

Nike ; a winged figure, with floating drapery, the breast half bare.

Apollo ; a torso, of the *sauroctonus* type.

Pan, on an inscribed basis.

To these may be added other torsoes, heads, and fragments of statues, male and female.

In the early palace on the top of the hill at Mycenæ have been found some most interesting paintings, both on the walls and on the basis of the *Torria*. The ground is usually a light yellow, the colours most used red, blue, and light and dark brown. On the walls the designs are mostly spiral and vegetable. The report that monsters have also been found similar to those spoken of by Prof. Milchhöfer in his *Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* is true ; but pending their publication by their discoverer, M. Tzountas, I am not at liberty to give a description of them. The steps of the *Torria* are decorated with a cymatium pattern, and with circles surrounded with dots, such as are often seen on early vases.

For the date of the vases of Mycenæ some new evidence has appeared. It was known that vases of similar types had been found in Egypt, but the record of their discovery was in no case preserved. I have received a letter from Mr. E. Ll. Griffith, now excavating with M. Naville at Tell-el-Yahudiyeh, twenty miles north-east of Cairo, in which he says : ' I believe we have found some facts of importance bearing on the early Greek pottery. There are tombs here in the desert with shell-lamps like those of Naukratis (saucers with one side pinched in), pilgrim bottles of red ware with concentric circles, and Cypriote bottles like those of Nebesheh, and a two-handled vase with false mouth in the middle between the handles and spout at the side [a sketch is added, proving it to be of the typical Mycenæ shape]. This is decorated with red bands round the vase. I cannot be certain whether these are native Egyptian or foreign, but I think they are twenty-sixth dynasty or earlier. They are distinct from a set of nineteenth dynasty tombs which also

give us a quantity of pottery. I hope this will be cleared up soon. Probably they should belong to mercenaries.'

If it be found possible to date this discovery accurately, the gain will be very great. In any case the evidence seems to tend against the extremely high antiquity now generally given by the best authorities to the Mycenaean vases, and to bring them nearer to the earliest historic times.

Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Bent are now exploring in Thasos. They seem not as yet to have come across any of the archaic sculptures or inscriptions for which the island seemed so promising a field. But the agora has been found, and a triumphal arch with an inscription in honour (apparently) of Caracalla; if so, it gives him, in addition to his other titles, that of Pertinax, not hitherto met with on his inscriptions. In front of the arch were two bases. One of them held a statue, more than life size, which has been recovered. It is a female portrait, and on the basis is the following very curious inscription, calling Flavia Vibia Sabina *μητέρα γερουσίας*, and stating that she was the first and only woman from all time that ever shared equally in the privileges of the senators.

Ἀγαθὴ τέχνη· ἡ γερουσία Φλ. Οὐαβίας Σαβῖν(α)ς τῆς ἀξιολογωτάτης ἀρχαρχαίας καὶ ἀπὸ προτέρων ἀστέγκριτον, μητέρα ἐστίης, μόνη καὶ πρώτη τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνα μετασχούσας τῶν ἐσῶν τιμῶν τοῖς γερουσιάζουσιν.

Flavia Vibia Sabina seems to have been an ancient and successful champion of the political rights of her sex: and if, as may be hoped, her statue be transported to London, it should not in these times miss its due honour. On the other basis was a colossal group of Heracles and the Lion, of better period: Mr. Bent hopes to recover all the fragments of this work. Eight other inscriptions have also been found in the first few days of work.

In the province of epigraphy, the great discovery of the year comes from Crete. Dr. Halbherr has there found, at Vigle in Gortyna, some fragments of laws earlier than the great code of Gortyna. These are not only prior to the codification of the law, but also to the introduction of money, since the primitive manner of reckoning amounts in *λίβραις* and *τράχαις* is still in full use. On these and also on epigraphic grounds Prof. Comparetti, who has published the inscriptions in conjunction with their discoverer in the *Museo italiano di antichità classiche*, 1886, seems fully justified in assigning them to the first half of the seventh century B.C., a date as early as can be claimed for any Greek inscription known. Hence the forms of the letters are of the highest interest: π and ρ have curious rounded forms, but β is most peculiar of all: it is in the form of a crook, with a curving spiral at the top (). This is for two reasons important:

in the first place it can be derived from no other Greek form, but must be an independent modification of the Phœnician original: hence it adds a strong confirmation to the view that the borrowing of the alphabet took place directly from the Phœnician at several Greek centres, to which Crete must now be added: in the second place, this character, as well as those of π and ζ , is not a lapidary form: a curve is a very difficult form to cut on stone without mechanical aid, and would hardly be adopted. Hence some other material for writing on must have been in use among the Cretans or those from whom they borrowed; this is an interesting indication that is worth following out.

M. Reinach, in his *Chronique d'Orient* for the beginning of 1887, gives an account of Herr Richter's excavations in Cyprus, with illustrations of some of his most interesting discoveries. At Tamassos were found tombs: in one was, among other things, a large vase of grey earth, painted with red figures; these had black outlines. The drawing is extraordinarily primitive and lacking in style; various scenes of war and the chase are represented: one apparently of the decapitation of a prisoner by two enemies is interpreted by M. Reinach as Persens and the Gorgon. A bilingual inscription was also found. At Arsinoë also were tombs: and 131 inscriptions in Cypriote characters have been recovered.

To turn from the past to the future, the most important results may be hoped from the excavations for which the French have obtained leave at Delphi. Delphi has not been so wonderfully protected by an accumulation of earth as Olympia; yet the site must once have been as rich. With such a prospect for the coming season, it seems hardly rash to hope that the brilliant attainments of the past year may be equalled or even surpassed by future discoveries. It is becoming daily truer that Greece is the only place where it is possible to study adequately the history of Greek art.

E. A. GARDNER.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(A.)—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

Naukratis: part I. By W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE; with chapters by CECIL SMITH, ERNEST GARDNER, and BARCLAY V. HEAD. Third Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Trübner & Co., 1886.

SINCE the termination of Mr. Wood's excavations at Ephesus in 1874 Englishmen have made no systematic excavations in Hellenic countries, until Mr. Petrie was fortunate enough to light upon the site of Naukratis. The Egypt Exploration Fund was established rather for the exploration of Biblical than of Hellenic sites, but the committee wisely made an exception in favour of so important a spot as Naukratis, and the result of the first year's digging is contained in the present volume. The volume containing the results of the second season's digging will probably be published by Mr. Ernest Gardner towards the end of this year.

It is Mr. Petrie's rule "to let each year see the publication of the year's work;" he thinks the publication of somewhat hastily compiled accounts of excavation a less evil than the delay which would be caused by waiting to thoroughly work out his matter. That the highest authorities in Germany do not accept these views as to speedy publication we know, from the long time which elapses before the marbles of Pergamon and the Lycian heroön are published to the world. There is something to be said on both sides, but it were ungracious to complain of Mr. Petrie for adopting a plan by which archaeologists in general are benefited, while he himself must have been driven to labour under most painful pressure.

The character of the book before us, with its merits and its demerits, is the result of Mr. Petrie's doctrine as to the desirability

of speedy publication. It bears however the highest testimony to Mr. Petrie's merit as an excavator; the depth at which objects were found is exactly recorded, and the plans of the town and the great *temenos*, identified by Mr. Petrie with the Hellenion of Herodotus, show the utmost care in measurement, and great labour in induction.

There are four chapters containing dissertations of a very important character. Chapter vi., by Cecil Smith, deals with the painted pottery, which is in general of the archaic period, and like the well-known pottery of Cameirus in Rhodes (cf. our plate lxxix.). Chapter vii., by Ernest Gardner, analyses the dedicatory inscriptions, which are on the whole the most important fruit of the Naukratie excavations. The conclusions at which the writer arrives are set forth in his paper on the early Ionic Alphabet in our vol. vii. p. 220. See also Prof. Hirschfeld's article in the *Rheinisches Museum*, xlii. 299. Chapter viii. by Barclay Head, gives lists of the coins found; most important among them are autonomous coins of Naukratie itself, of the end of the fourth century B.C. Chapter ix., by Mr. Petrie himself, contains a most laborious inductive investigation of the weights found.—P. G.

Conseils aux Voyageurs archéologues en Grèce et dans l'Orient hellénique. By SALOMON REINACH. Paris. 1886.

In this little book—one of the volumes of Leroux's *Petite Bibliothèque d'art et d'archéologie*—M. Reinach gives some useful advice to travellers in Greece and the East. The writer does not address himself only to professional archaeologists but also to ordinary travellers interested in Hellenic studies, who would often be willing, if they knew how, to render some humble service to knowledge by such researches and observations as they are able to make during their journey. Even without excavating, the traveller may find plenty to do: there are unpublished inscriptions to be copied; badly published inscriptions to be recopied; places and antiquities to be photographed; distances to be calculated and geographical observations to be made. At present the traveller, and even the archaeologist, often starts with the intention of observing everything and ends perhaps by doing little or nothing. The ambitious traveller, (remarks M. Reinach) takes counsel with the specialists a few weeks before he starts:—"le botaniste, l'entomologiste, le géologue, le préhistorien, le météorologiste, le géographe, l'archéologue, l'anthropologiste chacun recommandera 'quelques légers instruments' et

redigera des instructions concises. À la veille du départ, les instrumens rempliront une grosse caisse et les instructions un volumineux dossier." The traveller must make up his mind beforehand as to what he means to undertake, and if he listens to M. Reinach he will not burden himself with *impedimenta*. Chapter I. ('Epigraphy') gives some hints on copying inscriptions and directions for taking impressions. The traveller is advised before starting to compile from Boeckh, and, if possible, from some of the principal periodicals a little pocket 'Corpus' of inscriptions found in the districts he intends to visit, as a guide to what is already published. In Chapter II, the writer points out how many ancient monuments—hundreds of sepulchral reliefs, for instance—are known only from verbal descriptions and still need to be drawn or photographed. Useful directions are given as to photography, and M. Reinach well remarks that the amateur photographer need not be a learned man—'l'habitude seule de la photographie sur papier sensible le mettrait en mesure de rendre les plus grands services et de combler une véritable lacune dans notre connaissance . . . des monuments figurés de l'antiquité.' On the delicate question of purchasing antiquities the writer remarks: 'L'exportation des œuvres d'art antiques étant interdite par les lois grecques et turques, nous ne conseillons pas au voyageur d'acheter les antiquités qu'on lui offrirait. S'il a la chance de trouver une *Vénus de Milo*, le courage et l'habileté de la transporter en lieu sûr, nous lui adresserons tous nos compliments; mais les présents *Conseils* n'ont pas la prétention d'enseigner ou d'encourager la contrebande.' Terra-cottas (of which 'on a fabriqué un très grand nombre de fausses') should rather be photographed than purchased by the ordinary traveller, who should also beware of the engraved stones offered him for purchase. The safest plan would be to secure a sealing-wax impression of the latter objects. In the chapter on numismatics the different methods of taking copies of coins are described. So great is the danger of buying forgeries that the traveller is advised to eschew gold and silver coins as costly temptations, and to buy only bronze coins, especially those offered by the peasants in out of the way places—for 'les pièces fausses pullulent dans les villes.' The concluding chapter deals with topography. M. Reinach in every case gives the addresses of shops where the photographic apparatus, &c. recommended by him can be best procured, though, unfortunately for the English traveller, only the names of French firms are mentioned.

W. W.

Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium. VON ADOLF FURTWÄNGLER. Mit 7 Tafeln, 2 Bände. Berlin, W. Spemann.

THE first volume of the old Catalogue of the Vases in the Antiquarium at Berlin was issued by Lazevow in 1834; the last supplement, by Gerhard, appeared in 1846. Since that date the collection has been enriched by upwards of a thousand vases. It would have been easy to furnish a new supplement, and thereby add another element of confusion to the student. The Direction of the Berlin Museum felt, however, that the time was come for a fresh departure. A catalogue in the present state of science must no longer be merely a printed inventory, it must be a classification—a register not only of material, but of the high-water mark of opinion as regards the ordering of that material.

Berlin boldly leads the way; the other great vase collections of Europe can scarcely refuse to follow. Criticism of the particular classification he adopts Dr. Furtwängler provisionally deprecates. He had intended to preface each class with a statement of the grounds on which he based his arrangement. He—wisely we think—modified his plan, and the classification now challenges opinion without its substructure of theory. This theory he promises to embody in a hand-book, the appearance of which will be eagerly looked for; till then, criticism may fairly wait. No one would be more disappointed than Dr. Furtwängler if new material and further study did not modify opinion. While a catalogue remained a statement of fact, a correction was the confession of a blunder; now that to fact it adds theory, to correct is often merely to register advance.

Without attempting to criticise, we may note that to the amateur Dr. Furtwängler's classification will probably appear excessively minute. Under four universally accepted heads he has thirty-five subdivisions, and, to take one example, *C. Attische rotfigurige Vasen*. II. *der schöne Stil, ältere Hälfte*—in itself, one of the thirty-five subdivisions—has within it no less than eighty-five further subdivisions; in fact, it frequently happens that a vase has a sub-class to itself. This minuteness has, however, a double justification. First, the catalogue is manifestly so framed as to be a basis for the classification of all vases, not merely those in the Berlin collection. Sub-heads sparsely represented there may be of large content elsewhere. Secondly, minute classification tends to economise space. Vain repetition is the besetting snare of the catalogue compiler; the ideal catalogue notes in respect to individual specimens only

variation. In the troublesome terminology of decoration, Dr. Furtwängler makes an effort after brevity and precision. He adopts Lau, *Die griechischen Vasen*, as his system; and surely, till a better system appears, we might all do the same, and employ uniformly such convenient terms as *Punktrosette*, *Stabornament*, *Nelcornament*, for certain familiar, decorative schemes. The admirable brevity of his descriptions can only be appreciated by those who know the difficulty of the work. The body of the catalogue is preceded by a preface stating the general plan, and by a history of the growth of the collection. It is followed by a series of excellent registers, drawn up by Dr. Wernicke. These include a comparative table of the numbers in the old and new catalogue, an index of shapes, of provenance, of inscriptions with the exception of proper names and of subjects. It seems a pity not to have given a separate index of potters' signatures: these are included under the general head of proper names. Dr. Furtwängler has not seen his way to what we may hope for in the future—a register of *type forms* as well as subjects. By this catalogue, as a monument of patient and accurate labour, Dr. Furtwängler has deserved well of his country. Of the book, as a testimony to his insight and ability, till his promised handbook appears, we cannot speak.—J. E. H.

Die Griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen. Von WILHELM KLEIN. Zweite Vermehrte und Verbesserte Auflage. Wien, Gerold, 1887.

In speaking of the second edition of Dr. Klein's *Meistersignaturen*, I shall confine myself rigidly to the new material which now appears. Presumably the altered form of the book is due to a desire for uniformity with the new edition of the *Euphronios*. It is a uniformity deeply to be regretted. Any one who has used the old *Meistersignaturen*, with its ample pages and easy conspectus, its ready facilities for comparison, will regret the wearisome turning of pages, the reference forward and back necessitated by the new form. However, form is a trifle, and in substance the new edition makes a marked advance. The main sources of the advance are, Dr. Klein notes, the issue of the new Berlin Catalogue, the important papers by P. Meier, A. Z. 1884, s. 237, and 1885, s. 179; and, in a less degree, Wernicke's *Beiträge*, A. Z. 1885, s. 2 and 9, besides a host of minor references that have reached him from scattered museums and individual archaeologists. Briefly, the sum of the new material is this: In place of 88 signatures in the old edition we have now 96;

in place of 389 signed vases, now 429. (I include those mentioned in the *Nachtrag*.) By far the most important edition is the beautiful polychrome alabastron of the British Museum, with the hitherto unknown signature "(P)asiades." Dr. Klein, on what authority is not stated, restores "Iasiades." Mr. Cecil Smith (*Classical Review*, I. 26), from traces remaining of the first latter, restores conjecturally "(P)asiades."

A few trifling supplementary notes we may be allowed to register here. To the 78 pieces signed by Nikosthenes must be added an amphora in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, No. 55 of the same master, "Kelle mit einem hohen Henkel," is in the private collection of Signor Augusto Castellani; the handle is ornamented by an animal's head, the design as described. Exekias 5, "Hals eines Deinos," is in the same collection. No. 5 (p. 109), "Hermoglyph bei der Arbeit," is in the museum at Copenhagen. The Brygos vase (3) Parisurheil—is in the Campana collection of the Louvre. The Euthymides vase, p. 222, has disappeared from the Turin Museum. It may not be amiss to note that much remains to be done not only in the discovery of hitherto unknown signed vases, but also in the rediscovery of vases known to us now only by literary record or publication. The long-lost Troilos Euphronios vase has reappeared at Perugia, but, to pass over a host of less important instances, we have still to seek for the following vases, of which all clue is lost, but which are presumably intact somewhere:—The Praxias amphora, an oinochoe by Taleides, a cylix by Archikles and Glaukytes, the last notice of which is that it came to England; the Xenokles cup, with the Judgment of Paris, last heard of in the Hope collection; four vases by Pamphaios, five by Epiktetos, three by Kachryllon, one of great interest, with a cycle of Theseus' exploits; four by Douris, three by Hieron, one by Hermonax. The most elementary knowledge of vase-painting and inscriptions would enable the chance traveller with Dr. Klein's book in his hand to identify any of these. We cannot refrain from recommending the task to members of the Society. Reference in the new edition is greatly facilitated by five excellent indexes. In addition to the single list of "masters' names" we now have registers of the names, subjects represented, publication, present "habitat." Under this heading 139 are marked "*Unbekannt*." Surely the number might be reduced.—J. E. H.

Euphronios. Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Griechischen Malerei. Von WILHELM KLEIN. Zweite umgearbeitete Auflage mit 60 Abbildungen in Text. Wien. Druck und Verlag von Carl Gerold's Sohn, 1886.

THE new external form of the second edition of the *Euphronios* is as much matter for rejoicing as that of the *Meistersignaturen* is for regret. Still more satisfactory is the addition of illustrations. Hitherto, the full series of Euphronios vases has been accessible only to the few who possessed the *Wiener Vorlegeblätter V.*—a series now out of print. Apart from this publication the *Euphronios* was difficult reading. In the new edition the nine Euphronios vases (including the Berlin Ilioupersis fragments) are all reproduced: on a small scale, it is true, but with quite sufficient clearness to enable the reader to follow the commentary. Added to these plates, the text is freely interspersed with about fifty wood-cuts illustrating various points connected with the technique of Euphronios. The change will only be appreciated by those who have achieved the laborious, though fruitful task of mastering the first unillustrated edition.

As with the *Meistersignaturen*, I shall confine myself strictly, in noticing the text, to the new material incorporated. Passing over numerous slight modifications of opinion, two notable enlargements must be summarized:—1. The discussion of the Pamphaios Hypnos and Thanatos vase. 2. The Ilioupersis fragments.

As the Hypnos-Thanatos vase is in the British Museum, Dr. Klein's discussion has special claims on English readers. Briefly Dr. Klein maintains that Pamphaios made the vase, that he painted the Silen in the interior, that he began to decorate the exterior, but only got so far as the black-figured ornament; that the vase then, for some reason unknown, fell into the hands of his contemporary and possible fellow-workman Euphronios; that Euphronios executed the design on the obverse, Hypnos and Thanatos with the body of Memnon, and also that of the reverse, the seven Amazons arming. The arguments by which this somewhat startlingly minute supposition are supported are as follows:—1. As regards the signature ΠΑΜΦΑΙΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ, it states nothing but that Pamphaios was the potter. Moreover, it is on the foot. Usually, if a potter signs on the foot and paints the vase also, he considers it necessary to repeat his signature on the design. 2. The Silen in the interior is quite in the manner of Pamphaios. It is harsher in style than the customary Silen of Epiktetos, less humorous than that of Kachrylion, and accords well with the somewhat schematic and receptive rather than creative spirit of Pamphaios.

With respect to this Silen, it is natural to ask if the exterior designs are to be referred to Euphronios, why not refer the Silen also, and thus obtain the simpler position that Pamphaios was potter, Euphronios sole painter? Dr. Klein thinks not: he makes a careful examination (from three "Panaitios" vases) of the Silen type of Euphronios and from the wood-cuts of these three Silens compared with the supposed Pamphaios Silen, it is difficult to conceive he can be wrong. 3. The arming scene of the Amazons on the reverse, when compared with a known arming scene by Pamphaios, presents a markedly different type. 4. The anatomy of Pamphaios is in his other vases beneath criticism; the anatomy of the body of Menon shows the hand of a master, and, moreover, shows just the kind of skill evidenced by Euphronios, *e.g.*, in the Antaios Krater. 5. The difficulty arises why, if Euphronios painted, did he not sign? This Dr. Klein gets over by the supposition that Pamphaios intended to finish the vase, as shown by the black ornament, but that, from some change of plan, it passed into the hands of Euphronios.

It will be seen that the theory rests clearly on consideration of points of style. The decision can scarcely, therefore, be made on any other basis than personal judgment. To this (presumably) Euphronios vase Dr. Klein adds three other, two of which have the "Panaitios" inscription. The other is included on the grounds of style.

2. The Ilioupersis fragments. When the first edition of the *Euphronios* appeared, these fragments were already in the Berlin Museum; in fact, they formed part of the bequest of Gerhard, but, as is so often the case with fragments, they remained unnoticed. They were published by Dr. Robert, A.Z., 1882, Taf. 3. Dr. Klein's commentary on them will be of absorbing interest to all students of the typography of the Ilioupersis. As is well known, we have no B.F. collective Ilioupersis scheme. The Berlin amphora at best unites the two principal scenes—the slaying of Priam and the meeting of Helen and Menelaos. On the other hand, R.F. painting presents us with a well-established collective scheme, notably in the two familiar instances of the Vivensis and the Brygos vase, to which is now added the Euphronios cylix. From this fact Dr. Robert has advanced the theory that a collective Ilioupersis was unknown to archaic art, which contented itself with single episodes of which Dr. Robert enumerates five. The collective red-figured Ilioupersis formula was due, Dr. Robert thinks, to the influence of the monumental wall-paintings of Polygnotus and his contemporaries; also to the fact that the Ilioupersis was a sort of mythical prototype of

the Persian war. This double influence no one will deny: but as Dr. Klein in his finely discriminating way points out, though the red-figured cylix masters were specially influenced by the monumental painter and sculptor of their day, it was rather in the *choice of subjects than in the manner of depiction*. The reason is obvious: Euphronios and his contemporaries were craftsmen, and closely bound by the traditions of their craft, i.e. by the type-forms handed down to them. Dr. Klein takes up therefore a position diametrically opposed to that of Dr. Robert. He supposes that the isolated scenes of the Iloupersis which B.E. vase paintings have left us are only *fragments* of a collective Iloupersis type, an instance of which we may any day recover. He pertinently calls attention to the fact that Kleantes, the early Corinthian painter, left a *Τροίας Ἰλωση*. The work of R.F. vase-painting, therefore, was not according to Dr. Klein the blending and combining of isolated scenes, but rather the reconstruction and amplification of a whole that had been pre-existent. Dr. Klein then proceeds to examine the relation between the Euphronios fragments and the Vivanco and Brygos vases, for the interpretation of which they are of the first importance. Into these minute details we cannot follow him. It must suffice to say that, for close adherence to early types, and for freshness and intelligibility of treatment, he gives, as we should expect, the palm to Euphronios.—J. E. H.

Die jüngeren attischen Vasen und ihr Verhältniss zur grösseren Kunst. VON FRANK WINTER. Berlin und Stuttgart. Verlag von W. Spemann, 1885.

DR. WINTER takes up the history of Attic vase-painting just where Dr. Klein leaves it. The study of *signed vases* will always be sure of its votaries; there is about the subject not only the fascination of artistic personality and often a peculiar charm of treatment, but also, from the signatures, an element of scientific certainty that will always attract students. Dr. Winter is all the more thankworthy because, passing by this attractive but now well-worn field, he breaks new ground, by attempting the chronology of vases which immediately follow Brygos, and which he dates *n.c.* 440-400. It is not, he thinks, a mere chance that signatures are few during this period. The age immediately preceding Pheidias was an age of personalities, archaic fetters were broken through, and as yet the incubus of perfection, the tradition of a perfect style was not incumbent. Just, however, at this period of climax, when sculpture attained its highest, vase painting began both in quantity and quality to

decline. It has been customary to point to the Peloponnesian war as the cause. That its damaging influence was felt no one will deny, but Dr. Winter thinks that we must look rather to the Italian colonies, to the market than to the *fabrique*. He takes two instances. Immediately after the finest signed work there is a marked falling off in two particular classes of vase manufacture, i.e. the Nolan amphora and the R. F. cylix. The cause he thinks is obvious. Between B.C. 445-424 Campagna was laid waste by the Samnites, the inhabitants of Nola were forced to leave their city, a new population with presumably no special taste for the "Nolan" amphora took their place. It is easier to destroy a fashion than to revive it. So with the cylix; the chief demand for this particular shape was in Etruria. After Hieron's victory at Cymæ the Etruscans had a troubled time and trade languished; gradually the demand for Greek ware, and notably for the popular cylix, fell off.

Dr. Winter has decided to take not all the vases that follow the signed period, but a strictly limited group, for two reasons. First, he thinks their chronology can, from internal evidence, be strictly determined; secondly, they have a specially close relation to the major arts of the time, to sculpture and monumental painting. As regards internal evidence for chronology, he dwells specially on two notes of time, which for brevity's sake we may call post-Parthenon attitude, post-Parthenon drapery. It may be noted in passing that Dr. Winter inclines to exalt the influence of sculpture somewhat at the expense of monumental painting. From a careful analysis of a large number of vase paintings of all periods he deduces the following principle as regards attitude:—In archaic painting, a figure standing in repose full face will rest the weight of the body equally on both feet and have both turned in profile. This no one will dispute. In transitional painting—e.g., that of Euphronios, &c.—a similar figure will rest the weight on one foot, that foot will be seen full face, the free leg and foot will be turned profile; in post-Parthenon painting the foot on which the weight rests will be turned profile, the free leg and foot will be full face. From this simple observation, which we are bound to say we think he fully establishes, Dr. Winter dates as pre- or post-Parthenon a large number of vases hitherto left in the vague; his second criterion, pre- and post-Parthenon drapery, is less novel and more obvious, and we need not dwell on it.

Dr. Winter then proceeds to the interesting subject of the influence of the major on the minor arts. Here with great insight and discrimination he expands a principle already indicated by others. During the time of the *Meisterzeichnungen*, sculpture and

monumental painting suggested subjects in vase-painting, as e.g., in the well-known case of the Theseus cup of Euphronios. During the period that followed, the suggestion was not so much of subject as of manner of treatment especially as to attitudes, grouping, pose. From 440 to 400 B.C. bit by bit the vase-painter began to take delight, not in the telling of a story, but in the manipulation of the new vocabulary of gesture left him by Phedias and Polygnotos, as Robert well says (*Annali* 1882, p. 280), 'Il loro' (subjects of the time) 'pregio consiste in ciò, che permettono all'artista di produrre una grande varietà di motivi ed attitudini.' Such a vase is notably the famous Codrus vase, in which we feel through all the delicate beauty of the figures, not only that the meaning is obscure to us, but that its importance was even to the artist strictly subordinate. The book ends with a register (not put forward as complete) of vases of the period 440-400 B.C.;—the dating of some of these will assuredly be matter for dispute—J. E. H.

Der Zusammenhang der Bilder auf griechischen Vasen.

I. Schwarzfigurigen Vasen. Von JULIUS C. MORGENTHAU, A.B.
College of the City of New York, Ph.D. Leipzig. Leipzig, 1886.

In the days of Cramer and Panofka it was the fashion to lay great stress on the connection between what—by a somewhat loose terminology—are called the obverse and reverse of a vase. An overstrain of the connection principle led to interpretations which Dr. Morgenthau rightly characterises as *abenteuerlich*. A reaction set in, with the melancholy result that each portion of the decoration of a vase was treated in isolation and too often published apart. A counter-reaction has now begun, and of this Dr. Morgenthau's book is the outcome. In his first issue he treats of black-figured vases only. The point he desires to maintain is this: granting that in the major number of vases the relation of obverse and reverse is arbitrary, there yet remain a considerable class in which the intention of the vase painter to correlate the two designs is clear. Certain principles which govern this correlation can, Dr. Morgenthau thinks, be made out, and according to these principles vases can—and the correlation of their designs—be classified. Under each of the classes he adopts, he examines the behaviour of the several shapes of vases, amphora, cylix, &c. His two main divisions of correlation are—(a) designs in which one subject is divided (*Vertheilte Bilder*), and (b) designs in which the subject varies (*Bilder Verschiedenen Gegenstandes*). Two pitfalls await the investigator, the obvious and the over subtle. It seems difficult to

see what is gained by enumerations of class *a*, vases where, *e.g.*, we have obverse Perseus, reverse the three Gorgons. On the other hand, when we come to correlate designs with different subjects (*b*) we are on slippery ground. When we have under the heading *Vorbereitung-Angang* a correlation established between a Troilos and an Iliouperis conviction halts.—J. E. H.

Der Troische Sagenkreis in der ältesten griechischen Kunst. Von Dr. ARTHUR SCHNEIDER, Leipzig. Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann, 1886.

Dr. SCHNEIDER's monograph is avowedly polemical. He raises again the old time-honoured question of the relative weight of literary and artistic influence, as regards the type-forms of vase paintings that deal with the mythology of the Trojan cycle. The question of *Bild und Lied* had we thought been pretty thoroughly threshed out—abundant chaff and some grain had certainly resulted—and it is with a sense of considerable weariness that we take up again such questions—to which no answer can ever be given, as whether Paris was ever described in the Cypria as playing on the lyre (p. 102), and whether Nereus was described as present or any way responsible for the wrestling of Peleus and Thetis (p. 82). Is it really worth while to catalogue the Thetis-Peleus vases, with a view to discovering in how many of them one snake, how many two, in how many a panther, appear as symbols and transformations? Such questions each reader will answer for himself; it must suffice here to state that Dr. Schneider takes up a reactionary position as regards the relation of *Bild und Lied*. He does not indeed proceed (after the fashion of Dr. Schlie in *Die Kyprien*) to reconstruct whole lost epics from the evidence of vase paintings, but he thinks that the evidence of artistic as opposed to literary tradition has been recently much overstated—in a word, he wages war against what he calls the *Schulprogramm* of Löschke, Lückenbach, Furtwängler, and most distinctly of Milchhöfer, the doctrine of the independent development of traditional art-types. This doctrine he examines in detail with respect to the whole series of Trojan myths.—J. E. H.

Scenen Euripideischer Tragödien in griechischen Vasengemälden. Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des griechischen Dramas. Von Dr. JULIUS VOGEL, Leipzig. Verlag von Veit & Comp., 1886.

The chief interest and intent of Dr. Vogel's book is avowedly literary. It is as a contribution to the history of the Greek drama,

not as an examination of a particular period of vase painting, that it must be weighed by the reader. Where the artistic interest of a particular period of art is slight, the archaeologist may be thankful that literary considerations lead to its investigation. Dr. Vogel's position is briefly this—the influence of the drama on black-figured vase-paintings is, whether in manner or matter, *nil*; in red-figured vases a certain indirect influence, chiefly on manner, may be detected. On monumental wall-paintings of the same period this influence is of similar character but more pronounced. As regards all three, however, the actual form of the subject-matter is coincident with that of the epic and lyric rather than the dramatic poets. When we come to lower Italy the state of the case is quite otherwise. The influence of Attic drama, and very specially Euripidean drama, is palpable and immediate. This leads of course to the question why this influence of Euripides is felt so far from home. Dr. Vogel connects this fact with the wide spread of the guilds of Dionysiacs (*οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεύχοντες*) in the colonies of Lower Italy. Further, the vase painters of Lower Italy were naturally less bound by epic tradition than those who worked in the studios of Athens or Corinth, they were free to draw their types straight from the drama before them. The question next comes to be discussed of the date of these Lower Italy vases. Dr. Vogel places them between the early Diadochoi and the downfall of the Campanian, Apulian, and Lucanian cities by the campaign of Hannibal. He rightly notes that the Canosa inscription, which has been used as an argument for the fabrication of these vases down to 57 B.C., only shows that the custom of *placing them in graves* still obtained at that date.

If it can be shown that Lower Italy vases were immediately inspired by scenes from the play of Euripides, then, making ample allowance for certain artistic tendencies, notably the decorative necessity for brevity and amalgamation, Lower Italy vase-paintings may rank somewhere with the *Fabulae* of Hyginus as sources for the conjectural restoration of the lost Euripidean plays. This is the line Dr. Vogel takes. He examines with much perspicuity a large series of three vases, grouping them under three heads. (1) Vases which can be shown with certainty to owe their inspiration to Euripides. (2) Vases about which there is considerable probability. (3) Vases wrongly attributed to such influence. The book has a good index.—J. E. H.

(B.)—INSCRIPTIONS.

K. Meisterhans: Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften.
Weidmann, Berlin, 1885; pp. i.—ix. 1—119.

AN attempt to gather up the results of a grammatical study of Attic inscriptions was made by N. Wecklein in his interesting *Curæ epigraphicæ et grammaticæ Græcæ et potius scenicæ pertinentes* (Leipsie, Teubner, 1869). Since then something of a literature has grown up round this subject, of which Meisterhans gives a catalogue (pp. vii—ix.). To his list should be now added a second dissertation by Schmolling published in 1885 (*Ueber den Gebrauch einiger Pronomina auf attischen Inschriften*), and Keil's *Analecta Isocratæ*.

Meisterhans has dealt with the abundant materials at his command in copious and accurate detail, with due brevity and lucid arrangement, and above all with scrupulous attention to the date of every document he cites. Fairly full indices complete a manual which will be of the greatest value to all students of Attic Greek. It is a mistake to suppose that Greek public documents were drafted in an archaic or official style, differing from the spoken language. On the contrary, it is an ascertained fact that the inscriptions represent, more faithfully than the Historians or Dramatists, the contemporary Attic speech. Thus $\tau\tau$ is given by the inscriptions, as against the archaizing $\sigma\sigma$ of the Historians, (p. 41), and a similar result follows from a comparison of inscriptions and authors in respect of the forms $\alpha\rho\alpha\omega$ and $\alpha\rho\epsilon\rho\epsilon\sigma$ $\alpha\tau\omega$ (p. 68), or $\xi\iota\tau$ and $\sigma\iota\tau$ (p. 106). To review a work like the present, which is a crowded storehouse of classified facts, is impossible; it will suffice to call attention to its general character, and to endeavour to supply one or two omissions. Ch. i. deals with the Alphabet. The gradual introduction of the Ionic letters, before their official adoption B.C. 403, is duly pointed out. They were naturally employed first in private monuments, and an instructive paper by Köhler (*Die attische Grabsteine des fünften Jahrh.*) in the *Mittheilungen* (1825, x. p. 359) is worth consulting. On p. 4 (*Interpunktion*) reference should have been made to the use of *sic* dots in the boustrophedon fragment C.I.A. I. no. 531 (*Suppl.* p. 53),—unless they are numeral sigla, and of this class of signs Meisterhans makes apparently no mention. Ch. ii. deals with Orthography (*Lautlehre*). Here we realize that we must learn Attic spelling from the evidence of contemporary

inscriptions, waiving our *a priori* prejudices in deference to Athenian fashions—'εἰς τοῦτο οὐκ, *Quem pones arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi*.' Inscriptions establish not only *διαιρετός* (not *διαίρετός*), *σφῆρη* (not *σφύρη*), but also *Καλλέριος*, *ἀρχεθῆρος* (pp. 6, 7), *Παισοφίω* (p. 9), *Μουριχίων* (p. 13), *μῆζω*, *μικτός* (pp. 25, 37), and apparently *ἐπῆροστω* (p. 41) as the best Attic forms. Meisterhans seems to have omitted the form *ἐρμίδω* (ear-rings), which is attested by inscriptions of B.C. 327 and following years (*C.I.A.* ii. 2, nos. 653, 659, 660, etc.). Very interesting is the discussion of the respective dates of the forms *δαία* *δαίω*, *αἰά* *αἰῶ*, etc. (p. 14), and the chronology of the various interchanges of *αι* and *ι*, *ει* and *αι*, *οι* and *οι*, *ωι* and *ωι*, at successive stages of Attic speech and writing (pp. 16 foll.). On p. 31 are some good remarks on the erroneous insertion of iota mutuum (e.g. *ἐπίωγ*) which occurs more frequently in inscriptions of various parts of Greece than has hitherto been noted. Pp. 34 foll. treat of the Consonants. Reference might have been made to Keil's epigraphical notes on the 'Attic' aspirate (*Scholiae Epigraphicae*, 1855, p. 6). The evidence of the Attic marbles as to the assimilation and dissimilation of consonants (*τὸν λόγον*, *συμμαχία*, *συναμαχία* et *sim.*) is given very fully (pp. 42—46). If however our view were extended beyond Attica, it may be said (more strongly than Meisterhans puts the case), that assimilation was on the whole the mark of earlier Greek, and dissimilation the tendency from the second century B.C. onwards. On p. 47 there is inserted a statistical table of the use of *ει* *ἐπελευστικόν*. Next ch. iii. deals with *Flexionslehre* (pp. 48 foll.), beginning with the epigraphical evidence of datives in *-ᾶσι*, *-ησι*, *-ουσι*, *-ουσι*, and of the use and forms of the dual endings. The dual endings in *-α*, *-αι* are not consistent in participles and adjectives, and are entirely wanting to the pronouns and the article (p. 50). Pp. 62 foll. deal with certain peculiar words (e.g. *εἰός*) differently inflected at different stages of the dialect. The forms of the verbs set forth, pp. 64—5, are important for textual criticism: thus *ἀνέλα*, *ἐνέλα*, *ἀνέλα*, *ἐνέλα* are good forms of the fifth century. Meisterhans cites *ἐνέλα* from the Amphipolis decree (*C.I.G.* 2008) of the fourth century; he might have added *ἀνέλα* from the inscription [of Theagenes of Thasos] at Olympia (circa 470 B.C., Buhl, *Inscr. Antiq.* 380). The epigraphical evidence on the Pronouns (pp. 63 foll.) is perhaps given more elaborately by Schmolling in the dissertations already alluded to. Among the forms of the adjectives *δαίμων* is of course given as the comparative of *δαίμων* (p. 67), but the curious form of the positive *δαίς* is not mentioned (see *Mittheilungen*, 1884, ix. p. 289, in a document of the second century B.C.). The account of the verbal forms is very complete (pp. 74 foll.). The displacement

of imperative endings in *-εσθω*, *-σθω* by forms in *-στω*, and of *-σθω* by *-στω* is chronologically traced. It is noteworthy that the perfect of *τίθημι* (p. 82) was *τίθηκα* until the first century B.C., the 2nd aor. of *τίνω* is *τίκω*, the future of *τίνω* was spelt *τίσω* (pp. 88, 24), *σπίζω* (p. 87) requires the iota unum, and *οἰκίρω* (not *οἰκίρειν*) *οἰκίρειν*, *φείρω* is the good old Attic spelling (*ibid.*). The earliest Attic example of *γίνομαι* is in B.C. 288 (p. 85), and *γγίνομαι* is traced down to B.C. 325. In the Roman period the forms *γγι-* and *γι-* are used promiscuously. The earliest instances of *γινώσκω* the writer is aware of is in the decree of Alexander respecting Priene (*Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, iii. no. cccc.), probably of B.C. 334. Not less important are the remarks upon Syntax (pp. 89 foll.). In the oldest inscriptions the article is omitted in a manner very different from later Attic usage; but the omission survived to a large extent in the case of proper names (*Δημοσθένης Δημοσθένους*), and of local names like *ἐν πόλει*, *ἐν ἀσπί*, *ἐν πρωταλεί*. The facts concerning the use of the dual are interesting (pp. 93 foll.). The dual of verbs is consistently used in older Attic, but gives way to the plural in middle and new Attic. Similarly the dual of nouns and adjectives is replaced by the plural in Macedonian times. In the imperial period the dual was in part revived, in consequence of the revived study of the classics (p. 95). Among the construction of verbs (p. 98) Meisterhans speaks of *πατάλλω νικᾷ* being found as well as *πατάλλω νικᾷ*; he might have added *λαμπάδι* and *λαμπάδα νικᾷ* (*Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, i. no. xli.). As regards the forms *ἐς* and *εἰς* (p. 101), the usual spelling down to B.C. 380 is *ἐς*, which appears for the last time (in prose) in a document of B.C. 334. In other words *ἐς* passes into *εἰς* just at the time when *Ε* ceased to be written *Ε*, and it is suggested that '*ἐς* und *εἰς* nur graphisch von einander verschieden sind': certainly *ΕΙΣ* is found before Euclid. As to *ἐνεκα*, *ἐνεκα*, *οἰνεκα* (pp. 103 fol.), Meisterhans is not prepared (with Wecklein, *Cursus Epigr.* p. 37) to deny the existence altogether of the prepositional use of *οἰνεκα*, for it is found once in a metrical epitaph from the Peiræus (Kumander, 2961; see Köhler, *Mittheilungen*, x. p. 363, who assigns it to the fifth century B.C.). It is interesting to trace the careful distinction maintained in the inscriptions between the aorist and the present, *σπεφαιῶσαι* *σπεφαιῶν* (p. 100), and between *μετὰ* and *σύν* (pp. 105, 107), the former meaning 'in company with' (of persons), and the latter 'including' (of quantities and things); e.g. *οὐκῶν μετὰ Ἀθηναίων*, *ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα μετὰ τῆς πόλεως* (collective sense), *ἔθετο μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς*, and so on, but *διερμά σιδηρὰ σύν τῷ μολεβδῷ*, *ὀν ἱπποπότα*, etc. This distinction was confused in Roman times.

By help of this storehouse of facts, the scholar may verify the dicta of the old grammarians, may test the reasons of modern grammarians and textual critics, and fix the date of the various developments of Attic speech and writing. In so far as it deals with later Attic, when it became blended with the *koine*, this treatise is of service to the student of Greek epigraphy generally; but the grammar of the non-Attic dialects remains yet to be written. The materials are being carefully collected by Caner, Bechtel and others. Some readers may wish that Meisterhans had concerned himself more with the rationale of the forms, and with 'scientific grammar.' But does not the classified registration of ascertained facts deserve the name of science?

E. L. H.

Dr. Hermann Collitz, Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften. ERSTER BAND. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1884. Svo.: M. 4. 50.

VOL. 1, consisting of pp. 410, contains the inscriptions of Cyprus, Asolia, Thessaly, Boeotia, Elia, Attidia and Pamphylia.

The collection took its origin (*Preface*) from the well-known series of articles on the individual dialects, which have appeared from time to time in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge z. Kunde d. indog. Sprachen*. The method of publication differs from that of the *Beiträge* in so far as (1) the present collection gives as a rule only a cursive Greek transcript of each inscription (supplemented by a digest of *variae lectiones*), omitting the additional transcript given in the *Beiträge* which does not distinguish the texts into words, (2) the exegetical notes are more scanty than in the *Beiträge*. The dialects are divided into the *ä*-group and the *ε*-group, and in the first volume we have the inscriptions of those dialects 'welche sich besonders eigenartig entwickelt haben.'

Pp. 1—80. The Graeco-Cyprian inscriptions in epichoric character, revised by W. Deecke. 'No searching critical, grammatical, and historical interpretation is intended' (*Introduction*). The most important authorities are cited for each inscription, the texts given as accurately as possible, first in Latin character and then in Greek cursive character. The text is followed by notes, which contain only the most necessary critical material, and the most indispensable hints for the interpretation. The texts divide themselves into two groups: (1) inscriptions proper on stone, metal (gold, silver, bronze, lead), terra-cotta, occasionally also other materials (glass, tortoise-shell), and (2) a selection of coin-legends, which last, owing to the com-

paratively scanty nature of the other materials, cannot be dispensed with. The inscriptions proper are arranged locally according to the later division of the island into four districts: the coins are arranged alphabetically according to kings. Inscriptions of which the Græco-Cyprian origin is not certain, and inscriptions supposed to be forged are omitted. (Similarly the so-called Old Trojan inscriptions from Schliemann's works are omitted—none having been certainly shown to be Greek, even if the written character is akin to the Cyprian). Pp. 8—12 contain a very clear and useful summary of the principles adopted in the transcription of the epichoric character. Deecke concludes with the remark that a closer study of the Hittite hieroglyphic writing has convinced him of its kinship with the Cypriote character. The inscriptions (to the number, with the coin-legends, of 212, pp. 13—72) are followed by a lithographed table exhibiting in facsimile in no fewer than nineteen columns the varieties of the Cypriote character, which prevailed in the several localities.

The Aeolic inscriptions (pp. 83—143, nos. 213—372, with *Addenda*, pp. 373—388, nos. 1270—1333) revised by F. Bechtel. These are given under the heads of: I. Lesbos, II. Pordoselena, III. Tenedos, IV. the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor, V. Delos, (one inscription only); and an *Appendix* (in which the editor duly recognises the services rendered by O. Puchstein, *Epigrammata Græca in Aegypto reperta*, Strassburg, 1880), containing the archaising poems of Julia Balbilla.

The Thessalian inscriptions (pp. 127—143, nos. 324—373, with *Addenda*, pp. 377—386, nos. 1278—1333), revised by A. Fick. The arrangement of the inscriptions is local: I. Thessaliotis, II. Hestiacotis, III. Pelasgiotis (including the important long inscription of Larisa, which has necessitated the re-writing of all accounts of the Thessalian dialect), IV. Perrhaebia.

The Boeotian inscriptions (pp. 147—309, nos. 374—1120, with *Appendix* pp. 306—309, nos. 1130—1146, of Boeotian inscriptions not found in Boeotia, and *Addenda* and *Corrigenda*, pp. 389—406) revised by R. Meister. The number of inscriptions in this collection considerably exceeds that of Larfeld's *Sylloge*.

The Elean inscriptions (pp. 313—356, nos. 1147—1180) by F. Blass. The *Introduction* (pp. 313—315) sums up concisely the principal peculiarities of the dialect. Blass remarks on (1) the mutilated state in which most of the inscriptions have come down to us, (2) the evidence of extreme carelessness on the part of the engravers, a carelessness justifying an unusual latitude of restoration on the part of an editor, (3) the difficulty experienced in determining the position of the dialect by reason of the striking inconsistencies

met with in the older stratum of inscriptions—the later, in which the dialect is almost pure, being represented by the Democriteus-bronze, no. 1172. He is inclined to seek a partial explanation of the dialectical fluctuation and inconsistency in the relations of the Pisatid district, in which Olympia was situated, to the Elis territory and in the tradition of an early immigration from Aetolia. (His suggestion that the Pisatid dialect may have been related to the Arcadian is criticised by Prof. H. W. Smyth, *Am. Journ. Phil.* vii. (1887), no. 4, *The Dialects of North Greece*). The inscriptions (pp. 316—336) are arranged as far as possible chronologically. Blass's critical and exegetical notes are on a more extensive scale than that adopted in the other sections of the volume, and afford real and substantial help to the student. One result of his keen criticism and sceptical treatment is to throw doubt upon many forms previously quoted from these inscriptions as etymological certainties.

The Arcadian inscriptions, including coin-legends (pp. 339—361, nos. 1181—1258) revised by F. Bechtel. Apart from no. 1181 (a decree of the Arcadian league), and no. 1182 (the older coin-legends of the 'Arcadians,') the remainder consist of inscriptions and coin-legends from the individual towns. In no. 1222 (the well-known Tegeatan inscription relating to contracts for public buildings) Bechtel explains the much debated *kar* by *κ + ἀρ*, against Meyer, *Gri. Gr.* § 24, and Spitzer, *Ark. Lautl.* p. 8.

The Pamphylian inscriptions and coin-legends (pp. 365—370, nos. 1259—1269) revised by A. Bezzenberger. In the inscription from Sillyon, no. 1266, the editor differs widely from Roehl (*Inscr. Græc. Antiquissimæ*) in his readings, chiefly in the direction of greater caution and reserve. The sign for *spiritus asper* wherever present in the original is represented by H, and the sign W by w; T. Bergk's explanation (*Zeichr. f. Numism.* 1884, p. 333) of the latter, as denoting, at least in some words, a sibilant, probably appeared too late to be noticed. The volume concludes with tables giving the numbers of inscriptions cited in Meister's *Griechische Dialekte*, vol. i., corresponding to the numbers in this collection.

E. S. R.

Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer, mit Facsimiles herausgegeben. Em. Loewy. Leipzig, Teubner. 1885.

This book supplies invaluable material, not only for the history of art, but also for that of the alphabet. It is much to be desired that Dr. Loewy's scattered hints as to the post-Euclidean alphabet

should be collected; a treatise embodying his intimate acquaintance with the subject would meet what is now the greatest need of epigraphists.

As is observed in the preface, the growth of material since Hirschfeld's publication (1870) required a new collection; this one contains some 600, as against Hirschfeld's 250. The help afforded in all quarters by the first epigraphists, and the care with which a facsimile of every accessible inscription is given, makes the work of extraordinary value and interest. The following important statistics are collected:—

(1) Position of inscription: beside the usual position, it appears on the horizontal surface of the basis only at Olympia; on parts of the statue itself once in archaic times, once in the third century; commonly in imperial times.

(2) Form: this is identical in different inscriptions of the same artist only thirty-six times out of sixty-three; hence arguments cannot be based on differences. The description of the artist with his father and place is commonest in Hellenistic times; the ethnic is given where it is not likely to be known, as at Olympia and Rhodes. The father's name only is not often given; at Olympia only when he also was an artist. A metrical form is never commoner than prose, but occurs oftener in early times than later. The use of *ποιέω* is always prevalent; the aorist is commonest; the imperfect occurs occasionally in archaic times, never in the finest period; then it comes in from the east, and is more usual in imperial times and in forgeries. The forms *ποιέω* and *ποίη* always coexist; but that *ποίη* is not found outside Attica before the fourth century.

(3) Work done in common.

(4) Fathers of artists (if artists also).

(5) Comparison with literary tradition: in the fourth and fifth centuries, some two-thirds of the artists' names are known to us; in archaic, Hellenistic, and imperial times, a comparatively small proportion.

The artists' signatures follow, divided according to period and locality. They are followed by such as are doubtful, or are not original. Last come forgeries, whether executed on stone, or merely invented on paper.

Other inscriptions referring to artists in their work or in public and private life are added.

A few important inscriptions may be mentioned in detail.

1 is the famous Archermos inscription (which has never yet been satisfactorily read and restored); its connexion with the winged

figure found near it is rejected by the highest authorities. A full discussion is given of the dedication of the Nike of Paconius, and of other interesting inscriptions. In the fourth century the epigraphical evidence becomes important; in 64 and others we already see traces of the widening of strokes at the end; but this is not yet the rule. Under 93 is given a valuable discussion of the family of Naucydes, Daedalus, and Polyclitus. In 119, from the years soon after Alexander, with very wedge-shaped strokes, *πρωτοὶ πόδες* are explained as referring to a herald, not a runner. In the Hellenistic period the forms seem to have remained stationary in Attica, and the tendency to spread the stroke at the end, already seen in the fourth century, was not allowed full play till the middle of the second. A full discussion is given of the dates of the great Pergamene works, upon epigraphic and other evidence. A careful study is also made of the epigraphy of the Rhodian group; a transition is visible, lasting about three generations; in the earlier period, the strokes are only emphasised at the end; later they spread out into swallow-tails: the earlier are proved to date from about 200. The peculiarities of these inscriptions do not depend on the individual artists. The connexion of the Venus of Melos with the inscribed basis is discussed, and, on the whole, rejected as not proved.

The inscriptions on the colossi of Monte Cavallo are classed as antique, but not original. Among the forgeries is the Venus de' Medici, and it forms an exception to the rule that forged names are usually known from literature or otherwise. Excellent and full indices and tables are given, of the artists and their families and place of origin, their works, and the places where inscriptions have been found.—E. A. G.

Traité d'Épigraphie grecque. SALOMON REINACH. Paris, Leroux. 1885.

This manual is a very useful compilation, including also a considerable amount of original work. Such a book, as is pointed out in the preface, is much needed, the work of Franz being antiquated. An account of the results of epigraphy has already been given in Mr. Newton's essays, which, translated, form the first section of the book; the second section, dealing with the methods of the science, is new. At the end of the preface are useful instructions for the training of the epigraphist: these contain advice as to the methods to be adopted in travelling, as to taking photographs and squeezes, &c. They have in great part been repeated in M. Reinach's *Conseils aux voyageurs archéologues*.

Section I. Mr. Newton's essays are illustrated by numerous quotations, sometimes including more recent material: on pp. 2-3 is a valuable note, giving a list of the most important publications in which inscriptions are to be found; throughout the work such bibliographical hints are very useful.

Section II. (1) *History of the Greek alphabet*. A convenient sketch of the alphabet before Euclid is compiled, with the various theories as to its origin. The table on pp. 186-7 is particularly useful, as embodying in the completest form what is known of the various local varieties. Many important tables compiled by others are reproduced, e.g. that of Schütz for the Attic alphabet, and some of Dr. Isaac Taylor's. It was hardly possible in this way to avoid some inconsistencies. Thus the Greek derivatives from the Phœnician Shin and Tsade given in the table on p. 181 are at variance with the note on p. 192, which gives the only view now tenable. A table is also given (p. 204) of post-Euclidean forms at various periods: but this can of course only give a few essential marks, especially as local differences are not taken into account. Some remarks are added on ligatures and punctuation; some very convenient lists of numerical signs are given, and also two lists of abbreviations in use before and during the Roman period.

(2) a. *Orthographic peculiarities of inscriptions*. (This chapter and the next contain much matter independently treated in Meisterhans' treatise, which appeared about the same time.) Such especially are treated as afford chronological indications; aspiration, assimilation interior and final, hiatus and *εφελκυσμα*; the last, in Attic at least, seems commoner before consonants than before vowels. Then follow double consonants (written single in ancient texts), *σσ* before hard consonants, the later confusion of *σ* and *ζ*, *ξ* and *οξ*, *ττ*, *γγομα*, first found in 289 B.C. The details as to vocalism are more complicated; the most important are those as to the representation of *ο* and *α* by single or double symbols; also as to the relation of *ε*, *α*, *δε*, and *ι* adscript. Larfeld's table of Boeotian vocalism is given.

b. *Grammatical peculiarities (chiefly Attic)*. Here come such matters as the early frequency of the dual, the use of the article, declensions, *ῥα* and *ἄρα*, comparatives, *ἄριστος*, &c., the augment in *η*, the imperative, *οἶν* and *μετά*, final clauses, and conditional sentences. Also the beginning of the *κωμῆ*.

(3) *Of Inscriptions in general*. Affected archaism is sometimes found. Facts are given as to the manner of engraving inscriptions and the materials used, wood, stone, marble, bronze; as to their exhibition in public places, and the preservation of copies; also as

to secretaries and stone cutters, the expenses of engraving, and the transcription of laws. A most useful list is added of the commonest errors made by stone cutters, and a comparison of the accuracy of inscriptions and MSS., as exemplified by a decree preserved by Thucydides.

(4) *Public documents.* For these the customary headings are mentioned, and the formulae found in Attic and other decrees, titles, &c.; a few words are added as to metrical inscriptions. Then follows information as to Proxeny decrees, reasons for honours voted, and their nature, and the forms observed in them; and also as to honorary decrees, dedications, statues, *ex voto*, &c. The most frequent kinds of catalogues are enumerated; of victors, ephebi, prytanes, subscribers, goods sold, naturalised citizens, &c.; of members of religious associations, of enfranchised slaves, of offerings, accounts, &c. Other matters included are ceremonial prescriptions, oracles, letters of public importance, from sovereigns, towns, &c.; judicial inscriptions, such as those of Gortyna, choragic and agonistic documents, competitions and victors, offerings dedicated by them, and honours decreed to them. Ephebic inscriptions inform us of the oath taken by the youths, decrees in honour of them and their trainers, the constitution of the college, &c.

(5) *Various inscriptions, private documents, &c.* These include boundary stones, &c.; epitaphs (of which the local and temporal varieties of usage are noted); maledictions of violators of the tombs and other imprecations; artists' signatures (a *résumé* of the customary forms is given, mostly from Hirschfeld's and Loewy's results); *Tabulae Illacae*; signatures of painters and mosaic workers; inscriptions on vases and terra-cottas (explanatory of the subject, or giving the artist or the possessor, or mere graffiti); on lamps, glass, &c.; on amphora handles; on gems; on weights; and on tesserae.

(6) *Supplementary statements.* As to chronology, much valuable information is collected, such as lists of various local eras, years, months, and days; also prytanies. Next come proper names and private titles, and their transliteration, and a careful index of the equivalence of Greek and Roman titles. A few words are added as to the later fate of inscriptions, collections before the *Corpus*, and the present state of the work.

The Addenda include some important points—especially some additions to the table of early forms, on p. 548. A short index concludes the work.—E. A. G.

Inscriptiones Tyrac, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae, &c. By B. LATYSCHEV. St. Petersburg, 1885. 4to., pp. i-viii. 1-243.

THIS is the first volume of the corpus of "Greek and Latin Inscriptions from the Northern Shores of the Euxine," undertaken by Mr. Latyshev for the Imperial Archeological Society of Russia. The commentary on the inscriptions is in Latin, and in most cases a translation in Russian is appended. The work is especially welcome, as many of the texts printed in it were hitherto only to be found in rather inaccessible Russian publications. The inscriptions of Tyras and its neighbourhood occupy pp. 3-18. There is a rich series of Olbia (pp. 18-164), including honorary, dedicatory, and sepulchral inscriptions. No. 17, a decree in honour of Nikeratos, a benefactor of Olbia, gives a glimpse of the wretched condition of the city shortly before the beginning of the Christian Era, when it was exposed to the invasions of a barbarian people (perhaps the Getae). No. 46 is an edict of the "Septemviri" of the city. No. 50 and following numbers form a series of dedicatory inscriptions which accompanied the gifts annually made by the city magistrates to various divinities, especially Apollo Prostatês, Hermes Agoraios, and Achilles Pontarchês. There are few sepulchral inscriptions.

The inscriptions of Chersonesus fill pp. 173-218. In the series of "Decrees" of this city, No. 185 is an important text found in 1878, and since commented on by Foucart and other writers (see Latyshev, p. 174). It is a decree in honour of Diophantes, the general of Mithradates the Great, and mentions three campaigns undertaken by him against the barbarian enemies of Chersonesus.—W W.

(C).—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Griechische Geschichte bis zur Schlacht bei Chaironeia.

VON DR. GEORG BUSOLT. I. Teil. Bis zu dem Perserkrieg. Gotha, 1885.

History of Greece from the Earliest Times to the End of the Persian War. Translated from the German of PROFESSOR MAX DUNKER by S. F. ALLEYNE and EVELYN ABBOTT. Vols. I. and II. London, 1881.

Griechische Geschichte von ihrem Ursprunge bis zum Untergange der Selbständigkeit. VON ADOLF HOLM. Erster Band. Berlin, 1886.

IN these three works we have the latest results of the labours of German erudition directed to a thorough examination of the sources

of early Greek history and a reconstruction of that history in the light that has recently been brought to bear on it, chiefly from the discoveries and generalisations of archaeologists and comparative mythologists. But the work of criticism and of reconstruction has in each case been undertaken from a different point of view, and its results are presented in a different form. Dr. Busolt's work shows generally a more sceptical attitude than that of the other two authors. It also supposes that his readers possess both an acquaintance with ancient and modern sources and facilities for referring to such sources. His chapters on authorities at the beginning of each chapter are most useful, and his foot-notes refer us to all manner of stores of information. Prof. Duncker's book is that of one who has long laboured in the same field and is in some respects more original and less critical. For the convenience of the general reader, he not only refers to, but copies *in extenso*, all that the earlier and traditional authorities have to tell us on some important subjects, even where his subsequent examination of their statements makes them almost entirely valueless. He has, as he says in his preface, 'woven together the indispensable critical disquisitions upon a basis of traditional facts.' The history of Holm is shorter, less pretentious in character, and truly admirable for the clearness with which proved facts are distinguished from dubious hypotheses. The narrative in the text is not much broken by critical examinations, but very valuable criticisms are given in an appendix to each chapter. The book is thus at once attractive to the general reader, and useful to those preparing for special studies.

Some of the characteristics of each author may be shown by comparing the view which each takes of a few important problems in Greek history, such as the nature of the pre-Dorian population of the Peloponnese, the work of Lycurgus, the Phœnician settlements in Greece, and the character of the Corinthian tyranny.

On the first of these points, the state of the Peloponnese before the Dorian invasion, we cannot present any positive opinion of Dr. Busolt, as his criticism is here mainly destructive. He considers that the races dispossessed by the Dorians were akin to the Arcadians, and so far from attaching any credit to the traditions of their early greatness, regards the remains of Tiryns and Mycenæ as belonging to Dorian princes, and would even attribute the renown of the Peloponnesian Achæans to Spartan pride working on the material of epic poets, in whose eyes the Achæans were inhabitants of Thessaly and not of the Peloponnese at all. Prof. Duncker, on the other hand, believes in the greatness

and the wealth of the empire of the Pelopidae, and his views as to the origin of the Greek people seem substantially the same as those of Prof. Curtius. It is, however, exceedingly difficult to determine clearly what he would connote by the names given to primitive Greek peoples. 'We may be quite sure,' he says, 'that the Pelasgians, Achaeans, and Hellenes were not three distinct races, but that those names rather indicate three distinct periods of Greek history, and denote three stages arising out of, and following one another, in the development of the one Greek people.' In another place he speaks of 'the name of Pelasgus, derived from the universal intuition of the Greeks of ancient times.' To Holm, however, the Achaeans are not a phase, but a definite people, who inhabited Argolis and probably also Laconia before the Dorian occupation, and the Pelasgi also are a definite people, inhabiting definite districts in Europe and Asia, whose name was extended, for various explicable reasons, so as to take in many to whom it did not properly belong. The primitive, pious, peace-loving, rather colourless Pelasgians of the ordinary conception seem to be banished to the regions of the blameless Ethiopians. In his chapter on the remains of prehistoric art in Greece, the author sets before us a lively picture of the best times of Tiryns and Mycenae, calling in the historical imagination to relieve the vagueness of conflicting traditions and conjectures.

If we turn to another matter—the character of Lycurgus and his work—we see similar differences in method of treatment. Dr. Busolt does not go so far as to deny the historical personality of Lycurgus altogether, but he would not attribute to him any of the fundamental institutions of the Spartan state, nor yet, apparently, the peculiarities of the Spartan discipline. Prof. Duncker has a brilliant theory, which would account for much that has hitherto baffled investigation, especially the double monarchy, the eponymous titles of the kings, and the position of the law-giver. He holds that the work of Lycurgus was the union into one political body of two Dorian states, dwelling on the Oenus and on the upper Eurotas respectively, and that this union was effected after King Charilaos had been worsted in the war with the Tegeans. The military system, the discipline, and the sumptuary laws of the Spartans he would assign to a later period. Holm recognises the great ingenuity of Duncker's hypothesis without venturing to adopt it. But he does not consider it impossible that the laws against wealth and luxury may have originated at the same time as the new political order, and have been promulgated by the originator of that order.

In tracing the early history of Attica, Dr. Busolt rejects all

traditions of Phœnician colonies, though he recognises the important influence of Phœnician trade. 'The opinion that they (the Phœnicians) colonised Thebes is certainly unfounded, nor have we any more reason to suppose that a colony in Athens (Melite) was founded by them.' Duncker, on the other hand, regards the settlement of the Phœnicians in Athens as a clearly ascertained fact, and associates its overthrow with the union of Attic communities into one state traditionally ascribed to Theseus. Holm considers the existence of Phœnician colonies in Thebes and in Athens as not improbable, though not clearly proved.

In treating of the government of the Cypselidae in Corinth, both Busolt and Duncker are inclined to a more favourable view than that of Herodotus. Busolt attributes the sentiments of the speech put by Herodotus into the mouth of the Corinthian Sosicles to the relations existing between Athens and Corinth at the moment when the historian published his narrative. Duncker traces the motive which led the Corinthians to accuse their tyrants of spoliation, to the desire to represent as their own property the treasures laid up at Delphi and elsewhere. But while defending Periander from some of the charges brought against him, Prof. Duncker insists, on grounds which hardly seem sufficiently strong, that he 'must bear the guilt of the death of Melissa.' Holm does not pass a definite judgment on the arbitrary acts of Cypselus and his son, but shows the improbability of the theory that princes who encouraged the worship of Dionysus should in their internal regulations have acted solely with a view to public order and decency.

In spite of all differences, however, we may observe important common characteristics in the methods of all three authors. All alike take a wide view of the province of history so as to make it include the literary, artistic, and religious, as well as the political development of the people. All are very ready to make use of archaeological results, especially those of numismatics. In the use of early historians, not even Busolt entirely disparages the authority of Herodotus, though they would all restrict it within certain limits. Thus for the date of Phidon of Argos, all three prefer the statements of Pausanias to those of Herodotus, and Duncker confidently asks, 'Who can seriously adopt the argument that the coins of Phidon belong to the end of the seventh century—that is, that they were struck just before the time of Solon?'

One of the chief drawbacks to the value of Dr. Busolt's work is the difficulty the ordinary reader meets in clearly ascertaining the grounds of his conclusions, especially where they are drawn from

archaeological materials. Thus we find him confidently asserting the existence in the fifth century of a monetary alliance among the Arcadian states, though in a foot-note he refers to the rival hypothesis by which Imhoof-Blumer would explain the coins with the inscription *Arkadikon*. Still more serious is the difficulty caused to the student by the statement that the theory of Prof. Curtius as to the early migrations of the Ionians 'has long been found untenable,' for the proof of which statement he is referred in a foot-note to articles in various German periodicals.

The difficulty we experience in trying to determine Prof. Duncker's canons of evidence are of a different kind, and arise from the manner in which brilliant and plausible hypotheses are stated as if they were matters of fact. Besides the views given above of the union of the two Spartan states under Lycurgus and the combination of the Attic cantons in opposition to the Phœnicians, we have an interesting theory of the origin of the Parthenii and their discontent, which he attributes to a restoration of the old and strict marriage laws and a retrospective enforcement of the same; also some interesting generalisations concerning the moral influence of the religious sentiment in the Greek aristocracies. In one or two places his deductions from archaeological facts seem rather questionable, as when he says, 'That the *Cypria* were composed before the year 600 B.C. is evident from the representation of the Judgment of Paris on the chest of Cypselus.' The general arrangement of the work is not all that might be desired in point of clearness.

In the introductory remarks to his history, Holm observes that in the investigation of original sources, what we now require is not so much the reconstruction of the lost works of ancient authors, as the discriminating study of those we still possess. If we extend this remark and apply it to modern authorities in special fields, we arrive at the conclusion that a writer of ancient history is now likely to produce good work in proportion as he is able clearly and justly to estimate the historical import of the labours of specialists in all subjects which are or might be made auxiliary to the study of history.—A. G.

Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics.

By B. V. HEAD. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 1887.

THE first title of this work is distinctive, and marks its most essential characteristic. Hitherto all general works on Greek Numismatics, from Eckhel's great work, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, down to the handbooks of Akerman and Werthof, have

taken up the coins of each district and city from the points of view of geography and mythology rather than from that of history. With Mr. Head, Numismatics takes its rightful place as one of the most useful of the sciences auxiliary to *history*.

The application of scientific historical method to ancient numismatics is a thing of comparatively recent date, and no one has done more service in this direction than Mr. Head, whose *Coinage of Syracuse*, published in 1874, was the first thoroughly scientific monograph on the coinage of a Greek city, and a model of careful induction. In *Historia Numorum* he applies the same method to the whole of the coins of the ancient world, arranging the coins of each city or district in chronological series and groups. Those who know the size of the field of ancient numismatics, and how much of it is almost virgin soil, will not need to be told that within the limits of time and space imposed upon Mr. Head the attempt could not be entirely successful. Where he is working on ground which he has already explored, as in his account of the coins of Syracuse, Macedon, Boeotia, and Ephesus, he furnishes a sketch as complete as could be written in so narrow a space. Where he treats of places which have been the subject of satisfactory catalogues and monographs, as Achaëna, Crete, or Phœnicia, his summary is still complete. But in dealing with districts which have remained comparatively untouched, he is necessarily less thorough and comprehensive. Generally speaking, the book is far more complete for Sicily and European Greece than for Asia Minor and Syria; for the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Coins* has not yet reached Asia, and not only the great museums of Europe, but even private collectors, such as M. Waddington and M. Six, possess large numbers of Asiatic coins which are unpublished and unknown. Nor have the dates of the coins issued in Asia received anything like so much attention as the dates of Sicilian coins, or those of Hellas, or even those of Italy. But even in regard to Asia Minor it is a very great gain to possess a satisfactory summary of the coinage, so far as published matter serves; fresh material will now rapidly accumulate for a still more valuable second edition. It must also be observed that where Mr. Head's summary is least final it is probably to the numismatist most valuable, as it opens new ground.

It is to students of Greek history that *Historia Numorum* is particularly adapted. Those who wish to form an idea of the importance of numismatics to early Greek history should look at the foot-notes to Busolt's volume, reviewed in these pages. But to those occupied with ancient geography, philology, art or mythology,

it will also be a storehouse of useful facts, facts hitherto scattered over the pages of periodicals and in the transactions of learned societies. A few words of special notice are claimed by the index, or rather indexes, for places, rulers, inscriptions, magisterial titles, epithets of cities, are all indexed separately, and there is a general Index Rerum to close the gaps. The indexes occupy fifty-five pages, and they are the most important pages in the book, mainly because the author has not abandoned the work of indexing to other hands, but done it himself.—P. G.

Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt. Von
Dr. JULIUS BELOCH. Leipzig, Daucker and Humblot, 1886.

THE aim of the author of this book is to apply the whole of the available material to determine the populousness of the various sections of the Greek and Roman world. At present we are only concerned with that part of the work which deals with the Hellenic populations. The data for the purpose are extremely slender and untrustworthy. Figures are specially prone to corruption in MSS. and cannot be recovered from the context—and moreover writers of skill and fidelity seem to have had little sense of the possible and impossible in numbers; while among later and less trustworthy authors we are given statistics of a purely fantastic kind. For example, Prokopius assigns a billion as the number of inhabitants of the Roman Empire.

The monumental materials would be far more trustworthy if we had them; but unfortunately they are very scanty, consisting of little more than a few catalogues of Ephori.

The materials fall into the following classes:—

(1) *Direct statements about population.*—The most important is the statement by Athenæus, on the authority of Kleiskles, of the numbers given by the census of Attica under Demetrius of Phalerum, towards the end of the fourth century. We often have information about the number of citizens of a state, and from this it is possible to estimate the whole population.

(2) *Military data.*—The numbers of the troops furnished by different states to military expeditions furnish a ground for comparison of their populations.

(3) *Area.*—The law that equal areas of equal fertility and placed under similar conditions will at any given time contain populations not very different in number, affords a means of determining by comparison the worth of statistics or estimates.

(4) *Food consumption and supply.*—In several cases we have records of the corn-production and corn-importation of states. The

amount of corn consumed per head can be calculated from the known allowances of slaves and soldiers, and from the consumption in modern times, and thus a rough estimate of population can be formed.

Attica is the country for which the best materials are available, and moreover it is there that the problem presents most interest. Dr. Beloch's treatment of the population of Attica is the most elaborate and the best example of the application of his method. Each particular section of the argument is by no means conclusive, but when the results derived from the number of citizens, the number of soldiers, the population of similar areas, the production and consumption of corn are found to produce consistent results, and moreover to show changes in the population at different periods entirely in agreement with the causes known to have been at work, it is impossible to avoid accepting in the main his conclusions. The author differs from Böckh in rejecting as incredible Athenæus' statement that Demetrius found the number of slaves to be 400,000. Böckh defended this number, and his view was followed by Clinton, and till now has been generally accepted. But Dr. Beloch's arguments seem conclusively to show that the fourth part of this number would be nearer the mark.

We must regard as equally fabulous the 470,000 slaves which Athenæus assigns to Aegina, and the 460,000 of Corinth, numbers which have found supporters among some of Böckh's followers, though Böckh himself did not defend them.

At the end of the book a convenient table gives the results for 432 B.C. For the Peloponnese we have a population of 890,000, 230,000 of these are in Laconia and Messenia, of whom 175,000 are slaves, including Helots. Argolis, including Corinth, accounts for 335,000. Attica has 235,000, of whom 100,000 are slaves. Boeotia 150,000, of whom one-third are slaves. The whole population of Greece, including the islands, Thessaly and Macedonia is reckoned at 3,000,000.

Dr. Beloch is thoroughly master of the materials. His arrangement is clear, and his exposition lucid. As he says himself, any one who wishes to overthrow his results must attack his whole system, and not any one part of it, for his various arguments give support to one another. His book must remain the standard authority upon the subject, unless the discovery of fresh material throws entirely new light upon the question.—H. B. S.

[*Notices of Periodicals are postponed for want of space.*]

TWO VASES FROM CYPRUS.

[PLATES LXXXI. AND LXXXII.]

L

THE pottery found hitherto in Cyprus has been for the most part of a rude, local fabric, resembling both in its shapes and system of decoration the pottery of Egypt. The Greek element in the population of Cyprus and the frequent participation of outside Greeks in the affairs of the island might have been expected to leave some decided trace in the pottery. But this expectation had not been realised to any degree till last year, when excavations at Poli tis Chrysokhou brought to light an extensive series of Greek vases and other antiquities.¹ Among the vases were the two here published.

The locality where these antiquities were found is supposed to be that of the ancient Marion, a town on the west coast of Cyprus, of which little is recorded except that it had been taken by an Athenian fleet under Kimon,² on which occasion its inhabitants were treated with much clemency, and that subsequently it was destroyed by Ptolemy, on which occasion its inhabitants were removed to Paphos.³ At that time it was ruled by a prince called Stasioekos. Its existence as a town is

¹ See *Jahrbuch des Arch. Inst.* 1887, p. 85, pl. 8, where the silver girle now in the British Museum is published.

² Diodorus Sic. xii. 3-4.

³ *Ibid.* xix. 79, 4.

said to have been revived under the name of Arsinoë. The old name of Marion, however, seems also to have come again into use.

How eagerly the Athenians, in the time of Kimon, looked to Cyprus as a stronghold against the Persians, if they could but get it thoroughly into their hands, is a matter of notoriety. They made great efforts, and if Diodorus Siculus¹ is to be trusted, they gained great successes. Diodorus may be wrong in some points, but as regards Kimon's siege of Marion, which he alone mentions, and which finds no place in the brief narrative of Thucydides,² we must view it as a fact in his favour that this locality has now yielded a considerable series of vases which go back in date to the time of that siege—about B.C. 450. That these vases were imported from Athens there can, I think, be no doubt; they are as clearly Athenian as the rude ware found in the tombs with them are the work of the local Cypriote potters. Nor was this importation of vases only of short duration. It appears rather to have gone on till the town was destroyed by Ptolemy about B.C. 315. If, then, from about B.C. 450 to B.C. 315 the people of Marion manifested a marked taste for Athenian pottery, we may conclude that in other respects also they had maintained a friendly feeling towards Athens, and that the capture of the town by Kimon had been productive of lasting good.

The older of the two vases here published is an alabastos (pl. LXXXII.), covered with a creamy slip, on which are drawn in with fine black lines two female figures, the one presenting a cup of wine, towards which the other advances energetically, holding a branch of laurel in each hand. Round her body is tied a deer's skin, which, together with the wine cup, give the ceremony a Bacchic character. Appropriate to the Bacchic character of the scene is the crane which stands between these two figures. The crane is painted in fully in black, a proceeding which saves the trouble of indicating the wings and feathers. Yet with all its want of detail the form of the bird is admirably rendered. The two female figures are drawn in with lines only, except that over parts of the draperies a yellowish-brown glaze has been

¹ See Dunder, *viil* p. 370.

² I. 112. He had before said (I. 94) of the Lacedæmonians and Athenians,

ἐπεπύκνωται ἐν Κίμωνος καὶ Ἀλκιβίου τοῦ
καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ.

painted and fired much as on the draperies on a fine kylix in the British Museum by Panphaeos,¹ with whom the painter of our vases was probably a contemporary. He signs himself Pasiades. The name has been given out as being Iasiades;² but in that case there would be too much space between the first two letters, while in favour of the reading Pasiades is the fact that the letter Π would bring the spacing right and that there is a breakage in the vase, which would have carried off the upper part of the letter. Whether Iasiades or Pasiades, the name was previously unknown among vase painters. It is an acquisition which will be valued by the many admirers of signed vases. Even those who, so to speak, do not collect autographs of vase painters will welcome gladly the charming archaic drawing of this vase with its fine touch and delicate sentiment.

In Karlsruhe is an alabastos³ which, so far as one can judge from a rather mannered engraving, is of the same style as ours. It is signed by the painter Psiax and the potter Hilinos, who have been classed along with the painters Panphaeos, Epiktetos, and Kachrylion. I have mentioned a technical point in our alabastos which recalls Panphaeos. Further, there was found in the same tomb with it a red-figure kylix bearing the inscription ΠΡΟΣΑΓΟΡΕΥΟ,⁴ The small number of existing vases with this inscription have been associated with the painter Epiktetos, and there is no mistaking the fragmentary figure on the kylix in question as belonging to his school. Again, in the same set of tombs was found a kylix by Kachrylion.⁵ We may therefore class Pasiades in that school of painters, and as the alabastos in Karlsruhe came from Athens, so also our alabastos may have come thence, quite apart from the historical conditions which made importation from Athens favourable at that time.

In the tomb with our alabastos was also found a beautiful finger-ring of silver, with a gold fly resting on it as if by chance, some vases of local fabric, and other objects. The British Museum possesses the contents of the tomb.

¹ Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, 2nd Ed. p. 94, and *Euphronios*, 2nd Ed. pp. 272-3.

² Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, 2nd Ed. p. 222.

³ See Panofka, *Namen der Vasenbildner*, pl. 3, figs. 9-10, p. 16; Klein,

Meistersign. 2nd Ed. p. 124; *Vasen-Sammlung zu Karlsruhe* (1887), No. 242.

⁴ Klein, *Meistersign.* 2nd Ed. p. 221, cf. p. 119.

⁵ Klein, *Meistersign.* 2nd Ed. p. 221.

II.

The second of the vases here published (pl. LXXXI.) is a lekythos with red figures on a black ground, but with accessories of white colour and gilding. It is Athenian in its whole character. The figures represented are Oedipus (ΟΙΔΙΠΟΣ), the Sphinx (ΣΦ...), Athena (ΑΘΗΝΑ), Apollo (ΠΟΛΛΩΝ), Kastor (ΚΑΣΤΩΡ), Polydeukes (ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΗΣ), and Aeneas (ΑΙΝΕΑΣ). The subject is, therefore, Oedipus putting an end to the Sphinx. Usually it has been thought that Oedipus had put an end to the Sphinx by simply reading her riddle, whereupon she threw herself from the high rock on which she sat and was no more heard of.¹ The point of the legend was that he, 'Swollen-foot' by name,² had been destined to explain the riddle as to what creature was two-footed, three-footed, and four-footed. Any act of violence on his part would have spoiled the incident. Such was the general belief. On the other hand, it has been argued from an ancient paste in Berlin, where Oedipus is seen attacking the Sphinx with a sword, and from various references in Greek literature, where the words *phōivēi*, *ἀναπαίειν*, *ῥοφείειν* are employed, that in some older version of the legend he had actually taken her life. So Overbeck contended.³ But Jahn, who held the opposite view, maintained that Oedipus may very well have despatched the Sphinx when she had once thrown herself down, and have thus brought on himself the literary expressions just cited. I venture to think that our vase is a strong confirmation of Jahn's view.

In the first place, the attitude of the Sphinx is that of a creature which has fallen from a height. Her legs are represented as if they had lost all power through such a fall. It is inconceivable how a stroke from the spear of Oedipus could have produced this result instantaneously. Her neck has been broken; we see only the back of her head, her face being turned away. Oedipus has his foot planted on her head. He could not have gone so far if the Sphinx had been capable of resistance. He

¹ Diodorus Sic. iv. 84, 3.

² Euripides, *Phœnix*. 25; Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 1903. In a fragment of the *Neottia* of Anaxilas there is a play on the name of Oedipus in reference to the

riddle of the Sphinx, *Fragmenta Poet. Comic.* p. 502 (Dindorf).

³ *Heroische Bildwerke*, p. 18; Euripides, *Phœnix*. 1508 and 1722. Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, p. 115.

must then have, by a previous blow, rendered her unresisting, which would leave him now in an undignified position. Or we must revert to the theory that she had fallen from a height and had broken her neck, in which case he would be entitled to come forward to despatch her. I think, also, that her wings are raised to indicate the fall just accomplished.

In the second place, it is obvious that what Oedipus here does is done in terror. He clings for protection to a column which may represent a temple of Apollo or Athena.¹ It is not, I think, likely to be the column on which the Sphinx is sometimes seen to be seated.² In any case he clings to it vigorously, with a look of terror on his face, notwithstanding the presence of Athena, the friend of all slayers of monsters. His attitude is thus quite opposed to the theory of his having slain the Sphinx outright without her having helped him by throwing herself down from a height. It is only with fear that he has planted his foot on her head and has drawn back his right arm to give a final stroke with his spear, or perhaps has already delivered the stroke.

The presence of Athena and Apollo is natural to the scene, he, seated, as the god whose mysterious oracles played so large a part in the fate of Oedipus. Probably he is here as Apollo Iaménios, whose priest was styled *daphnephoros*,³ as the god also might be styled from the laurel which he holds. Both were deities much worshipped in Thebes. But Athena may be said to have had a special interest in the event. Pausanias,⁴ in describing the Athena Parthenos of Pheidias, says, when he comes to the Sphinx on her helmet, that he will explain it in his chapter on Boeotia. All the explanation he gives, however, is to tell the story of Oedipus, how he went from Corinth with an army and 'removed' ('*ἔειλεν*') the Sphinx.⁵ He forgets to

¹ Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 20, *ἐπὶ τε θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνδρῶν* | *καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ* | *καὶ ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς*. Athena assists Kadmos, on a Kylix in the British Museum, engraved by Heydemann. *Bericht d. Akad. Gesell. d. Wiss.* 1875, pls. 3a-c.

² On vases the Sphinx is to be seen seated on a column, on a rock, and on

an altar. Cf. Jahn, *Arch. Beitrage*, p. 313.

³ Pausanias, ix. 10, 4. At the entrance to the temple of Apollo Iaménios at Thebes were statues of Athena and Hermes.

⁴ i. 24, 5.

⁵ ix. 28, 2.

notice Athena in the matter, but he may be assumed to have had in his mind on the first mention of the subject the notion that the Sphinx on the helmet of the Parthenos was meant to indicate her participation in the exploit of Oedipus, such participation as we see on our vase. The drapery, arms, and face of Athena are painted white; her shield, aegis, and helmet have been gilt, traces only of the gilding being left. We may suppose that the vase painter had intended to represent a chryselephantine statue. It cannot be the Parthenos of Pheidias, if her robes were of gold, as appears to have been the case. Besides, in the right hand of the Athena on the vase is not a Victory, but simply a spear. The type of Athena as here given is not uncommon, and considering that in an actual chryselephantine statue the drapery would hardly have been of ivory, we may suppose the vase painter to have made a freer use of his colour than a sculptor would have made of his ivory. Thus, while intending to convey the aspect of a chryselephantine statue, he has not confined himself to any particular statue of that kind, so far as I can see.

The scene on the vase appears to be complete with Oedipus, the Sphinx, Athena, and Apollo. I cannot account for the other figures of the Dioscuri and Aeneas, except as beings whose names were familiar for the help they rendered in time of need. They are recognisable only by their names. We could suppose that they represent the friends of Oedipus who followed him from Corinth, and that the names of Kastor, Polydeukos, and Aeneas had been chosen merely to indicate the help they had given him. A figure like that of Aeneas occurs with some variations on the Meidias vase in the British Museum, and twice on the west frieze of the Parthenon. With greater variation it occurs on lekythi, with gilt accessories, which there is every reason to believe to be of Athenian fabric. Similarly, a figure like that of Kastor is to be seen on another lekythos of this description in the British Museum.¹

While, then, our lekythos from Cyprus has all the marks of having been imported from Athens, we have still to consider its date. It must be older than the destruction of Marion about

¹ Jahn, *Bemalte Vasen mit Goldschmuck*, pl. 2, fig. 1.

B.C. 315. On that point there would be no doubt, apart from the historical record, as to the fate of the town. Perhaps a fair, round date would be B.C. 370. The objects found in the same tomb are now in the British Museum. Among them is a fragmentary askos with red figures, which might be placed, if anything, later than B.C. 370.

A. S. MURRAY.

THE CNIDIAN APHRODITE OF PRAXITELES.

[PLATE LXXX.]

Ἡ δὲ τῆς Πραξιτέλους τοιοῦτή τις τὸ κάλλιστος. — LUCIAN.

EVERY visitor of the Vatican Museum knows the fine statue of Aphrodite placed near the large staircase in the *Sala a croce greca* on account of its beauty as well as by reason of the fact that its lower half is covered with a drapery of tin. The greater will be the surprise of many of our readers, looking at our Plate LXXX., to see unveiled the secret charms of that figure, and they will ask how the goddess could be allowed to lay aside for some moments the garment forced upon her a century ago by a misplaced sense of pretended decency. We owe it to the persevering zeal of Mr. Walter Copland Perry to have found a means of obtaining such a cast for the Collection of Casts from the Antique in the South Kensington Museum, by the formation of which Mr. Perry has begun so happily to fill up a sensible blank in the artistic collections of the British capital. The British Museum is so astonishingly rich in first-rate Greek originals that we can easily understand how the importance of a museum of casts could be rather undervalued, and how to the University of Cambridge was left the merit of forming the first English collection of casts from the antique on a greater scale. But not even the very first museum of Greek sculpture—a rank which never will be disputed in case of the great national institution—can be so far perfect as to represent with equal completeness every period or school of Greek art, nor can it comprise good

ancient marble copies of all those innumerable masterpieces the originals of which either have been lost, or have become the property of other public institutions or private collections. Nay, precisely the relative completeness of the British Museum would seem at once to require and to facilitate such a supplement as Mr. Perry has had the praiseworthy idea of bringing together with great personal sacrifices of every description. What a splendid thing it would be if in the British Museum the large saloons which contain the original marbles were accompanied by parallel galleries exhibiting choice casts of such sculptures, of the same periods or classes respectively, which are not in the Museum. The whole history of Greek sculpture would be placed in the most perfect form before the eyes of students and dilettanti. But—"there is nothing perfect under the sun." As the space in the British Museum would scarcely suffice to allow the execution of such a scheme, the greater universal gratitude and the more general interest are due to the collection recently formed in the South Kensington Museum under the intelligent direction of Mr. Perry.

Going through the catalogue of the casts¹, we not only find such universally known casts as form as it were the indispensable contents of every such gallery, but we are particularly pleased to meet with some very rare pieces, which are not only worthy to gain the interest of the general amateur and to delight the student of classic art, but also to promote the purposes of scientific archaeology. Such a cast, beyond doubt the rarest of all, is that of the Vatican Venus, the moulding of which we understand to have been permitted under the—absurd, to be sure, but strict—obligation that only this one copy should be taken! In direct contrast with this narrow-minded condition imposed by the Superintendence of the Vatican Museum stands the prompt liberality with which the Editors of this Journal have been allowed to take and to publish photographs of the cast. I especially am under great obligations to Mr. Perry for having kindly renounced in my favour the agreeable task of accompanying the plate with some remarks, as I can avail myself of this opportunity to correct certain false statements

¹ W. C. Perry, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Collection of Casts from the Antiquities in the South Kensington Museum*. London, 1884.

and erroneous conclusions of a former article on the same subject², to which I was misled by defective knowledge of the matter of fact.

The statue of the *Sala a croce greca*, which has kept that place since the first arrangement of the *Museo Pio Clementino*, is to-day nearly universally thought to be that very statue which once adorned the *cortile delle statue* in the Vatican Belvedere and enjoyed a high reputation. This opinion seems to go back to Gerhard, who, in his catalogue drawn up in 1826, identifying our statue with that engraved in the *Museo Pio Clem.*, I. 11, adds to a short mention of the statue the words: "*probably already since Julius II. in the cortile delle statue of the Belvedere*"³. Most archaeologists since have neglected the precaution used by Gerhard; in Em. Braun's book, for instance, on the "*Ruins and Museums of Rome*", and in the very defective official catalogues of the pontifical museum, the provenance of our statue from the Belvedere is spoken of as a matter of fact. Bernoulli⁴ as well as myself shared this opinion so far as to declare the identity to be likely. An accurate enquiry into the history of the Belvedere collection, the general results of which will soon be published in the *Archaeologisches Jahrbuch*, has shown me this opinion to be erroneous. I shall here restrict myself to those observations which deal directly with the Vatican statues of the goddess of love.

It is well known that the collection of statues in the Belvedere was founded by Pope Julius II. Among the first statues placed in the court-yard of the Belvedere there was an inscribed group of Venus Felix with young Cupid⁵; a sculpture of very modest merit as a work of art, but nevertheless highly appreciated in those times. This group is meant wherever the older *astygraphi*—Fulvius (1527), Marliani (1534), Fauno (1548), Mauro (1556),—speak of the Vatican Venus. It was drawn, between 1535 and 1538, by Marten van Heemskerck, in whose sketch-book there is no other Belvedere Venus⁶. I have little doubt that Vasari

² *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1876, p. 145—149, "*Die vatikanischen Epitaphen der bildlichen Aphrodite*".

³ *Bucher. d. Stadt Rom* II. 2, p. 232, No. 10.

⁴ *Aphrodite*, p. 206.

⁵ *Mus. Pio Clem.* II. 52. Classo iv. 609, 1349.

⁶ *Life of Bramante*, iv. p. 167, ed. Milanese. Visconti *Mus. Pio Clem.* I. p. 66, not. 1, ed. MIL. preferred to understand the Caillan Venus.

also (1550)⁷ has in view this Venus; may, a century later John Evelyn⁸ praises this group as one of the "rare pieces", without even mentioning any other Venus in the Belvedere.

Long since, however, a second Venus had found a neighbouring place in the *cortile delle statue*, probably during the pontificate of Clement VII. (1523-1534). We meet with the first mention of it in the notes of travel of John Fichard of Frankfurt who, in 1536, describes a *nudum puellae simulacrum, cui alter pes (quod mutilus erat) a recentioribus statuariis restitutus est, ita tamen ut egregie deprehendas dissimilitudinem, et illos arte veteribus inferiores fuisse*⁹. The incognito in which the goddess is here introduced did not last long, for precisely at the place of the "naked girl", Aldrovandi (1550) noticed a *Venere tutta ignuda intiera, che con la mano dritta si cuopre le membra sue genitali, con la manca tiene la sua camicia pendente sopra un giarrone: ed è ogni cosa di un pezzo*¹⁰. From that time, this statue keeps its fixed place beside the older group in all the later descriptions of the Belvedere, from Gamucci (1565) and Boissard (1597) up to Ficoroni (1744). All these short notices however, do not afford any more detailed knowledge; the assertion of Keyssler (1730), that it had been discovered about 180 years ago under the church of S. Peter and S. Marcelline, seems to be a mistake¹¹. At last Perrier, in his *Segmenta nobilium signorum* (1638, published in 1653), Pl. 85, gave the first engraving of our *Venus e balneo*, which is nearly identical with the engraving of Jan de Bisschop (Janus Episcopus) published some time afterwards (*Signorum veterum icones*, Pl. 46), from the drawing of a Dutch artist called Doncker; the only material difference being that Bisschop, or Doncker, from artistic reasons omits the trunk of the tree near the right leg which Perrier is scrupulous enough

⁷ Haemkerck's sketch-book is in Berlin, see J. Springer in *Jahrb. der germ. Kunsthew.* 1884, p. 327, and in *Den. Studien zur Kunstgeschichte für A. Springer*, p. 226. I owe to Prof. Conza the notices above referred to about the contents of the book.

⁸ *Diary*, Jan. 18, 1645.

⁹ *Frankfurtisches Archiv*, edited by Fichard, III, p. 49.

¹⁰ L. Mauro *Antichità de la Città di Romæ*, Ven. 1556, p. 126.

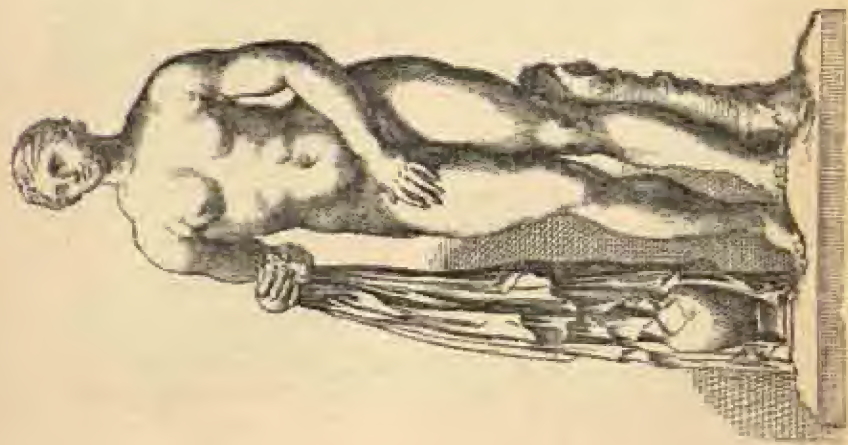
¹¹ Keyssler *Nuove Relaz.* 1740, p. 304. The notice seems to contain a misunderstanding of an account of Flaminio Vacca, §24 in *Pin. Miscell.* p. lxvi. = *Schreiber Berichte d. wächs. Ges.* 1881, p. 64: *A' Santi Pietro e Marcellino sotto la chiesa vi si trova . . . una Venere grande del naturale, fuggita uoce del bagno con un Cupido appresso; la comprò il Cardinale Mantalto.* The mention of Cupid excludes our statue.



VENUS.



KNIFE, copied from Biscione.



PERIOD (reversed).

to reproduce. This stem again serves to identify the statue with that published in Visconti's *Museo Pio Clementino*, I. 11, as having been "*già nel Cortile delle Statue del Vaticano*", though here the statue is defaced by a drapery of stucco which covers the lower half of the body. This drapery, according to Visconti, was meant to serve as a model for a drapery of metal, by which the goddess, after having been exposed in her unveiled beauty for more than two centuries in the Pope's palace without giving any offence, was to be adapted to the more modern notions of decency, which liked to adorn statues with fig-leaves and to clothe angels with shirts. Now, such a drapery of tin, as a matter of fact, has been applied to the statue which stands actually in the *Sala a croce greca*, represented in our plate; but one glance on the vessel and the drapery, and the absence of the trunk, suffice to prove that this is not the old Belvedere statue¹². What then has become of the latter, and whence did this second statue come into the Vatican Museum?

Up to Visconti's time no second copy of the same type can be traced in the Vatican¹³. Suddenly Visconti speaks not only of two but of *three* replicas of that Cnidian type as existing in the Museum¹⁴. It would seem that two of them belonged to

¹² This diversity has first been pointed out by Stahr, *Torae*, I., p. 349, who blunders in ascribing the tasteless drapery to Julius II., and referring the engraving of the Museo Pio Clementino to our statue, but who rightly discerns the latter from the Belvedere statue engraved by Episcopius. The same has been done independently by Preuner, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, p. 110, and *Ueber die Venus von Milo*, p. 30, and by Bernoulli *Aphrodite*, p. 209. Compare my own observations, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1876, pp. 145 and 146.

¹³ In P. A. Maffei's *Raccolta di statue*, 1704, pl. 4, there is an engraving of a "*Venus uscita dal bagno*. *Negl'orti Farnesiani*", which is neither identical with the statue of the *Sala a croce greca* nor with that of the Belvedere, although its place in that book among the celebrated masterpieces of the Belvedere (plates 1-5) leaves scarcely any doubt

that the author intended to have that statue engraved. On the other hand it corresponds so precisely in every detail, especially in the clumsy arrangement of the (modern) drapery, with a much-restored statue in the Ludovisi Villa (see below, *J*), that the engraver—Claude Randon, who engraved also most of the Ludovisi marbles for that work—seems to have made a mistake, either reproducing the Ludovisi statue instead of the Vatican one, or putting a false inscription on the plate. My former supposition that Maffei's statue might be identical with the statue of the *loggia scoperta* (see above) is contradicted by chronological reasons as exposed above.

¹⁴ I. p. 63, note 2, ed. Mil.: *due altre antiche ripetizioni di questa statua nelle stesso Museo Pio Clementino*.

Lavezow, in 1808, endeavoured to demonstrate our type to have once enjoyed a high fame²², he could bring together not more than four marble replicas (*A D J c* of the ensuing catalogue). Half a century later B. Stark²³, with the aid of Clarac's useful work, was able to enumerate twice as many copies (*A B E F J M O h*). A more thorough and nearly exhaustive enquiry led Bernoulli²⁴ in 1873 to give a critical inventory comprising, besides coins and gems, eight marble statues (*A B D E F J O b*), one terracotta figure (*h*), six torsoes (*N T U b e f*), and seven marble statues which could not with certainty be ascribed to our type (*C G K Q d a*), altogether twenty-two pieces. This pretty large number however did not allow a certain judgment on various points of importance, most of the copies being only superficially known. Better catalogues of certain collections, and several new discoveries enable us not only to considerably increase this number, but at the same time to give more authentic information about some of the marbles in question. On a visit to Rome in 1878, I had an opportunity of examining myself the statues *D F H J*; I owe some further information to Prof. P. GARDNER (*D*), Mr. MURRAY (*a c*), Dr. LOEWY and Prof. PETERSEN (*C*), Mr. POTTIER (*δ ε*), Dr. STUDNICZKA (*D b*), Prof. TREU (*S U d*), Dr. WOLTERS (*S U*).

For convenience's sake we assign the first place to the statues and torsoes, life size or colossal, the second to the statuettes, the third to some variations rather than copies. Within these classes, the degree of preservation has determined the order of the individual specimens.

I.—FULL SIZE OR COLOSSAL.

1. STATUES.

A. VATICAN, formerly in the *Cortile delle statue*, now in the magazines (Bernoulli p. 207, 2). Engr. Perrier *Segm. nobil. sign.* pl. 85 (the copies differ in giving the statue either right or reversed; *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 pl. 12, 2). *Episcopus Sign. vet. icones* pl. 46 (reversed; *Kraus Sign. vet. ic.* pl. 25, right; Müller-Wieseler

²² *Ueber die Frage ob die malierische Venus ein Bild der Knidischen vom Praxiteles sey*, Berlin 1808, p. 73.

²³ *Berichte der sächs. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1800, p. 52.

²⁴ *Aphrodite*, 1873, p. 206.

Denkm. II. pl. 35, 146 c, reversed); with the drapery of stucco *Mus. Pio Clem.* I. pl. 11 (*Lavazow Ueber die Frage* de. fig. 2. *Clarac* IV. 602, 1332. *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 pl. 12, 3).—Marble. H. 1.91 m. (8 pal. 7 on.), with the plinth 2.09 m. (9½ pal.).—Visconti testifies that the garment is fringed, that there is an armlet inlaid with a gem at the left arm, and that the head is unbroken. This is corroborated by a curious passage of *Raph. Mengs, Opere* II. p. 6 ed. Azara (p. 358 ed. Fea. *Bottari-Ticozzi Racc. di lett.* VI. p. 340): "*Nel Vaticano si conserva una Venere assai mediocrè, e quasi goffa, ma con la testa molto bella, eguale alla Niobe, e quella certamente è la sua, non essendole mai stata staccata*". In another passage (p. 87 ed. Fea) he says of the same head: "*Puo darsi che la bellezza anche perfetta vesti alquanto fredda quando non è aiutata da qualche espressione che possa esprimere la vita. Questo si vede in una Venere al Vaticano, che resta insipida, benchè nella sostanza sia più bella di quella di Firenze in quanto alla testa*". About the same time a French traveller who visited Rome in 1765 (*Voyage d'un François en Italie*, 2 ed., Yverdon, 1769, III. p. 186) speaks of the statue as of a *figure antique très-médiocrè*. Vasi, Fea, Gerhard (see above p. 330, note 17) mention the statue without adding a word in praise of its artistic merit. A very different judgment is pronounced by Feuerbach (see p. 330, note 18), who praises the figure as distinguished *durch die wunderbare Verbindung einer grossartigen Auffassung mit dem höchsten Schmelz der Schönheit*. As to restorations, the only direct testimony is that of Fichard (see p. 327), that one foot is badly restored; no doubt this refers to the right leg supported by the awkward trunk of the tree.

B. Munich, no. 131, until 1811 in the BRASCHI palace at Rome (Bernoulli p. 207, 8). Engr. Flaxman Lect. on sculpt. pl. 22. *Clarac* IV. 618, 1377. *Lützow Münchener Ant.* pl. 41 (*Roscher Lex. d. Mythol.* I. p. 416). *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 pl. 12, 5. *Laibke Plastik* I.² p. 215 fig. 146. *Overbeck Plastik* II.² p. 31 fig. 99 b. *Perry Greek and Rom. sculpt.* p. 447 fig. 196. *Baumeister Denkm.* III. p. 1405 fig. 1557.—Parian marble. H. 1.62 m., with the plinth 1.74 m.—Modern: back and right part of head, with the exception of the hair to the left of the forehead, nose, tip of lips; half right forearm, left arm from armlet inlaid with a gem (which is antique) to wrist, fingers of left hand, feet including ankles, parts of vase and drapery. Tolerably good copy, highly praised by Rauch the sculptor, especially on account of the execution of the body (*Urlichs Glyptothek* p. 20) which however bears a rather superficial character and is poor in details.

C. Florence, PAL. PITTI, *gall. d. statue*, Dütchke II. no. 17 (Bernoulli p. 215, 1); it belongs to the old Cinquecento stock of Florentine antiques. Engr. *Gori Mus. Etr.* III. pl. 35. *Clarac* IV. 624, 1388.—Pentelic marble. H. about 2.00 m.—Modern: tip of nose, left arm from below armlet (inlaid with an oval jewel, as in *B*), half right forearm, lower part of both legs from below knees, vase and drapery, pedestal. Head broken, but its own; the neck

is too short, and the restorer has given the head a false direction, the antique part of the neck shewing the original movement to have been the same as in *B* (Petersen). Gori does not make much of the workmanship; Borekharit (*Cicerone*² p. 406) speaks of good Roman work; Dütschke points out the very robust forms (and so does Petersen), and the simple type of the head, being stern and rather lacking charm.

D. VATICAN, Sala a croce greca no. 574, probably until about 1780 in the COLONNA Palace, see above p. 331 (Bernoulli p. 206, 1). Engr. Plate LXXX.; with the drapery of tin *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 pl. 12, 1. Overbeck *Plastik* ii², p. 31 fig. 99a. Letarouilly *Vaticum* iii., *Mus. Pio Clem.* pl. 6. Baumeister *Denkm.* iii, p. 1403 fig. 1556.—Greek marble. H. 2.05m. (Colonna statue *b*: 2.01 m.), with the plinth 2.13 m.—Modern in the Colonna statue: arms, legs, and head. In the Vatican copy, according to my revision in 1878, which nearly agrees with the observations of Professor Treu made in 1865²⁸ and is completed by some remarks of Dr. Studniczka, the head (new: half nose), which is much superior to the statue, is attached to the body by the insertion of a modern neck including bottom of chin. Studniczka, examining the statue without the aid of a ladder, had the impression that the head is of different marble (Pentelic) from the body and the drapery (large-grained Greek marble). Modern: right arm from below elbow, left arm including armllet downwards to fingers, the ends of which are antique; support of vase except upper part of square plinth directly below vase; feet and pedestal. A careful examination of the cast by Prof. P. Gardner has moreover shewn that the right leg is antique to about 0.08 m. above ankle bone and instep, but that there is some repairing just below the knee, and that the left leg is ancient to about 0.08 m. below knee. The *pantello* which unites statue and drapery is broken at both ends, but seems to belong originally to the statue, as the modern composition of the two parts being effected by an iron cramp did not require that marble *pantello*.

E. ROME, PAL. VALENTINI, Mats-Duhn no. 756 (Bernoulli p. 207, 6).—Marble. Bigger than life.—Rich hair on the neck. Modern: head, lower parts of legs except feet, part of pedestal. Left arm unbroken, but hand with upper part of drapery seems modern; right arm broken in different places, but antique with the exception of three fingers. The drapery is drawn up with left hand.

F. ROME, MUSEO TORLONIA NO. 106 (104), formerly in the Torlonia Palace (Bernoulli p. 207, 4). Engr. Vinali *Marmi scolpiti Torlonia* ii. 55. Clarac iv. 616, 1366 C.—Greek marble. H. 2.05 m. (Clarac: 8½ pal. = 1.90 m., probably without plinth).—Clarac: head unbroken (to me it appeared doubtful, but it is nearly impossible to

²⁸ Comp. Gerhard *Beachr.* d. *St. Rom.* in Burdian's *Jahresbericht* 1876, iii. ii. 2, p. 232, No. 16. Braun *Estima* p. 105. Treu in *Asiag. von Olympia*, v. *Musica*, p. 447. Premer *Arch.* v. p. 15. *Zeit.* 1872 p. 116. Mats and Premer

ascertain such points in the Torlonia Museum, most of the marbles being wretchedly smeared over with colour); modern: lobe of right ear, nose, left foot, pedestal except portion below right foot, vase and drapery but for a portion nearest to left hand. Cracks in left arm and right foot. Commonplace copy.

G. ROME, MUSEO TORLONIA NO. 26 (24), formerly not in the Giustiniani collection, but in the Torlonia Palace (Bernoulli p. 216, 5). Engr. Vitelli *Marmi sculp.* III. 26. Clarac iv. 616, 1366 A.—Pentelic marble. H. 2.05 m. (Clarac: 11 pal. 8 on. = 2.60 m.)—Clarac: head broken, but its own; modern: hair on top of head, tip of nose, mouth, chin; fingers of right hand, left arm from deltoides, right leg from below knee, left leg from half thigh. No doubt, pedestal, vase, and drapery are also modern.

H. ROME, MUSEO TORLONIA NO. 146 (144), from the Torlonia excavations at Porto.—Pentelic marble. H. 2.05 m.—Modern (Schreiber *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 p. 75): half of right forearm, left arm including armet, legs from knees, and all the attributes which serve to convert the statue into an Aphrodite Euploea, dolphin to right, column with ship, dolphin, and oar to left. The head (nose new), though broken and patched at the neck, seemed to be the original head to Schreiber as well as to myself.

2. TORSOES AND OTHER FRAGMENTS, EITHER UNRESTORED OR MADE UP INTO STATUES.

J. ROME, VILLA LUDOVISI NO. 97 of Schreiber's Catalogue (Bernoulli p. 207, 5). Engr. Maffei *Raccolta* pl. 4 (*Arch. Zeit.* 1876 pl. 12, 4, see above p. 329, note 13). Braun *Vorschule* pl. 77.—Greek marble. H. 2.00 m.—Only the torso is antique, including shoulders, thighs, and left knee. Also the head, highly praised by some modern authors, is new. Execution all but excellent, forms rather clumsy, the whole body sadly polished.

K. ROME, VILLA PAMPHI, Matz-Duhn no. 775 (Bernoulli p. 216, 3). Engr. Filla *Pamph.* pl. 31. Clarac iv. 624, 1386.—Carrara marble. Life size.—Now clad with a shirt of stucco. Antique: torso, greater part of right upper arm, left upper arm with armet decorated with twigs, thighs excluding knees.

L. LOWTHER CASTLE NO. 1 of my Catalogue, *Anc. Marbl. Gr. Brit.* p. 488. Found about 1776 in Rome near S. Peter's, within the circuit of the Circus of Nero, sold by Gav. Hamilton to Geo. GREVILLE, afterwards Marquis of Buckingham, bought at the Stowe sale, in 1848, by Lord LOXSDALE.—Thasian marble. H. 1.96 m.—Modern: head and part of neck, right arm, greater part of left arm including armet, both legs from below knees; toes and portion of pedestal seem to be antique. Very broad in the region of the hips, flatter in the breast. Good Roman workmanship. Vase and drapery belong originally to another copy; see W.

M. VATICAN, formerly in the Colonna Palace, afterwards on the *loggia scoperta*, not in the magazines (comp. Bernoulli p. 207, 2, see above p. 331).—Marble. H. of Colonna statue α : 1.90 m. ($8\frac{1}{2}$ pal.).—Armlet on left arm (Visconti *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. p. 63 note 2). Much corroded and disfigured by modern restorations (Gerhard); modern: arms, legs, and head (Colonna Inventory).

N. MANTUA, Düttschke iv. no. 825 (Bernoulli p. 208, 13). Engr. *Labus Mus. di Mant.* ii. 37.—Parian marble. H. 1.14 m. (colossal).—Torso without head, arms, lower parts of legs; right knee preserved. On left thigh remains of *puntello*. "This torso, one of the best pieces of the whole collection, notwithstanding its horrible mutilation, betrays a grand beauty" (Conze *Arch. Anz.* 1867 p. 105 *).

O. ROME, PALAZZO DEL COMMERCIO (formerly VISCARDI), Matz-Duhn no. 759 (Bernoulli p. 207, 7). Engr. *Clarac* iv. 606 B, 1343 C. Comp. Engelmann, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 p. 158.—Italian marble. H. 1.90 m. ($8\frac{1}{2}$ pal.).—Armlet on left arm. Head antique, but not its own. Modern: right arm including shoulder, right breast, left forearm and drapery, front of right thigh, right leg including knee, left leg from below knee, dolphin.

P. ROME, VILLA LUDOVISI NO. 232 of Schreiber's Catalogue.—Italian marble. H. 0.80 m.—Torso, half of left upper arm with broad bordered armlet, half thighs. Poor execution. This fragment may originally have been part of the same statue as

P. VILLA LUDOVISI NO. 275, life size, comprising legs from half thighs downwards, vase and pedestal.

Q. ENGLAND, formerly in possession of the sculptor BISTROEN in STOCKHOLM, and sold by him to England, where it has been lost sight of (Bernoulli p. 217, 6; it has nothing to do with a statue found on the Appian road and preserved in the R. Museum at Stockholm, see Wieseler in *Philologus* xxvii. p. 194 note 2).—The statue which is known only by the casts in Dresden (Hettner *Abgüsse*¹ p. 118 no. 215) and at Berlin (Friederichs *Bausteins*¹ no. 591), is restored after the Capitoline type, but the right leg, on which the body rests, and the more upright position of the body led Bernoulli to ascribe it to our type. Head, arms, and legs seem to be due to a restorer.

R. ROME, VILLA MEDICI, Matz-Duhn no. 776.—Marble. Life size.—Modern: head and neck, right arm with great portion of shoulder, left arm almost entirely, legs from middle of thighs, vase, pedestal. The resting of the figure on right leg seems in favour of the attribution of the torso to the Cnidian type, although it should be ascertained whether the left shoulder is sufficiently raised.

S. PARIS, CABINET DES MÉDAILLES (LÉVY'S Collection)† A cast of the Mengs collection at Dresden (Hettner *Abgüsse*¹ p. 101 no. 116. Bernoulli p. 209, 17) is, according to Prof. Treu, probably identical with no. 56 of Chalybæus' Catalogue (*Das Mengs'sche Museum zu Dresden*, 1843): "*Ein jugendlich frischer angebl. Venuskörper zu Neapel*". Another copy of this cast, in the Fitzwilliam

Museum at Cambridge, bears the stamp of the *École des Beaux-Arts* at Paris, with the same indication that the original is at Naples. Wolters however assures me that at Naples there is neither such a torso nor a statue made up from it. Messieurs Pottier and Homolle, who saw the cast at Dresden, expressed to Prof. Treu their conviction that the original belongs to the Luynes collection given by the duke to the *Cabinet des Médailles*; he may have acquired it at Naples.—H. 0.94 m. (bigger than life).—Torso including shoulders and small portions of arms, and upper half of both thighs, which are a little damaged in front; remains of *puntello* on left thigh. The cast bears evident marks of the original having at one time been restored. Roman work, but of real beauty.

T. BRITISH MUSEUM, GRÆCO-ROM. SC. NO. 172 (Bernoulli p. 208, 14). Found at Nettuno, sold about 1766 by Jenkins to W. LOCKE, by Locke to the Duke of RICHMOND, broken at a fire which destroyed Richmond House in Privy Gardens in 1791, bought in 1820 by DEVIS the painter, and ceded by him in 1821 to the Museum (Noehden in Böttiger's *Amalthea* III. p. 1. J. T. Smith Nollekens II. p. 178). Engr. *Amalthea* III. pl. 2. Anc. Marbl. Brit. Mus. XI. 35. Ellis Townley Gall. I. p. 268. Vaux Handbook p. 172.—Parian marble. H. 0.73 m. (life size).—Torso, including small portions of arms, upper part of right thigh (left thigh modern). Surface calcined. Very good sculpture.

U. CAST of the MENGES COLLECTION at DRESDEN (Heitner *Abg.* p. 105 no. 146. Bernoulli p. 208, 12), comprising pretty exactly the same portions as the Richmond Venus T. Remains of *puntello* on right thigh.—H. 0.80 m.—According to Heitner, the original should exist at Naples, but the older catalogues of the Dresden collection, compared by Prof. Treu, afford no evidence of this cast coming from Naples, nor did Wolters find at Naples a marble like U.

V. ROME, VILLA MASSIMI (formerly GIUSTINIANI, near the Lateran), Matz-Duhn no. 774. Engr. Clarac IV. 634 B, 1386 A.—Italian marble. H. 2.68 m. ($9\frac{1}{2}$ pal.).—Modern: head and neck, arms from middle of upper arm, legs and dolphin; but also the torso, of disagreeable slender proportions, is not free from suspicion. The position of the left upper arm leaves some doubt whether this copy belongs to our type.

W. LOWTHER CASTLE NO. 1. With the torso L, of Thasian marble, has been united, probably for G. Hamilton, a fragment of Pentelic marble exhibiting the vase and the drapery, which is being lifted up, both much retouched. The combination of the two fragments is rather awkward, the drapery approaching too near the body, and being too much advanced.

X. ROME, VILLA WOLKONSKY, Matz-Duhn no. 757.—Greek marble. Life size.—Left hand laying aside drapery, with portion of it; thumb and index wanting.

II.—STATUETTES AND OTHER SMALL COPIES.

a. BRITISH MUSEUM. From Antarados, in Syria. Engr. Murray *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.* II. p. 396, comp. p. 271.—Small marble statuette, height less than 0.30 m., perfect with the exception of left forearm from elbow to wrist. Left hand rests on top of tree stem over which drapery falls to the ground; towards foot of stem an amphora is marked out in low relief. Execution very poor.

b. VATICAN, MUSEO CHIARAMONTI NO. 112 (Bernoulli p. 207, 3).—Marble. H. about 1 m.—Head broken but its own; modern; nose, right hand, left arm from shoulder to wrist; both calves from knee to ankle broken but apparently antique. Drapery, which is represented falling, and left hand, three fingers excepted, are antique.

c. ROME, VILLA BORGHESE. Engr. *Sculpt. d. V. Borgh.* II. st. VI. no. 10.—Marble. H. 0.52 m. (2½ pal.)—Nothing known about restorations; certainly head vase and drapery are modern, but the whole statuette appears suspicious. I find no further notice of it either in the catalogues of the Villa or in those of the Louvre.

d. DRESDEN NO. 234 (340), formerly in the Chigi collection (Bernoulli p. 216, 4). Engr. Le Plat *Recueil* pl. 118. Clarac iv. 624, 1387.—Greek marble. H. 0.90 m.—Antique; torso, left shoulder including armet, both thighs, left knee. Remains of *puntello* on left thigh.

e. BRITISH MUSEUM, "S. a. P. 104", from Kyrene (Bernoulli p. 209, 15).—Marble. H. 0.37 m.—Small torso, wanting head, left arm, right hand (marks of fingers remaining on left thigh), half left thigh and lower halves of legs. Armetlets on both arms.

f. WÜRZBURG NO. 42 of Ulrichs' Catalogue p. 7 (Bernoulli p. 209 no. 16). From Athens, FABER collection (Schöll *Mittheil. aus Griechent.* p. 91 no. 54).—Pentelic marble. H. 0.15 m.—Lower part of body and upper part of thighs, with a *puntello* indicating position of right hand; hole and scratched spot on left thigh. Refined style.

g. ROME, DONATUCCIO, Matz-Duhn no. 758.—Marble. H. 0.09 m.—Pedestal of statuette, with feet, small round vase, drapery, left hand. Elegant work.

h. STATUETTE FROM TAËSON (Bernoulli p. 208, 9). Engr. Barker *Lares and Penates* p. 193 no. 48, see below p. 345.—Terracotta.—*Stéphane* on head.

i. STATUETTE FROM MYRINA. Pottier and Reinach *Nécrop. de Myrina* p. 284 no. 8.—Terracotta. H. 0.23 m.—Head turned to left; long curls fall down on shoulders.

k. OXFORD, MR. ARTHUR EVANS. Murray *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.* II. p. 272 note. "Small intaglio of rude workmanship inscribed KOPINΘOY. Aphr. standing nude to front, looking to left and holding drapery above a vase on the left."

III.—VARIATIONS OF THE TYPE.

α. INTAGLIO: Lippert's *Daktyliothek* i. 1, 81. Engr. Müller-Wieseler *Dankn.* i. 36, 146 b.—The goddess rests on *left* leg, and looks towards her *right* side. Drapery apparently lifted up with left hand.

β. MUNICH NO. 104 (Bernoulli p. 216, 2). Bought from PACETTI in Rome, one of Prince Ludwig's first acquisitions (Ulrichs *Glypt.* p. 4). Engr. Clarac. iv. 618, 1375.—Parian marble.—H. 1.40 m.—Modern: head, fingers of both hands, tail of dolphin.—Vase and drapery are *wanting*; the left arm is bent, with *raised hand*; attribute (mirror?) lost.

γ. STATUETTE FROM MYRINA. Pottier and Reinach *Nécropole de Myrina* p. 284 no. 9.—Terracotta. H. 0.185 m.—Left hand holds *apple*; *forearm* covered by drapery falling down on vase. Head *wanting*.

δ. STATUETTE FROM MYRINA. Engr. Froehner *Terres cuites Grées* pl. 101, comp. p. 65.—Terracotta. H. 0.25 m.—Resting on *left* leg. Right hand, protecting nudity, *holds piece of the drapery* which, covering the left forearm, falls down on the vase. At the back of plinth potter's stamp ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ. (Three copies.)

The following terracotta statuettes α—i, from Asia Minor, show the vase placed near the *right* leg of the goddess; consequently she lifts up the drapery with *right* hand, and protects her nudity with the *left*. High-hair dressing.

ε. ATHENS, LAMBRON; from Smyrna? Engr. Froehner *Terres cuites d'Asie Mineure* pl. 22, 3; comp. p. 49.—H. 0.13 m.

ζ. PARIS, LOUVRE; from Myrina. Pottier and Reinach *Nécrop. de Myr.* Catal. no. 19.—H. 0.225 m.—Ornament on breast; ring on left hand. On back of plinth ΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ (ibid. p. 187 fig. 16).

η. FROM MYRINA. Pottier and Reinach p. 283 no. 6.—H. 0.18 m.—Ornament on breast; head turned to her left, looking up a little.

θ. FROM MYRINA. Pottier and Reinach p. 283 no. 7.—H. 0.27 m. Ornament on breast; head turned to *right*; gilt *stephanè*.

ι. PARIS, LOUVRE; from Myrina. Engr. Pottier and Reinach pl. 5, 4; comp. p. 281, Catal. no. 20.—H. 0.14 m.—Right arm not bent but *extended downwards*; long curls falling on shoulders.

κ. ROME, VILLA PAMFILI, Matz-Duhn no. 760.—Marble. Life size.—Grasping drapery with *right* hand, covering *bosom* with left (comp. Froehner *Terres cuites d'Asie Min.* pl. 21, 1).—Not free from suspicion but, on account of its place, not allowing of closer examination.

This list is long enough to prove abundantly that a type is in question which must have enjoyed an uncommon reputation, particularly in Rome and its environs, whence all the large

copies and some of the statuettes originate. Only very few other types of Aphrodite, of a decidedly more modern, that is to say Hellenistic character—as for instance the Capitoline-Medici type, the goddess arranging her sandal, the crouching Aphrodite—can boast of a greater number of copies. But it is not only Rome where that type was appreciated; its popularity over large parts of the Greek world is attested by the small marble copies from Athens, Kyrene, and Syria (*a. f.*), by the terra-cotta statuette from Tarsos (*h.*), and by an excellent marble head discovered at Olympia of which we shall speak afterwards. If then this often-repeated type agrees in all essential points with certain well-known imperial coins of Knidos²⁷, there is at



BERLIN.



AROSEN.

least a very strong presumption that all these copies go back to that masterpiece of Praxiteles by which he *nobilavit Cnidum*²⁸. This reason seems good not only against those who, in old and

²⁷ The main specimens are one of the Paris cabinet (Gardner "Types of Coins," pl. 15, 21), which, according to Wolf (in Baumhüter's *Denkmäler*, iii. p. 1402) and Dr. Imhoof-Blumer, is very much retouched, especially in the vase and drapery, but also in the hard outlines given to the figure itself; one of the Berlin collection (*Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 140. Wolf *l. cit.*), repeated above. A third coin, of the Berlin collection (Overbeck *Plastik*² ii. p. 30, fig. 98. c, also in the Waddington collection, see *Rev. Numism.* 1851, p. 238), shows the goddess grouped with Apollo leaning on

a large cithara; a fourth coin, at Arosen, exhibits a similar composition in which Asklepios occupies the place of Apollo (see cut). All these coins show in the obverse Carnalia (youthful) and Plautilla.

²⁸ I cannot make out who first recognised in these replicas the Cnidian statue. This opinion is spoken of as a common one in J. G. Keyser's *Neuente Reise*, Hannover 1740, i. p. 304, and in Falconet's *Ouvrages*, ii. p. 320; but it was Visconti's high authority which gave us it were the official stamp to it (*Mus. Pio Clem.* i. p. 63. 631).

new times, strangely inverting the natural development of Greek art, and neglecting the only direct ancient testimony²⁹, have made themselves the advocates of the Medici type as the truest imitation of Praxiteles' statue³⁰, but also against those who quite recently would prefer to recognise the traces of the Cnidian goddess rather in certain terra-cotta figures originating from Asia Minor³¹. In these (ε—ι) the goddess protects her nudity with her left hand, not with the right, as in the marble copies. Now, to be sure, Ovid says in well-known verses³²:

*ipsa Venus pubem, quotiens velamina ponit,
protegitur LAEVA semireducta manu,*

but nothing proves that he speaks of the Cnidian statue, instead of the image most popular at his time, viz. the Capitoline type, in which that function is really performed by the left hand, and which seems directly hinted at by the expressive word *semireducta*. In the terra-cottas, the place of the vase and the drapery near the right leg, on which the figure rests, instead of the left slightly bent, is a consequence of the aforesaid change of the hands, which seriously impairs the original conception, because that position, as we shall explain below, would better agree with the action of laying down than of lifting up the drapery. The direction of the head varies so much in the different terra-cotta replicas that nothing can be deduced from it. Finally that high hair-dressing towering on the head of all of them has nothing to do with the simplicity of Praxiteles' style, but is a distinctive

²⁹ Pseudo-Lucian *Amores* 13, τῶν δὲ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς ἀκλυότερον εἰδόμεναι λεκόντες ἀπεκράσαντες γυγόμενται, τὰν δὲ εἰς τὴν ἑνὴν χεῖρ τῆς αἰδοῦς λεκόντας ἐκτρέφουσιν. (Comp. Cedrenus, p. 322 Par. γυνή, μὲν τῆς αἰδοῦς τῇ χεὶρ περιετίλλουσιν). It is evident that the other hand had no share in covering any part of the nude body. Reinach's opinion (*Nécrop. de Myrina*, p. 282, note 3) that *ἐνὴν χεῖρ* signifies the left hand is contradicted by numerous passages in Pausanias and elsewhere.

³⁰ Comp. Overbeck's remarks *Plastik* ii.² p. 176, note 54.

³¹ Froehner *Terrac. ant. d'Asie Mineure*, p. 43, seems to undervalue

the importance of the agreement in the main points of so many copies, though he goes not so far as to ascribe the composition of a "digne du plus grand maître," to Praxiteles himself. Reinach, *Nécrop. de Myrina*, p. 284, lays great stress on the left hand protecting the nudity, and adds "Il faudrait en conclure que certaines figures sont plus voisines de l'original que les imitations de la numismatique et de la statuaire. C'est une question qui doit encore rester ouverte."

³² *Art. Am.* ii. 613, see Reinach, p. 282. Overbeck had no reason for quoting this passage as it does not mention expressly the Cnidian statue.

mark of post-Lysippian art; it appears to have originated in the necessity of giving the head a height proportional to the lengthened limbs of the Lysippian canon of proportions. Considering these peculiarities, I cannot find any sufficient reason for taking this figure, which has no representative whatever in coins, in marble statues or elsewhere in monumental art, for more than a variation of the original Cnidian type; the more so as, as far as I can see, in the terra-cotta figures from Myrina, very seldom, if at all, occur exact copies of known works of higher art, the merit of the potters consisting rather in having converted the inspiration received from that quarter into numerous variations, more or less free, of the original types.

The original type of our figure can be recovered with tolerable exactness by a comparison of the above-named statues and statuettes, which, with the exception of very few slight variations (*a—d*), are in full accord with one another as to certain points which may be looked on as the distinctive characteristics of this type. The figure rests on the *right* leg; consequently the right hip is considerably curved, forming that gently flowing line for which Praxitelean art has so marked a predilection. The left knee is slightly bent so as to make the thigh advance a little before the right thigh, against which it is tightly pressed, the left foot touching the ground only with the toes. The upper part of the body shows a slight forward inclination, considerably less than in the Capitoline-Medici type, but sufficient to make the whole position easy, and to withdraw a little the lower part of the body which is protected by the *right* hand. In this way the whole arrangement places all those parts which serve to assure at once repose and decency to the figure on its right side, which, looked at in front, by means of the curved lines of the hip and of the bent arm forms an animated undulating outline. On the other hand the left side, being on the whole nearly perpendicular, seems to require some supplementary object, and at the same time is at liberty for some freer kind of action. Both these requirements are served by the drapery held with the left hand. The drapery serves as a material support to the marble statue, and seems to replace in some way the stem of a tree or a similar support of the Olympian Hermes, the Sauroktonos, and other Praxitelean figures. In connexion with the action of the hand, the left shoulder is raised a little above

the level of the right one, and is slightly withdrawn; a peculiarity so characteristic that, the position of the left arm in *R V* being not exactly known, it remains uncertain whether these copies really belong to our type. An armlet slightly ornamented seems to go back to the original, as it appears in *ABCKM!OPde*; hence the restorers of *DHLM!b* will have borrowed this detail; the armlet is wanting in the inferior copies *EFQ V* (uncertain whether it belongs here); in *e* both arms bear armlets.

The forms of the body are throughout full, μήτ' ἄρα ἐλαπίεις αὐτοῖς ταῖς ὀστέοις προσεσταλμένοι, μήτε εἰς ὑπέρογκον ἐκκεχυμένοι πιότητα²³. The Munich copy *B*, and still more some of the torsoes, particularly those at Mantua (*N*), at Paris (*S*), and the 'Richmond Venus' of the British Museum (*T*), seem to have preserved something of the refined and grand style, full of breathing vitality, which must have distinguished the original. Other copies bear the common-place character of Roman copiers' work; among these, I am afraid, notwithstanding Feuerbach's enthusiastic encomium, would rank also the Belvedere copy *A*, styled clumsy, *goffa*, by Mengs and nearly overlooked by Gerhard and others, if it should rise one day from its tomb in the Vatican magazines. A certain clumsiness belongs also to *CJ*; in the Vatican copy *D* too, judging from the photograph which alone I can consult, certain parts appear rather bulky, and especially those fleshy cushions as it were at the right side of the back, which are caused by the contraction of this part of the body, seem too strongly marked. The want of harmony between the broad hips and the flat breast in *L*, or the slenderness of another copy (*V*), may also be ascribed to want of skill of the copyists. On the whole, it would appear that the larger copies, of heroic size, are fatter and clumsier than those which restrict themselves to the size of life or still smaller proportions. The original itself will scarcely have been bigger than the size of life.

There remain two points in which the different copies do not agree, and which require more subtle investigation, as they are of capital importance for rightly understanding and judging Praxiteles' conception, viz. the drapery with the vase, and the position of the head.

²³ Pseudo-Lucian *Amor.* 14.

As to the *DRAPERY*, in most of the copies it is either wanting or due to modern restoration²⁴. Those which have preserved it may be divided into two classes. In *ABEW* the drapery is *drawn up* with the left hand. Accordingly, in *ABW* (*E* is not precisely known in this respect) the garment forms one narrow long mass, slantingly rising from the vase towards the hand, the upper face of which is turned outwards²⁵. It is quite otherwise in the second class comprising *DFX* (not known in detail) *bhδ*. Here the drapery is *falling* straight down on the vase in broader masses, being laid down by the hand which in *DFb* turns upwards its upper face; the portion of the drapery grasped by the hand in *DF* forms an end hanging over. The forearm, in harmony with the chief action, seems to be a little more lowered than in the statues of the first class; nay, in the terra-cottas *h* and *i* the arm hangs down nearly perpendicularly.

Which of these two classes has better preserved the original conception of Praxiteles? Did the goddess draw up, or lay down the drapery? Was she preparing herself for the bath, or was she, to use the old inscription of *A*, a *Venus e balneo*? In order to answer this question, I still believe one observation to be decisive which I have set forth in my former article²⁶. If the goddess were taking hold of the garment in order to put it on, she would naturally turn her body towards the vase, and she would rest on the leg nearest to it. Indeed this is the direction in which the motive has been changed in the gem *a* and in the terra-cottas *e—θ*, in full accord with the natural movement after the bath, while in the terra-cotta figure *i*, where the garment is clearly being laid down, the same position of the feet produces an indistinct and ambiguous impression. On the other hand, in all the larger copies as well as in the smaller monuments *a—k*, the resting of the figure on the right leg stands in connexion with a slight turning of the body in that direction; the bent left leg advances a little between the

²⁴ *C*, *G—F*, *e—f*, *β*. The details cannot be made out in *αgikε*. In *γδ*, the drapery rests on the left forearm. *Puntelli* or remains of them on the left thigh appear in *βDELN* *8* *et*; similar remains on the right thigh in *U* require explanation.

²⁵ In *d* part of the drapery issues

between the fingers (comp. *DP*). Probably this was the case also in *B*, where this portion is to some extent restored.

²⁶ *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 147, approved by Overbeck *Plastik II.*² p. 171, note 55. Murray *Hist. of Sculpt.* ii. p. 272, note 1.

right one and the drapery; the latter being placed directly near, nay a little behind, the left thigh, and the left arm being accordingly bent backwards, the goddess seems as it were to separate herself from her drapery. Thus the general movement and the action of the left arm appear complete and carried out with full consequence, a clear proof that here the artist's original idea is preserved.

The same conviction results from an examination of the drapery itself. That long towel-like garment of *H* and its



Statuette A, from Tarentum.

companions, with which *F* joins in this respect, bears no comparison with those magnificent masses of falling drapery which captivate our eyes most forcibly in *D*, but an echo of which resounds still from *A*. It is precisely in this drapery that consists the main value of the Vatican copy; our phototype, taken from the cast, brings forth this excellence to much greater advantage than the common photographs taken from the original in its rather dark recess. The whole treatment of the drapery in its material character, and the folds equally rich and clearly

disposed, remind us forcibly of that marvellous masterpiece of sculptured drapery, the mantle of the Olympian Hermes of Praxiteles; nay, the similarity is such as to positively ascertain the Praxitelian origin of this part of the composition. To me it seems absolutely incomprehensible that a Roman copyist should have changed the dry garment of *B* into this splendid drapery; on the other hand, it is easily understood how the transformation of the general motive into the action of drawing up the drapery could convert the beautiful creation of Praxiteles into that unpleasing towel.

The case is the same with the VASE, the shape of which varies in the different copies. Twice (*KW*) it is qualified as ointment vase (*Salbgefäss*), which seems to point to a taller shape; in *K* it is a small amphora partly fluted, looking so poor that one would suppose it to be seriously retouched. The common shape is that of a big round vessel, of larger or smaller size, either an amphora, or a so-called *stamnos*, or hydria (*ABabghaes*); the big form belongs also to the vase on the Cnidian coins²⁷. But in no other copy the vase shews even approximately that noble and genuine Attic elegance of outline which marks the hydria of *D*, which moreover, in its fluted handles and the beautiful sculptured ornament at the back below the main handle, betrays the imitation of one of those fine vases of metal which we admire in the museums of Naples, of St. Petersburg, and elsewhere. The square plinth below the hydria returns in the terra-cotta figure *ε*. On the other hand, abstraction must be made of that high and clumsy support on which the modern restorer of *D* has placed the hydria. Unless I should prove entirely mistaken, it owes its origin merely to an unskilful recomposition of the figure and the vase with the drapery, which seems to go back to two mistakes. First, the restorer has made the legs a few centimeters too long. A glance at the two cuts suffices to shew that the legs of *B* are shorter, that is to say, that they agree better with the Praxitelian proportions, as they appear in the Hermes, the Sauroktonos, &c., which, in opposition to the Lysippian canon, combine a rather heavy body with proportionately short legs. A comparative measurement con-

²⁷ The vase in the Paris coin is evidently retouched (see Well in *Numismatischer Denkm.* III. p. 146); parts of the falling drapery seem to have been converted into handles.

firms the view that the legs of *D* are about four centimeters longer than they ought to be in proportion to those of *B*. Of much greater interest however has been the false ponderation of the figure introduced by the modern restorer who provided the statue with its right foot and left leg. Unfortunately, the artist from whose photographs the cuts have been made has not taken care to keep exactly the same point of view for the two statues; otherwise it would be better evident that the body of

VATICAN STATUE (*D*).MUNICH STATUE (*B*).

D inclines far too much towards its right side, and that the left shoulder stands considerably too high. A glance at PL. LXXX. will serve to corroborate this statement. The figure being rightly placed, and perhaps the forearm being somewhat more lowered (the left arm is modern), vase and drapery would not need to be placed so high, and there is scarcely a doubt that, both faults mended, a small augmentation of the plinth would suffice to allow the vase to be placed directly on the ground.

Probably the vase and the drapery originally occupied a place a little nearer to the figure.

If *D* really has preserved to us the truest imitation not only of the drapery but also of the hydria, it is clear that the latter cannot be an indifferent accessory, but that the general opinion has rightly referred it to an imminent BATH of the goddess. A different view has recently been maintained by Murray²⁸. Referring to the subordinate way of representing the vase in the statuette *a*, one of the very poorest copies, he maintains that the greater prominence given to the vase and the relation of it to a bath is an innovation introduced by later copiers, whereas in the original conception it would have merely been "an artistic accessory required to support the drapery"; for, says he, "it must be to the sea where she was born that the goddess is represented as returning . . . any other interpretation would not be conducive to a reverential regard for the goddess". But Murray himself is well aware that Aphrodite's "returning to the ocean is a motive but slightly founded in religious belief". Generally spread as was the conception of the goddess rising from the sea, the *Anadyomene*, celebrated by Pheidias and by Apelles, the idea of Aphrodite returning to the sea is, as far as I know, utterly unheard of in ancient poetry and art²⁹. On the other hand, the motive derived from the bath is in complete harmony with the general character of Praxitelean art, which likes to transplant the gods into the sphere of purely human situations and feelings, and to lend to their actions as well as to those of kindred human beings (*ψευδιονμένη, κατάγονσα*) a *genre* character. As the unwearied herald of the gods under the chisel of Praxiteles changes into a reposing youth dallying with the infant Dionysos; as his youthful Apollon leaning on the tree is satisfied watching for the playing lizard; as the Satyr in repose, generally referred to Praxiteles, aims at nothing else but fully to enjoy a *dolce far niente*; as on the whole Praxiteles has become the truest interpreter and the chief waymaker of a new epoch to a great extent precisely by making artistic reasons predominate over

²⁸ *Hist. of Greek Sculpt.* ii. p. 271.

²⁹ The only instance of such an idea I can remember is a phrase of Apuleius *Met.* 2, 28, in speaking of Venus quæ

marinus *Audax* *EFFRIT*, though this signifies merely more than to bathe in the sea, *Audax* *subire* being different from *in fectus redire*.

religious relations: thus the conception of our Aphrodite is taken from common female life, the rich variety of which offers scarcely any motive better answering the purpose of placing before our eyes the full charms of the goddess of beauty than that of the bath, as indicated by the vessel particularly serving such a use, the hydria, and by the action of laying down her drapery. Looked at as a mere support for the drapery, the vase would be superfluous, as the drapery could very well be represented as falling on the ground; presuming the goddess to return to the ocean, the addition of the vase would even be a serious fault, as nobody could assign to it a "function identical with that of the vase constantly associated with river gods in later art".

A few words may here find a place concerning an objection repeatedly brought against the identity of our type and that of the Cnidian statue, that the drapery not only is never mentioned in the ancient descriptions, but also prevents the figure from being looked at equally from any side, an advantage expressly acknowledged by ancient authorities⁴⁰. The fact of the garment not being mentioned, not to speak of the witness furnished by the coins, is of little importance considering the peculiar attraction which necessarily must have been exercised by the charms of the beautiful body. Nor should the words *undique, ex quacunque parte*, *πάντη* be laid too great stress upon, the right interpretation, as has well been observed⁴¹, being afforded by the description given by Pseudo-Lucian⁴². According to this, the statue was placed not in an *ædicula quæ tota aperitur* but in an *ἀμφίθυρος νεώς*, and whosoever, having paid his tribute of admiration to the front of the image, wanted *καὶ κατὰ νότον τὴν θεὸν ἰδεῖν ἀκριβῶς*, was obliged to leave the front part of the chapel, to go round to the back part of the holy circuit (*εἰς τὸ κατόπιον τοῦ σηκοῦ περιελθεῖν*), and to have the door of the back part of the sanctuary unlocked by an attendant. Hence it is evident that there cannot have been a free space around the statue,

⁴⁰ Pliny 36, 21, *ædicula tota aperitur, ut conspici possit undique ægrigie* . . . nec minor ex quacunque parte admiratio est. Anthol. Pal. app. Planud. 146, *πάντη δ' ἀποσπαρα τὰ περὶ*

ἐκείτης ἐπὶ χάσπῳ.

⁴¹ Overbeck *Plastik* ii². p. 170, note

54. Murray ii. p. 275.

⁴² *Amor*, 13.

but that some insurmountable barrier must have separated the two parts of the chapel, perhaps a wall, in the middle of which an opening was left for the reception of the image. Thus the vase with the drapery would have found its place exactly between the statue and the wall, so as not to encroach on the view of the statue. Nay so remarkable an arrangement of the temple may serve to show that the statue (as is the case with the *Hermes*, the *Sauromaktonos*, the *Satyr*) was not meant at all to be seen directly from the sides, but was only calculated for the two main aspects, from the front and from the back.

The second question arises about the HEAD. In my former article, relying on the notice that the head of the Vatican copy *D* was unbroken (a notice caused by confounding *A* and *D*), I felt authorized to imply that the MOVEMENT OF THE HEAD, being more advanced and a little inclined, was the original one. This opinion was shared by Bernoulli and others. But Treu was right in rejecting it⁴³. The whole neck of *D* being a modern insertion, and the head moreover being made of different marble, the argument falls to the ground. On the other hand, the Belvedere and the Munich statues (*A B*), and perhaps the Torlonia statue *P*, have preserved the neck unbroken, and all of them equally give it the same direction towards the left shoulder, combined with a slight inclination backwards. In *CL* the remaining portion of the neck points to the same movement; the restorers of *J K F d*, perhaps led by similar traces, have followed the same line; only *b*, the head of which was broken, and *H O* seem to have approached nearer to the movement of *D*. (The terra-cotta figures may better be left aside, as a great variety reigns in them as to this point). Reasoning from these facts, there can scarcely subsist any doubt that the authority of monumental tradition speaks in favour of the movement of the head as represented by the Munich statue and its companions, the more so as the direct profile of the head in the Cnidian coins, though evidently exaggerated on account of the rules of the severe styles of relief⁴⁴, is more easily explained by that position than by that of the Vatican copy *D*. Another argument may be deduced from the general observation that

⁴³ *Ausgrab. von Olympia*, V. p. 15.

⁴⁴ See Visconti *Mus. Pio Clem.* i. p. 64, note L.

Praxiteles had a marked predilection for shewing his heads in a three-quarters' profile. What troubles have arisen from the circumstance that the Olympian Hermes does not look directly at the little brother he bears on his arm but, in gentle reverie, looks into the void. Instead of all efforts more or less artificial towards interpreting this fact, it suffices to refer to the Apollon Sauroktones, who in exactly the same way does not direct his eyes towards the lizard he is threatening with his arrow, but looks past the animal more towards the spectator. Both these gods shew the head in a three-quarters' profile, evidently because the sculptor wished to exhibit the countenance under the most favourable aspect. The same favourite motive of Praxiteles appears in our Aphrodite, though modified in so far as no certain object, as in those statues, calls forth an inclination of her head, but the head left entirely to itself takes a soft and easy position which is in admirable harmony with the flowing lines of the whole figure. Hence this manner of carrying the head appeared to be so characteristic for Aphrodite, that it passed but little modified to more recent images of the goddess, like the famous Medici statue.

But it is not only the position but also the TYPE AND EXPRESSION OF THE HEAD which require some words. This to be sure is a very hard enquiry without a new examination of the principal specimens in the original, or at least in casts or photographs, the common engravings, particularly the older ones, being insufficient for such subtle analysing work. Thus I am unable to judge about most of the heads and busts enumerated by Bernoulli⁴⁵, and I must restrict myself to exemplify my opinion by a few copies of which I am sufficiently informed. These agree in the proportions and the general features of the countenance, in the simple arrangement of the wavy hair which, being simply parted and brushed back on both sides in accordance with the old Attic way, without any elevated hair-dressing towering above the forehead, gives full prominence to the beautiful outline of the skull. Twice encircled

⁴⁵ *Aphrodite*, p. 212.—I leave aside the coins of Knidos exhibiting a head of Aphrodite in profile which may be meant to contain a reminiscence of Praxiteles' masterpiece, but which give

its features so generalised as to afford no useful material for our enquiry, (comp. *Baumelster Denkm.* iii. p. 1402, fig. 1555. Gardner, "Types of Coins," pl. 15, 20).

by a simple fillet, the hair is gathered into a small knot behind, the absence of which in *B* is exclusively due to the restorer who supplied the occiput. These details, common to all copies, serve to distinguish our type from the later heads with their artificial hair-dressing. But apart from these accords, we may easily observe in the individual copies certain differences which, if I am not quite mistaken, are connected with the larger or smaller size of the copies (comp. p. 343). Of the heads of heroic size I possess sufficient information of that of the Vatican copy *D*, of an exact but rather superficial replica, a cast of which is in the Strassburg Museum⁴⁶, and of a Farnese head in the Museum of Naples⁴⁷. All of them shew rather robust forms, and a precise, nay sharp indication of certain details, especially of the line of the brows and of the eyelids; the hair, meant to produce a soft and wavy effect, is not free from hard and dry treatment, and its beginnings at the forehead are too sharply marked. All these heads, though of tolerably good execution, yet bear unmistakably the rather dry character of Roman copiers' work which destroys the subtleties of the original the more these are of a refined character. The same seems to be the case with the Florentine statue *C*; and also in the head of the Belvedere copy *A*, which is said to be decidedly superior to the rest of the statue, Mengs blames the insipid expression which proves the beautiful forms to lack internal life⁴⁸.

An entirely different style reigns in the head of the Munich statue *B* (which is only the size of life), although the workmanship is all but refined. Instead of the sharp outlines we here meet with soft transitions, instead of the rather stern expression with a charm which approaches to coquetry. This expression may easily lead, and, as a matter of fact, has led several judges

⁴⁶ *Michaelis Verzeichniss der Aegypten in Strassburg*, No. 732, where it is erroneously assigned to the Vatican copy itself. The cast belonged formerly to Steinhäusser the sculptor.

⁴⁷ *Finti R. Mus. Borbon.* p. 194, No. 77. New: nose, neck, and bust. Prof. Treu has placed to my disposition a large photograph made by R. Riva at Naples.

⁴⁸ See above p. 353. Of the Madrid

head highly praised by Mengs we have no exact information: we cannot even say whether No. 192 of Hübner's catalogue be meant. — To the same class with the above-named heads seem to belong the Capitoline head, Brunn *Verzeichniss*, pl. 62 (Bernoulli, p. 212, 2), and the Borghese one in the Louvre, Bouillon *Mus. de Sculpt.* i. 68, 1 (Bernoulli, p. 212, 3. Müller-Wisseler *Denkm.* i. 25, 146 d).





to give the preference to the head of *D*. But as soon as one compares the charming little head which, in January 1881, was found in Olympia in the ruins of the Leonidaion (the 'South-West edifice'), and has soon acquired a well deserved favour⁴⁰, one will easily become aware that the unfavourable impression of *B* is chargeable partly to the lack of skilfulness of the copier, and partly to the additions of the restorer. Speaking of the Olympian head, Curtius has contented himself with acknowledging generally the Praxitelian character of the work⁴¹, but Treu is completely right in recognizing in it not only a replica of the Cnidian goddess, but the very best of all⁴². If the engravings hitherto published⁴³, although most of them are good in their way, still could leave a doubt about the identity, because in all of them the head is wrongly placed⁴⁴, our autotype, which shows the head in exactly the same position as that of the Munich statue, will serve to remove any doubt, and at once it will prove the head to be a much finer and more authentic replica. What in the Munich head may be guessed in a faded reflection and as it were through a disfiguring veil, here appears incarnate before our eyes in a slight but spirited sketch. All the forms are well rounded, and exhibit that sober fulness which distinguishes the best copies of the body (p. 343). The plain round forehead towers in calm splendour over the softly vaulted brows, and with incomparable ease the hair is detached from the forehead—forming an eloquent commentary on the praise bestowed by Lucian⁴⁵ in his description of the Cnidian image upon τὰ ἀμφὶ τὴν κόμην καὶ μέτωπον ἀφρόων τε τὸ εὐγραμμον. The hair itself in an easy and sketchy way is rather indicated than executed, reminding us of the Hermes, inasmuch as there too the rough and curly hair is treated quite differently from the soft flesh. The fillet is not rendered directly, but only its place is slightly indicated by a furrow; the occiput, which was made of a separate piece of marble, is lost. Still

⁴⁰ Height 0.16, length of face 0.10 m., that is to say, about half the size of life.

⁴¹ *Funde von Olympia*, p. 15.

⁴² *Arch. Zeitung*, 1883, p. 74. *Athen. Mittheil.* 1881, p. 413. *Ausgrab. von Olympia*, v. p. 15.

⁴³ *Ausgrab. von Olympia*, v. pl. 25,

A. Funde von Olympia, pl. 18, *A. Boettcher Olympia*, pl. 6. *Baummeister Denkm.* ii. p. 1037, fig. 1294. J. Mitchell, *Selections* pl. 19, 1. *History of Sculpt.* p. 452.

⁴⁴ So are also the casts which are on sale at the Berlin Museum.

⁴⁵ *Imag.* 6.

more than the contrast between the hair and the flesh, the eyes afford a striking analogy with those of the Hermes and of the infant Dionysos sitting on his arm, especially the lids, the soft and subtle texture of which forbids any sharp outline; the gentle, nearly imperceptible transition of the lid to the eye itself is rendered with remarkable refinement. In this respect I know nothing which would better bear comparison with the Hermes. The narrow shape of the eye, the slight upcast of the upper, and the equal drawing up of the whole lower lid, the effect of which is an expression of tender sentiment and of longing languor, correspond again exactly to Lucian's words about τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν τὸ ὑγρὸν ἅμα τῷ φαίδρῳ καὶ κεχαρισμένῳ. Unfortunately the nose is sadly battered, and the Munich statue with its restored nose affords as little compensation as the noses either totally or partly modern of the larger copies. On the contrary the mouth gently opened, with its full lips⁵⁵, is really charming, without a trace of that luxurious excess which spoils the countenance of the Medici Venus; precisely in this respect our autotype is superior to the former publications, most of which giving the head an exaggerated inclination backwards seem to disfigure and to vulgarize the really noble expression of our marble. If the conformation of the mouth itself is in harmony with the μικρὸν ὑπομειδιᾶν of Pseudo-Lucian⁵⁶, the movement of the head produces the effect of the ὑπερήφανον, and only the σεσηρὸς γέλως of the description appears to contain a slight exaggeration or incongruity. A peculiar charm lives in the small round chin which as it were rises a little towards the mouth, and at the same time forms a gentle line of transition towards the inferior part of the chin⁵⁷. Not less beautiful is the junction of the head with the neck, a beauty which again we admire in the Hermes, and which we should probably admire also in the Sauroktonos if better copies were preserved to us. The neck itself in the Munich statue appears rather long, and the same will have been the case in the Olympian statuette, as it cor-

⁵⁵ This part too of the Munich statue has suffered from bad restoration. In the Pitti statue C the upper row of teeth becomes slightly visible.

⁵⁶ *Διων.*, 13, ὑπερήφανον καὶ

σεσηρὸν γέλωτι μικρὸν ὑπομειδιᾶσα.

⁵⁷ In the coins mentioned above, note 45, the chin is perhaps that part which best might bear comparison with the marble head.

responds with the other also in the fleshy fulness of the neck. It is certainly no mere chance that we meet with the same peculiarity in a still higher degree in the neck of the beautiful Demeter from Knidos in the British Museum, a statue the origin of which nobody would like to search for far beyond the limits of Praxitelean influence.

To sum up: we possess very few antique heads of a similar tenderness of feeling⁵⁵, and I see no decisive reason against the opinion of those who would assign our head to a time and a school not very distant from the original itself⁵⁶. Imagining the whole figure executed in a similar refined but less sketchy style, we may understand the ecstasy of whole antiquity caused by this *δαίδαλμα κάλλιστον*. And though we should scarcely like to take it for the best representative of *οὐρανία Ἀφροδίτη*⁵⁷, still we may look at this image as the most perfect specimen of an artistic tendency which aimed to transplant the gods into the reach of human feelings, which made the goddess of beauty and love a beautiful wife, feeling at once and inspiring love, but still maintaining intact that ideal spirit of inherited divine nature, which preserved her from merging, like her later companions, into the vulgarity of mere earthly instincts. In our goddess there is still something of that lofty character which reminds us of the poet's words:

*das ewig Weibliche
zieht uns hinauf.*

AD. MICHAELIS.

STRASSBURG.

⁵⁵ A comparison of our head with the fine bronze head of Aphrodite from Asia Minor, in the British Museum, will easily shew why I cannot approve Engelmann's opinion (*Arch. Zeit.* 1878, p. 156) shared by Murray (*Hist. of Sculpt.* II. p. 274), that this head might go back to a similar bronze statue by Praxiteles. The general character of the countenance with its slight pathetic tendency as well as certain details seem to point rather to the Hellenistic period, and to assign to the head a place nearer to the Belve-

dere Apollon or to the Aphrodite of Meios.

⁵⁶ Tru (note 51). Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lex. d. Mythol.* i. p. 416. Wolters *Gipsabg. ant. Bildw.* No. 521. — Flach in Baumelster's *Denkm.* II. p. 1104 OO would like to assign the head to a later time of Greco-Roman copying work.

⁵⁷ Lucian, *De Imag.* 23, where the Cnidian statue is said not to be identical with the goddess herself who lives in heaven, but still is referred to as her best representative.

INSCRIPTIONS FROM SALONICA.

THE appended inscriptions are the outcome of a short visit to Salonica in April of this year: the object that I had in view in going there was rather to hear and see on the spot the situation of ancient remains, the possibility and prospects of research, the attitude of the authorities and the general 'lie' and state of the country, than to investigate the actual antiquities of Salonica itself: however I copied or impressed as many Greek inscriptions as came to my notice in my short stay, the great majority being sepulchral of a commonplace order found in the foundations of houses in the Jewish quarter, and too frequently relegated to the stonemasons' yards to be cut up for modern gravestones. I have ranged first the three non-sepulchral inscriptions, the first being a mere fragment containing apparently part of an Imperial letter to the Thessalonians; the second a dedication by the city to the Emperor Claudius, and containing the titles and names of the chief magistrates; and the third, again a fragment, being a public document of the time of Antoninus Pius relative to certain *εὐεργετία*, apparently left by will to the city or some religious foundation therein. If any of these have been previously published, I must apologise for my ignorance: but I cannot discover among the various records accessible here in Athens any trace of them; and indeed Salonica has been spared the archaeologist to a surprising degree. Where the stelae were sculptured I have briefly indicated the nature of the reliefs: there are a few others without inscriptions, but, as none of the sculptures are early or of merit, I have not thought it necessary to detail them.

In Salonica itself Hellenic remains are few; probably two or three towns lie one on the top of the other, and to get to the Macedonian city would need extensive excavation; for the Roman stelae here published lay at a depth of from ten to twelve feet; the majority, it appears, were found together within a very small space, an indication of how much might be uncovered were excavation undertaken; but in the crowded congested city, as full of life now as it ever was, this would be well nigh impossible even at great expense. The most hopeful locality near the town is from all accounts the slopes to the east beyond the graveyards, and near the bay, as there is reason to think that the Macedonian city lay nearer to the south-eastern point than does the existing Salonica. The authorities throw no difficulties in the way of research, beyond keeping a sharp eye on the researcher, but unfortunately they have become sufficiently alive to the possible value of archaeological finds to no longer allow the wholesale deportation that has been practised, more especially by the French, for the last century, and everything that is valuable and attractive is reserved for burial in the Sultan's treasury at Constantinople—a fate which has lately befallen the (reported) interesting contents of a sarcophagus.

(1) On a marble fragment lying in the garden of the British Consulate, broken on all sides, and much defaced in various places: 70 cent. \times 20 cent. at the longest and broadest, and 40 mill. thick. The letters are small (15 mill. in the upper lines, declining to 10 mill. in the lower) and exceedingly well cut. Copy and impression.

ΕΙΟΥ

ΑΡΟΝΕΤΕΚΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΠ

ΑΝΟΥΤΩΣΕΧΗΤΑΠΑ

ΝΙΟΥΣ/ΣΕΞΕΤΕΠΑΙ

5 ΕΠΡΕΣΒΟΥ . . . ΜΙΤΙ

ΣΚΑΜΕΡΙ ΣΚΟΣ

ΕΝΝΙΟΣ ΟΣΦ

ΜΑΧΟΣΓ ΟΣΠΙ

ΔΙΟΝΔΩ . . . ΕΙΜΗ

10 ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ

ΝΟΘΕΟ . ΠΑΤΗΡΜΟ

- ΙΑ(Τ)ΟΥΟΥ.ΕΝΟΨΕΜΟ
 ΙΕΥΛΟΓΟ΄ ΨΥΔΑΝΑΓΚΑΙ
 ΕΑΝΩΘΕ . ΑΧΙΠΙ . ΙΨΕΠ
 15 ΨΝΙΚΗΜ(Ε) . ΗΨΥΝΗΕΤ(ΟΗΙ ?)
 . . Ε . ΕΨ . . . ΨΥΛΛΗΒΔΗΝ
 ΙΟΙΟΝΨΥΨΑΤΟΠΡΟΨΥΝ
 ΨΖΟΨΑ . ΤΩΝΛΟΙΠΩ
 (Ν)ΟΥΚΑΕ . ΙΡΕΤΑΙ . ΨΟΛ
 20 ΨΗΜΙ . . ΤΟΜΕΝΚΑΙΓ
 ΨΙΑΥΤ . ΝΔΙΑΛΕΙΠΟΥΨΑΨ
 ΓΩΜΕ . ΨΙΤΟΨΨΙΤΟΨ
 ΚΑΙΤΡΙΤΟΝΕΤΟΨΑΡΨΑΜΨ
 ΝΟΙΨΕΨΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΨΑΝ
 25 ΨΨΥΠΟΤΟΥΨΕΟΥΨΑΤΨ
 ΤΡΟΨΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝΟΙΑΜΨ
 ΨΔΙΟΤΨΨΜΙΝΔΕΔΟΚΤΑΙ
 ΨΙΠΟΛΨΗΛΕΨΩΤΗΨ
 ΤΟΨΨΦΟΔΡΑΤΩΝΨΜΕ
 30 ΙΤΑΥΤΗΝΜΕΛΛΗ
 ΜΑΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΚΤ/
 ΨΕΙΚΕΨΨΙΝΤΑΛΨ
 ΜΟΝΗΨΥΠΟ/
 ΟΜΜΟΝΗ
 35 ΨΤΑΨ

- (Ε)τέρων τι . .
 . . αν οὕτως ἔχη τὰ πᾶντα
 . . . ν οὐσας ἔξετε πᾶντα
 5 . . ἐπρεσβ(ε)ύσ[αντ]ο Μίτι[ος]
 . ο[ς] Καμέριος [Πρί]σκος
 ΨΕρ[ένιος] ος Φ
 . . . μαχος Π . . ος Πο
 ἐφ[όδιον] δωσ[ετε] . εἰ μὴ
 10 . . ὁ Μακεδόνων
 . . . ὁ θεδ[ς] πατήρ μο[υ]
 ἰάθαν]άτα(ν) οὐδένο[ς] ἐμό[ς]

- . . . εὐλογο[ς] οὐδ' ἀναγκαῖ[ος]
 . . . ἀνωθε[ν] ἀχ[ήρη]ς επ . .
 15 Θεσσαλ]ονίκη μ(ό)νη σωνη(ρ)ετο [ύσα ?
 συλλήβδην
 . . . ? (ἐμνημ)ονεύσατο πρὸς ὑμ[ᾶς]
 . . . ζούσα[ν] τῶν λοιπῶν
 καθαίρεται . . .
 20 . . ἐ]σημ[η]το μὲν καὶ .
 . . ἐ]μιαυτὸν διαλειπαύσας
 τῷ ἔθει τοσσ[ούτῳ]
 . . . καὶ τρίτον ἔτος ἀρξάμε[νος]
 οἱ Θεσσαλονικεῖς . . .
 25 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πατ[ρ]ός
 . . πρὸς τὴν πόλιν
 διότι ὑμῖν δέδοκται
 οἱ πολὺ πλείω τῆς
 σφύδρα τῶν ὑμε[τέρων]
 30 ταύτην μελλή[σετε]
 διατέτακ[ται]
 Θεσσαλο]νικεῦσιν τάδε
 μόνην ὑπο . . .
 μόνην . . .
 35 α]ὐτάς . . .

The fragment tapers to a point at the bottom, and there is a deep hole in the marble where I have marked dots in lines 5-9.

The phrase *ὁ θεὸς πατήρ μου*, which occurs twice (lines 11, 25), proves it to be the remnant of an Imperial edict or letter to the people of Thessalonica (24, 32), but the identity of the writer and the drift of his writing are alike obscure. The right side is possibly the real limit of the tablet, the left side being defective as well as the top and bottom: it is much to be regretted that an interesting inscription should be in such a condition: from line 15 we may conjecture that some signal service rendered to the Emperor's father is the subject of a letter of thanks, possibly granting certain privileges.

(2) On a tablet found on the property of M. Bitzo, dragoman to H.B.M. Consulate-General. It is 3 in. in thickness and has evidently been let into a wall. The letters are 30 mill. high and somewhat rudely cut. Copy only.

ΕΤΟΥΣ ΞΟΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΒΘΡ
 ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΤΙΒΕΡΙΩΚΛΑΥΔΙΣ
 ΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΣΤΩΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΩ
 ΑΡΧΙΕΡΙΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ
 ΤΟΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝΥΠΑΤΩΑΠΟΔΕΔΙΓΜΕΝΟ
 ΤΟΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΤΟΟΓΔΟΟΝ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΗΠΟΛΙΣΠΟΛΙ . ΑΙ
 ΧΟΥΝΤΩΝ

ΝΕΙΚΗΡΑΤΟΥΤΟΥΘΕΟΔΑ
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΘ
 ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΟΥΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥ
 ΠΕΛΗΓΕΙΝΟΥ

Ἔτους Ξό σεβαστοῦ τοῦ καὶ βθρ
 Αὐτοκράτορι Τιβερίω Κλαυδί[ω]
 Καίσαρι, Σεβασ<σ>τῷ, Γερμανικῷ.
 Ἀρχιερί, δημαρχικῆς ἑξουσίας,
 5 Τὸ τέταρτον ὑπάτῳ ἀποδεδιγμένῳ
 Το τέταρτον Αὐτοκράτορι, τὸ ὀγδοον
 Πατρὶ πατρίδος, ἡ πόλις πολί[τ]α[ρ]
 χούντων,

Νεικηράτου τοῦ Θεοδᾶ
 10 Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Δημητρίου·
 Ἐπιμελητοῦ, Μενάνδρου τοῦ
 Πεληγεῖνου

This is evidently the dedicatory tablet affixed to a statue or other votive offering from the city of Thessalonica to the Emperor Claudius, recording besides his name and titles those of the two chief magistrates of the year, and that of the Curator under whose direction the offering has been erected: he may be identical with the Ταμίης τῆς πόλεως of *C.I.G.* 1967. The mention of *two* Poleitarchs only is noticeable: in the inscription just referred to there would seem to be six, if not seven (*vid.* Böckh's note in the Appendix to the vol.), the first being honoured with a fuller designation than the rest. If it were not for this, *two* would be a very natural number, and perhaps at the date of this dedication, at least forty years earlier than that of *C.I.G.* 1967, which, according to Böckh, is posterior to

the accession of Vespasian, the primitive duumvirate still survived. It must also be admitted that there is enough doubt about readings &c. in the Corpus inscription to prompt a suspicion that the first two names therein connected by *καί* are the Poleitarchs; and the rest are something else.

The name Θεοδᾶς is identical with Θευδᾶς or Θεοδῶρος (Papo). The double date and the exact specification of the earlier era by the word *σεβαστοῦ*, is very interesting as removing the last shadow of uncertainty as to the other doubly-dated Thessalonian inscription (*C.I.G.* 1970), and proving the correctness of Böckh's judgment as to the eras intended there. This date will be 799 A.U.C. or A.D. 46. The strange form assumed by sigma is identical with that quoted by Reinach (*Epig. Gr.* p. 223) as the sign of 6,000. It would seem therefore that it is a form long anterior to the 11th century, and that the oblique stroke of the reversed R, does not, as M. Reinach asserts, designate the thousand.

(3) In the courtyard of the Konak on a limestone slab 75 cent. high, and 45 broad; inscribed in fairly neat letters, 25 mill. high. The stone is a good deal weather-worn, and broken on the left side. Copy and impression.¹

ΔΣΤΙΓ . ΥΑΙΑΙ . ᾿ΑΔΡΙ
 ᾿ΣΕΒΟΥΣΣΩΤΗΡ . ΣΚΑΙ
 ΛΙΟΥΟΥΗΡ . ΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ
 ΙΕΡΑΥΣΥΓΚΑΗΤΟΥΚΑΙ
 5 ΛΕΣΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΑΚΥΝΗΓΙ/
 ΕΚΔΙΑΒΗΚΩΝΕΡΕΝΝΙ
 ΟΜΕΝΑ . ΥΠΟΤΗΚΡΑΤΙ(Σ)
 ΛΑΤΑ . ΔΙΑΤΩΝΠΕΡΙ
 ΛΙΕΡΣΑ . ΠΟΛΕΙΑΡΛ

¹ While I was taking the latter I was interrupted by a message from the Minister of Public Instruction, who desired an interview (a pretext for a nearer view of a possible Austrian spy!), and the paper was left on the stone to the tender mercies of the wind and the crowd. Consequently it was lifted up

all round the edges, and its value considerably diminished. From the appearance of this stone it must have been uncovered for a long period, though whence it came I was unable to learn. Perhaps it has been copied previously.

10 ΣΥΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥ · ΡΩΓΦΟΥ
 ΑΡΞΕΤΑΙΔΕ · ΤΑΚ · ΝΗ
 ΔΩΝ · ΑΓ · ΣΙΛΙ(Ω)Ν · ΕΛΛΗ
 ΣΥΣΣΥΤΥ(ΧΕΙΤΡ) ?
 ΧΟΗ ?

The inscription as it stands does not continue quite up to the right edge of the stone, a considerable blank space being left after several lines, *e.g.* line 8, but the letters have either been less deeply cut or have weathered more at the ends of the lines: I have indicated by points wherever there seem to have been letters in these spaces. It would seem that only the right half of the inscription is here, whether the initial portion were engraved on a lost piece of the same stone, or on another placed alongside. The cleanness of the fracture makes one suspect the latter.

In the last three lines the impression ceases to be of much service, and I have given what I copied from the stone itself entirely; but the indications were very faint.

In the first three lines we have evidently the names and titles of an Emperor and a Caesar, by whom the inscription is dated. The Emperor's name reads Τίτ[ο]ς Αἰλ[ο]ν' Ἀδρι[αν]οῦ and must therefore be Antoninus Pius, for his adoptive father's prænomen was Publius, and his successor did not bear the name of Hadrian. The Ἀντωνίνου without which his name never appears must follow on the lost fragment of stone. The second name must therefore be that of Marcus Aurelius who received the title of Caesar in 138 A.D. and will read Μ. Αἰλίου Αὐρη[το]ρίου Οὐρή[ο]ν Καίσαρος, which name he bore till his succession in 161. Between these dates the inscription falls. The two names appear in the same inscription in *C.I.G.* 4061.

The rest is too fragmentary to do more than conjecture that it refers to certain hunting-grounds left by the will of one Herennius either to the city of Thessalonica or to some religious foundation therein, and the object of the inscription would seem to be to record the terms of their future regulation.

It is useless to attempt much restoration beyond the Imperial names and titles.

Ἐπὶ αὐτοκράτορ]ος Τ[ί]τον Αἰλ[ί]ου] Ἀδρι-
 ανοῦ Ἀντωνίνου Εὐ]σεβοῦς Σωτῆρ[ο]ς καὶ
 Μάρκου Αἰλίου Αὐρη]λίου Οὐέρ[ο]υ Καίσαρος
 κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν τῆς ἱερᾶς συγκλήτου καὶ
 5 . τοῦ δήμου τὰ ἀποτε]λεσθῆσόμενα κυνήγι[α
] ἐκ διαθίκων Ἐρευν[ου
] ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίσ-
 της] . . . διὰ τῶν περι
 ἀρχ]ιερέα Πολεитарχ[ού]ντ-
 10 ων] . . Κρατέρου Ρούφου
 Ἄρξεται δὲ τὰ κυνή-
 γιά] . Ἀγ[α]σιλίων ἐ Ἑλλη . .
 μικός ἐ] . (ε)ὕτυχεῖτ(ε) .
]

The inscription is too fragmentary for any certainty, but, as line 11 seems to be entire, there is hardly room for the names of more than *two* Poleitarchs: of the previous inscription.

(4) On a sarcophagus of grey limestone, now in the courtyard of the Hotel Colombo; sarcophagus 95 cent. × 1 m. 20 cent. and cap 48 cent. × 1 m. 30 cent. In fine letters, 75 mill. in height. Copy only.

Μ ΑΙΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ
 ΑΙΛΙΑ ΦΑΥΣΤΑ ~ ΤΗΓΚΑΙΚΙ
 ΚΑΙ ΕΑΥΤΩ Θ ΖΩΝ
 ΕΤΟΥΣ ΔΙΤ

Μ. Αἴλιος Παράμονος
 Αἰλία Φαύστα τῇ γυναικί
 καὶ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν
 ἔτους διτ'.

In line 2 τῇ γυναικί is added in cramped letters. The date (314) is probably reckoned from the second of the two eras used in *C.I.G.* 1970, i.e. from the principate of Augustus, which was evidently then coming into use, and, supplanting the older era, would be used in this later inscription alone. The date will accordingly be A.D.C. 1037.

(5) In the courtyard of the Konak on a stele bearing the figure of a child holding a wand in the right hand, much mutilated. Copy and squeeze.

Above the figure.

Α. ΚΑΝΟΥΛΕΙΟΣ ϝ

Α. Κανουλείος

ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΖΩΩΝ

Ζώσιμος αὐτῷ ζῶν.

Immediately below in smaller letters.

ΩΜΑΛΑΚΕ

ὦ μαλακός!

Below the figure.

ΚΑΙΚΑΝΟΥΛΕ

Καὶ Κανουλε-

5 ΙΑΠΟΤΑΜΙΛΑ

5 ἰα Ποταμίλα

ΗΑΓΕΛΕΥΘΕ

τῇ ἀπελευθέ

ΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡ

ρα καὶ Εὐέρ-

ΓΕΤΙΧΜΗ

γετ' ἴση (?) μνη-

ΜΕΧΑΡΙΝϝ

μῆς χάριν.

10 ΕΤΟΥΣ ϝ Γ 95

10 ἔτους γφε'.

The words ὦ μαλακός must be the later addition of a malignant or mischievous hand:

Line 5.—The name Ποτάμιλλα occurs in *C.I.G.* 569.

Line 8.—This personal use of ἴσος may be partly paralleled from *Arist. Pol.* 4, 11, 8: it must distinguish the freeborn Evergetis from the freedwoman Potamila. Evergetis does not appear to be known elsewhere as a proper name, but the masculine form is used *C.I.G.* 110.

Line 10.—The date (293), if reckoned as in the preceding case, will give A.U.C. 1016: if counted from the creation of the Macedonian province, A.U.C. 900. Even the doubtful criterion of *C.I.G.* 1970 fails here, as the second reckoning would place this inscription nine years earlier: but in default of any certainty the first-named era may perhaps be preferred.

(6) *Ibid.*: a stele bearing a female bust in low relief: above the bust in good letters. Copy only.

ΦΛΑΒΙΑΚΑΣ · ΞΑΝΔΡΑ

Φλαβία Κασσάνδρα

ΛΥΚΑΤΗΟΥΓΑΤΡΙ ϝ

Λύκα τῇ θυγατρὶ

ΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ

μνείας χάριν.

in smaller and ruder letters on the neck of the bust

ΛΥΚΑ

Λύκα

ΧΑΙΡΕ

χαῖρε.

The latter words have evidently been added by some friend of the deceased: perhaps by a lover.

(7) *Ibid.*: on an altar-shaped stele bearing the figure of a horseman in the act of hurling a dart. The figure is much mutilated and the inscription more so, almost the whole surface of the stone having broken away. On the right side of the block are two hands with the backs outwards. Copy only.

The following letters are all that remain, and many are doubtful:—

ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΗΣ . . . ΑΚΑΙΟΥΙΟ ΑΥΤΙ
 . . . Ν^ο

On a lower moulding.

. Φ ΑΙΩ
 ΚΝ . . . ΜΝΙΑΕΧΑΡΙΝ

The first line would seem to be

καὶ ἐαυτῆς [ζῶσ]α καὶ ὁ υἱὸς αὐτ[ῆς].

In the latter part line 2,

[τοῖς ἰδίοις τέ]κν[οις] μνίας χάριν.

may perhaps be restored. The incorrect form *μνία* is elsewhere found, but the letters are too faint to be sure of it here. Cf. *C.I.G.* 1972, also from Thessalonica.

(8) *Ibid.*: on a marble stele bearing a boy riding towards an altar, behind which stands a tree with serpent issuing from it as in supra No. 7. In fine clear-cut letters. Copy only.

ΗΡΩΙ
 ΠΑΤΡΟΒΙΩΤΩ
 ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΩΤΕ
 ΚΝΩΕΤΩΝΕΙΚΟ
 ΣΙΠΕΝΤΕΦΟΡΤΟΥ
 ΝΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΠΕΡΩ
 ΝΙΑΜΝΗΜΗΣ
 ΧΑΡΙΝ
 ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣ
 ΙΔΙΟΙΣ ΖΩΣΙ

Ἡρωί
 Πατροβίῳ τῷ
 γλυκυτάτῳ τί-
 κνω ἐτῶν εἴκο-
 σι πέντε Φορτου-
 νάτον καὶ Πετρω-
 νία μνήμης
 χάριν
 καὶ ἑαυτοῖς καὶ τοῖς
 ἰδίοις ζῶσι.

(9) *Ibid.*: on an altar-shaped stele bearing the figure of a youth, nude, except for a cloak falling from the right shoulder over the left thigh: a spear in the right hand. On his right a bird; on his left a palm-branch and a wreath. In large letters above the figure. Copy only.

ΑΙΛΙΩ ΝΕΠΩΤΙ

Αἰλίῳ Νέπωτι.

Below the figure, the first line in large well-cut, the second in smaller and crowded letters—

Α. ΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟΣ. ΚΑΙ ΧΑΡΙΤΗΝ Ἀβάσκαντος καὶ Χάριτ(ι)ν
ΤΩ ΤΕΚΝΩ ΜΝΕΙΑΣ ΧΑΡΙΝ τῷ τέκνῳ μνείας χάριν.

The name *Χάριτιν*, a form of *Χαρίτιον*, is found in *U.G.* 3394, and may safely be read here, more especially as the last two letters of the name would seem to have been omitted at first and supplied afterwards, possibly phonetically.

On the left side of the stele, in clear but rather 'flat' and shallow letters, the lines sloping downwards: the whole a later addition? (copy and squeeze)—

ΤΙΣ ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΟΙ Η ΔΕ ΝΕΠΩΣ ΔΙΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΣΟΙ: ΕΣΤΙΝ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΟΥ ΔΩΔΕΚΕΤΗΣ ΓΕΝΟΜ(Η)Ν
ΤΙΣ ΤΕ ΦΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΥΜΒΟΙΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΝ ΟΥΚ ΑΔ[Α]ΗΣ ΓΑΡ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΩΝ ΓΕΝΟΜΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΠΑΛΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ
5 ΣΤΕΦΘΕΙΣ ΔΕΝ ΠΑΤΡΗ ΤΟ ΣΟΥ ΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΤΟ ΚΕΥΣΙ
ΠΡΙΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΟΥΣ ΝΥΝ ΑΝΤΕΔΑΒΟΝ ΤΕΘΝΕΩΣ

These verses take the form of a dialogue between a passer-by and the deceased, and may be transliterated and translated as follows:—

Τίς πατρίς ἐστί σοι ἡ δὲ Νέπως διον ἐστί σοι: Ἐστίν
Πατὴρ Ἀβασκάντου δωδεκέτης γενόμε(η)ν.
Τί στέφος ἐν τύμβοις νικηφόρον; Οὐκ ἀδ[α]ῆς γάρ
Πανκρατίων γενόμεν οὐδὲ πάλης ἱερᾶς
Στεφθεὶς δ' ἐν πάτρῃ τόσσους ἀνέθηκα τοκεῦσι
Πρὶν στεφάνους οὓς νῦν ἀντέδαβον τεθνεώς.

'What is thy country, and is Nepos thy name? It is: I was Abaskantus' son, and twelve years old. What is this wreath of victory on thy tomb? It is there because I was not unskilled in the pancratium or the sacred wrestling-matches; and when I was crowned I dedicated to my parents in my fatherland as many wreaths aforetime as on my death I have obtained in exchange.'

The latter half evidently refers to the garland or garlands carved on the left hand of the figure (*vid. supra*), and exciting remark in the case of so young a boy. The *πάλη ἱερὰ* must be some definite competition in honour of some divinity; possibly the expression *ἐν πάτρῃ κ.τ.λ.* may imply that it took place at a distance, and the prizes gained by this young Thessalonian at so important a competition brought honour to his parents while he lived, and to himself when dead. In spite of the incongruity of such a contest, the inscription seems to be Christian (cf. the palm-branch), and to draw a parallel between earthly and heavenly crowns. A squeeze of these curious verses is at the disposal of anyone.

(10) *Ibid.*: on a stele broken at the bottom, bearing the figures of an adult male, two adult females, a young girl and a little child, all much defaced. The inscription very clear in letters 40 m. high. Copy and squeeze.

ΤΙΤΟΥΣΣΕΚΟΥΝ	Τίτους Σεκούν-
ΔΟΥΚΑΙΚΛΕΥΠΩ	δου καὶ Κλεόπω
ΗCΥΜΒΙΟΣΜΑΚΕ	ἡ σύμβιος Μακέ-
ΤΗΚΑΙΜΑΡΚΩΤε	τη καὶ Μάρκω τέ-
ΚΝΟΙCΤΕΘΝΩCΙ	κνοὶς τεθνήσκει
ΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑΡΙΝ	μνήμης χάριν.

The readings both on the stone and on the squeeze are quite unmistakable throughout the inscription: *Τίτους* must be an error of ignorance or carelessness. *Κλεόπω* is akin to the *Κλεῦπις* of *C.I.G.* 5234; *Μακέτα* seems to be a distinctively Macedonian name, cf. Pape s.v. *Μακέτα*, 'Ein Theil von Macedonien nach welchem Macedonien selbst *Μακέτια* hiess.' Hence it becomes a female name.

(11) *Ibid.*: on a stele bearing a group of figures: on the left a boy riding, a dog and a boar; the boy rides towards an altar behind which stands a tree with a serpent issuing from the branches; and on the extreme right stands a Hermes with a caduceus. In ornate letters of a late period. Copy only.

ΝΕΟCΝΟΥΜΙCΙΟCΦΗΛΙΞΟ
ΚΑΙΒΑΛΑCΚΑΙΧΡΗCΤΗΗΑΔΕΛ
ΦΗΙΕΡΑΚΙΚΑΙΕΡΜΗΤΟΙCΙΔΙ
ΟΙCΑΔΕΛΦΟΙCΜΝΗΜΗCΧΑ

5 ΠΙΝ

Νέος Νουμίσιος Φήλιξ ὁ
καὶ Βάλας καὶ Χρηστὴ ἡ ἀδελ-
φὴ Ἰέρακι καὶ Ἑρμῇ τοῖς ἰδί-
οις ἀδελφοῖς μνήμης χά-
ρις.

Line 1.—The letter ε is evidently not Σ but Ξ , the sigmas being all square both in this and in the parallel inscription, *infra* No. 12, where ε again occurs in the same name. Taylor gives a similar form as in use in Boeotia, and the Σ of the Roman period (Rein. *Épigr. Grecque*, p. 204) might easily pass into this.

(12) In a stone-mason's yard between the British Consulate and the quay; on a marble stele broken at the top, 1 m. 24 cent. \times 46 c. (at the base) and 39 c. (at the top): below, a much mutilated sitting female figure. In well-cut letters 20 mill. high. Copy only.

ΝΕΟCΝΟΥΜ	Νέος Νουμ-
ΕCΙΟCΦΗΛΙΞ	σίσιος Φήλιξ
ΟΚΑΙΡΑΛΑC	ὁ καὶ (Β)άλας
ΧΡΗCΤΩΤΗ	Χρηστ(ῆ) τῇ
5 ΙΔΙΑΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ	ἰδίᾳ θυγατρὶ
ΜΝΗΜΕΧΑΡΙ	μνήμης χάρι-
Ν	ς.

The four following epitaphs in the same stone-mason's yard I only heard of at the last moment, and was unable either to impress or visit a second time.

(13) On a large marble slab in fine letters 60 mill. high:

ΚΑΛΙΚΡΑΤΕ· ΚΑΙ	<i>Καλικράτης καὶ</i>
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑ	<i>Ἀλέξανδρα</i>
ΝΙΚΑΝΟΡΙΠΑΤΡΙ	<i>Νικάνορι πατρί</i>
ΜΗΜΟΣΥΝΕΝΕ	<i>μνημοσύνης ἐνε-</i>
5 ΚΕΝΘΕΤΕΓΡΑ	<i>κεν σῆμ' ἐπέγρα-</i>
ΥΕΤΟΔΕ	<i>ψε τόδε.</i>

(14) Very rudely cut below a head of very poor workmanship:

ΑΜΠΙΑΝΟΣΘΑΚΟΣΜΑΝΤΑ
ΤΗΙΔΙΑΘΡΕΠΤΗΜΜΕ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

*Ἀμπίανος θᾶκος Μάντα
τῇ ἰδίᾳ θρέπτῃ μελήμης
χάριν.*

A manifestly illiterate production: Ἀμπίανος is for Ἀππίανος. Μάντα appears to be not known elsewhere. Θᾶκος seems to mean here a 'resting-place,' possibly a Christian euphemism.

(15) On a marble stele, very well cut in fanciful letters:

Γ Ν Σ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑ·ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΑΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ
ΚΑΙΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΕΟΡΤΗΗΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΔΗ
ΤΙ·ΚΛΑΥΔΙΩΠΑΡΜΟΝΩΕΛΥΤΩΤΕΚΑΙ
ΜΕΡΕΝΙΩΑΙΔΗΜΟΝΙΤΩΓΑΜΒΡΩΖΩΣΙΝ

*Κλαυδία Παραμόνα τῇ θυγατρὶ
καὶ Κλαυδία Ἐορτῇ τῇ θυγατρίδῃ
Τι. Κλαυδίου Παρ[μ]ωνος ἑαυτῶ τε καὶ
Μ. Ἐρεννίῳ Αἰδῆμονι τῶ γαμβρῶ ζώσιν.*

The name Ἐορτή may be compared with the Ἐόρτιος of *C.I.G.* 3662.

The three letters Γ, Ν, Σ, are inscribed at regular intervals on the first moulding above the rest of the inscription: the

narrowness of the moulding makes them much smaller. They may represent the date (253) *i.e.* reckoning from the later era, 976 A.U.C.

(16) On a stele bearing a large female head and a sitting child; the letters rather hard to read:

ΜΑΤΤΙΩΓΕΜΕΛΛΩ	Μάττιος Γέμελλος
Σ(Η Ή)ΕΙΝΑΗΓΥΝΑΙ	Σητεῖνα τῇ γυναι-
ΚΙΚΑΙΓΡΑΠΗΗΕΝΘΕ	κὶ καὶ Γράπτῃ τῇ πενθε-
ΡΑΝΜΕΧΑΡΙΝ	ρᾷ μνήμης χάριν

The name Σήτεινα! appears to be otherwise unknown. Γράπτῃ occurs twice in the *C.I.G.*

(17) In the British Consulate, on a stele slightly broken on the left side, bearing a group consisting of a female sitting between a child and a tree; two male figures, one leading a horse, advance towards her. The letters are small and of a good period. Copy only.

ΙΠΟΣΤΡΑ	Top of Tree.	ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΩΙΤΩΥΙΩΙ
ΙΣ. ΚΑΙΑΝ		ΗΡΩΙ. ΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΟΙΣΖΩΝ
ΓΙΓΟΝΑ		ΤΕΣ
(Ιπ)πόστρα-		Ἰπποστράτω τῇ νύκτι
(το)ς καὶ Ἄν		ἡρώι καὶ ἑαυτοῖς ζών-
(τ)όγονα.		ΤΕΣ.

The omission of the iota adscript in the case of the article only would indicate that this inscription belongs to the early period of transition between its invariable use and its frequent or invariable omission, cf. Rein. *Traité de l'Épigr. Gr.* p. 270: perhaps to the 1st century B.C.

(18) *Ibid.*: on a stele bearing a group in very high relief of man, woman and adult daughter. Copy and squeeze.

ΔΙΩΝΚΑΙΚΟΥΘΕΙΝΔΕ
ΑΤΙΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΜΝΗ
ΧΑΡΙΝ

Δίων καὶ Κούθειν Δέ-
λατι θυγατρὶ μνήμης
χάριν.

Stone and squeeze are both perfectly clear: Κούθειν must be a Græek translation of a barbarian name. Δέλαις does not appear to be known elsewhere as a proper name.

(19) *Ibid.*: on a marble stele bearing a group of two women (one sitting) and two children. Copy and squeeze.

ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΑ . Τ . ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙ
ΤΕΡΤΥΛΛΑ . ΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΕΑΥΤΟΥ
ΒΒ' ΓΑΝΙΟΣ . Τ . ΥΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΕΑΥΤΩ ΖΩΝΤΙ

Τερεντία Τ. θυγατρὶ
Τερτύλλα τῇ γυναικὶ αὐτοῦ
Γ' Γάνιος Τ. υἱὸς καὶ
αὐτῶ ζῶντι.

Line 2. αὐτοῦ is added beyond the original line.

Line 3. The stone is hopeless at the beginning of the line: I give the best indications I can from my impression; the lunar letter may be Ε, for there is a suspicion of a cross-bar on the paper: the next letter should be Τ from its elongation, but on the stone it was more like Γ. It is hard to say whether the two small half-circles marked before these are really parts of letters or no: if so the whole name may be ΒΡΕΤΑΝΙΟΣ.

(20) *Ibid.*: on a marble stele bearing a standing female figure to whom a child with a casket in her left hand offers a mirror (?) with her right. The inscription is on a raised tablet of which almost all has broken away. Copy only.

ΟΥΣ	.....ος
ΑΝΟΥΑΙ	(? Κα)νουλ(είος)
ΟΥΡΑΤΗ	...φ)υράτη(ς)
ΤΑΤΗ	(? Ιππο)στάτη(ς)
ΑΙΚ	.....

(21) *Ibid.*: on a small stele broken on the left, bearing two heads. Copy only.

WMW . ZWCA . KΛEΩNIKH . TH
PIMNEIACXAPIN

—ἀμώμφ ζῶσα Κλεωνίκη τῇ
θυγατρὶ μνείας χάριν

The name of the daughter would seem to have come first on the lost portion of the stele: for ἀμώμφ cf. another Thessalonian inscription, *C.I.G.* 1974. The order of the words is odd if correct.

(22) *Ibid.*: on a stele, much weather-worn, bearing a youth riding with cloak streaming in the wind behind him: part of the right side is broken, including the horse's head. The inscription cannot be read with any certainty. Copy and impression, the latter of little service as the surface of the stone has worn almost smooth.

ΔΑΜΟΚ . ΟΣΚΦΙΑ . . Γ Δάμος[λ]οι κ. Φιλ[ίστ]
· ΠΑCΑΜ . Ν . ΤΩ(Μ ?) . . η] Πασαμ[δ]ρ[ω] τῷ (υἱῷ ?)
ΚCΑΥΤΟΙΣ κ. ἐαυτοῖς

Δάμοκλος occurs in *C.I.G.* vol. iii. p. xiv. No. 50. Φιλίστη in 385.

The last word of line 2 may be anything so far as the stone is concerned; the Μ given above being only a most doubtful indication.

(23) *Ibid.*: on a stele bearing four heads, those of a male, female, and two children. The inscription was apparently a mere scratch originally, and is now nearly hopeless. Copy only.

Ε Λ
◇ΙC ΜΝΕΙΑC . ΑΡΙ .

μνείας [χ]άρι[ν] is all that remains.

(24) On a small stele 27 cent. high, in the possession of Mr. Bitzo: bearing a sitting female and behind her a man standing, in low relief. Copy only.

ἸΕΘΑΝΤΕΡΩΤΙ

[Ἀρ]έτη Ἀντερῶτι

(25) *Ibid.*: on a rude stele bearing five heads, a child above, man and woman below, and two children below again. Copy only.

ΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΟCΑΡΤΕΛΙΔ

Φιλόδοξος Ἀρτεμιδ-

ΩΡΑΘΙΔΙΑΓΥΝΕΚΙΑΝΕ

ώρα τῇ ἰδίᾳ γυνεὶ ἀνε-

ΘΕΤΟ

θέτο

(26) On a fine marble sarcophagus, formerly used for a fountain, and now standing at the cross-roads immediately outside the Arch of Constantine. On the front is carved in low relief a winged figure holding in the right hand a palm branch, in the left a wreath. The inscription is on a small raised tablet 21 x 23 cent., and is rather poorly cut in small letters; three holes have been pierced in it in its fountain days, and the flow of water has made havoc of the lettering. Copy and impression, the value of the latter much discounted by the "help" rendered in the taking of it by the large and appreciative crowd which quickly gathered in so public a spot.

ΣΕΡΒΕΙ . ΨΑΙΠΕΙΝΗ

ΤΣΕΡΒΓΙΑΙΙΑΤΡΟ .

ΚΑΙΣ (?) . . . Α ΛΗ

Τ  Τ





5 M . IM

N

* (α, α, α, = the three holes).

This might be partially restored thus:

Σερ[β]ε[ι]α[ι]a[τ]ρε[ι]ν[η]

T. Σερ[β]ε[ι]α[ι]α[ι]α[ι]α[ι]α[ι]a[os] 'Ι[α]τρ[ο]ς[ς]

καὶ Σ[ερβεία ἡ γυνὴ]κ(α)[ί
 τ(οῖς) τ(έ)[κνοις ζῶντες ἦ]
 μ[υ]ήμης χάριν.

as

The angular \diamond in line 6 will justify the restoration of Σέρβειος in line 2. The letters are not regular enough to form any accurate judgment as to the number missing in any one line. This inscription must have been a long time in its present position, and has probably been previously copied.

(27) On a large sarcophagus now used to receive a medicinal spring at Sheikh-souyu on the high ground east of the citadel. In one or two places the water has worn away the stone, but the fine letters (60 mill. high) are on the whole perfectly legible. Copy and partial squeeze (of lower left corner).

ΙΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΡΡΙΑ ΛΥΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΑΔΡΗΛΙΟΣ ΣΜΑ-
 ΡΑΓ ΔΕ ΦΗΛΗ ΚΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΙΣ ΖΩΝΤΕΣ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΚΟ-
 ΙΝΩΝ ΚΟΠΩΝ ΕΑΝ ΔΕ ΤΟΛΜΕ / ΗΤΕΡΕΣ ΤΙΝΑ ΚΑ-
 ΤΑΘΕΣΘΑΙ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΓΕ(Γ)ΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝ
 5 ΔΩΣΕΙ Τῷ ΠΡΩΤΑΤΩ ΑΜΕΙΩ ΙΠΠΟΣΤΕΙ ΜΟΥ * ΜΥ

Ἰούλια Ἀρρία Λύκα καὶ Ἀδρήλιος Σμά-
 ραγδος τὴν ληρὸν ἑαυτοῖς ζῶντες ἐκ τῶν κο-
 ινῶν κόπων· ὅς ἂν δὲ τολμήσῃ ἑτερό(ν) τινα κα-
 ταθέσθαι χωρὶς τῶν προγε(γ)ραμμένων
 5 δώσει τῷ [ι]ερωτάτῳ ἀμείῳ προστείμῳ * μύ.

The inscription was inaccurately cut, and contains corrections and erasures, e.g. in line 2 a line across the second H: in line 3 a stroke has been erased between C and H of *τολμήσῃ*; in line 4 the I of *καταθέσθαι* was at first omitted, and then attached for want of space to the following letter thus, K: and the second Γ of *προγεγραμμένων* has been omitted. In line 5 the strange sign in the eighth place is evidently the result of an erasure; the whole space has been scooped out, and the squeeze shows the relics of an ε or τ thus $\overline{\tau}$, in a circular excision.

(28) I can also add to and correct *CIG.* 1988. The inscription is in a fountain *near* the church of St. George, hence the discrepancy of Lucas and Clark. By the judicious, if immoral, use of fingers and stick I succeeded in dislodging enough of the mortar and bricks into which the stone is built to read all the remaining letters on the right, except two. The left side resisted my efforts. The whole inscription will now read:

ΟΥΝΔΟΣΚΑΙΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑΟΙ . ΙΟΥ
ΔΟΥΤΟΥΛΕΥΚΙΟΥΕΛΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙ . ΙΟ
ΔΩΤΩΛΕΥΚΙΟΥΚΑΘΩΣΔΙΕΘ . .

Böckh's conjectural restoration is therefore erroneous in respect of the names which end and begin the first and second, and begin the third lines: these should evidently be [*Ιουκ*]οὔνδος, *Ιου*[κούν]δου and *Ιο*[νκούν]δου respectively, not *Σεκούνδος*, *Σεκούνδου* and *Σεκούνδου*.

D. G. HOGARTH.

ATHENS, May 7, 1857.

APOLLO LERMENUS.

IN May of the current year, while Professor W. M. Ramsay, accompanied by Mr. H. A. Brown and myself, was travelling in the Tchal district, we were informed at Demirdjikeui of the existence of ruins in or near Badinlar, three hours away to the north. In a previous year Professor Ramsay had paid a hasty visit to this village and seen nothing of importance: on this occasion fortune favoured us: for, visiting the village a day or two later, we were guided on Whit Sunday to the site of a small temple situate on a conical eminence, which fell on the further side to the southern bank of the Maeander, which here enters on one of the narrowest passes of its gorge. Only the platform on which the temple had stood remained *in situ*, and very few fragments could we find of columns or cornices: such as remained of the frieze showed by their formal regular ornament the Ionic of Roman period. Overlooking the river was a vaulted tomb, and traces of sarcophagi were apparent among the heaps of grey stone covering the summit of the hill. At first there seemed to be nothing whereby to determine the ascription or period of the temple, but a laborious search revealed several inscribed fragments, and finally a square pedestal bearing the following inscription:

(1)

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ///
 ΛΑΙΡΜΗΝΟΝΘΕ///
 ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΚΑΤΑΕΓ///
 ΤΑΓΗΝΧΑΡΙΞΕΝΟ//
 ΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΟΥΣ////
 ΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗ///

ΕΤΟΥΣΣΓΓΜΗΝΟCC·K
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΙΡΜΗΝ///
 ΜΑΡΚΟCΔΙΟΝΥCΟΔ////
 ΡΟΥΜΟΤΕΛΛΗΝΟCΚΑΤ////
 ΦΩΑΜΜΙΑΝΤΗΝΘΡΕ////
 ΜΟΥΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΕΠΙΤΑΓΗΝ
 ΘΕΟΥΕΙΔΕΤΙCΕΠΕΝΚΑ////
 ΘΗCΕΙΙCΤΟΝΘΕΟΝΠΡΟCΤΕΙ
 ΜΟΥ*ΒΦΚΑΙΙCΤΟΝΦΙCΚΟΝ
 ΑΛΛΑ*ΒΦ

- Ἐπόλλων[α
 Λαιρμηνὸν θεόν
 ἐπιφανῆ κατὰ ἐπ[ι-
 ταγὴν Χαρίξενος
 5 Μενεκλέους [Διο-
 νυσσοπολείτης.
 Ἐτους σγ' μηνος ε' κ'.
 Ἐπόλλωνι Λαιρμην[ῶ
 Μάρκος Διονυσόδ[ω
 10 ρον Μοτελληνὸς κατ[αγρά-
 φω Ἀμμίαν τὴν θρε[πτήν
 μου κατὰ τὴν ἐπιταγὴν
 θεοῦ· εἰ δέ τις ἐπενκα[λεῖ
 θήσῃ εἰς τὸν θεὸν προστεί-
 15 μου (δηνάρια) βφ' καὶ εἰς τὸν φίσκον
 ἄλλα (δηνάρια) βφ'.

The first six lines form the original dedication, the remaining ten being afterwards cut on the pedestal in smaller characters. The date (equivalent to the 20th day of the 6th month, 209 A.D.) is in the usual full Phrygian form. This temple was evidently the centre of an important local worship of Apollo Lairmenus, or Lairbenus,¹ whose name recurs on many inscriptions of this

¹ For this local title see Professor W. M. Ramsay's 'Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,' in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. iv. p. 332. I may mention here that all these inscriptions now published were seen, and almost

all copied, by Professor Ramsay: in a few I shared, but their accuracy is so entirely due to him, that I have not thought it necessary to make any distinction among them by means of initials.

district, and in every case in this immediate vicinity in the first form. Motella, the Byzantine Metellopolis and modern Medeie, already known from inscriptions, lies within sight across the river, and Dionysopolis, although its exact position is not fixed, must be at or near Ortakeui, half an hour to the south-west.¹

The smaller inscribed fragments found in and about the temple were eleven in number, but in no case were we able to establish any inter-connection between them. Of these, six are evident relics of deeds of enfranchisement similar to the second half of No. 1, and can be readily restored in any respect, except names and sanctions, by reference thereto:

- (2) ΤΑΓΡΑΦ ὁ δεῖνα κα[ταγράφω τὸν τε]θρεμέν[ον . . .
 ΘΡΕΜΕΝ . . . εἴ τις δέ ε[περ[καλεῖ θήσει κ.τ.λ.
 ΟΡΗCΕΙΤ
 ΠΕΝ
- (3) ΠΕΝΚΑ . . . εἴ δέ τις ε[πενκα[λεῖ θήσει]
 ΗΡΟCΤΕΙΜ προστείμ[ου ἰς τὸν φύσκον * κ.τ.λ.
- (4) ἸΓΗΝΤΟΥΘ . . κατὰ ἐπιτ[αγὴν τοῦ θ[εοῦ.

 ΥΛΒΙΑΛΛ

The remaining letters may represent ἱερε]ὺς βιασσο[θεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, a formula which occurs below, No. 12.

- (5) ΟΝΗΙΑΙΗ ὁ δεῖνα καταγράφω τὸν τεθραμμέν[ον Παπί[αν?
 ΝΩΕΙΤΙCΙ Ἀπόλλωνι Δερμη]νῳ * εἴ τις ε[πενκαλεῖ
 CΙΠΡΟCΤ θή]σι προση]είμουν κ.τ.λ.
- (6) ΗΕΚΟ . . . ἰς τὸν](φ)ύσκο[ν * . . . τούτου ἀντί
 ΝΑΠΟΚΕΙΤΑ γραφο]ν ἀποκεῖτα[ι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν? ἀρ]
 ΝΙΟΝ χίον.
 ΙΩΝΑΠ
 ΕΥΞΕΝ

¹ See *Cities and Bishops*, p. 379.

Except the name Εὐξέτος, the rest is lost. There never were any more letters in line 3 after ION, and it appears that a number of deeds were inscribed successively on one stone, in this case, as in those published in *Cities and Bishoprics*, Nos. 3, 4.

(7)

ΚΑΙ ΑΜΙΑΝΚΑ
ΘΕΟΥ ΕΙΤΙΔΕΕΠ
ΕΙΣ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΕ

[ὁ δὲ ἴνα καταγράψω τὸν δέῖνα] καὶ Ἀμίαν κατὰ
ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ : εἴ τις δὲ ἐπ[ε]νκαλεῖ
θήσει] εἰς τὸν φίσ[κον]

The remaining five are either honorific or uncertain. The following seems to be honorific:

(8)

ΑΙΛΑ
ΖΧΑΙΗΖΗ
ΑΙΗΓΥΝΜΟ
ΕΝΤΟΝΕ
ΑΝΟ
ΕΙΕ

? Σὺν Τυχ[αῖς] αἱ γαθαῖς
ἔτους . . ζ'. μῆ[νος] α'. ἡ. Ζω[ν]όδοτ-
ος κ[αὶ] ἡ γυν[ή] μο[υ] ἀν-
εστήσαμ[εν] τὸν
.
.
.

The following may be anything:

(9)

ΛΕΙΑ
ΟΝΤ

ἀρχία

(10)

ΒΑΣΤΗΓΛΟ
ΓΝΗΓΑΝ

Σε]βαστή, and perhaps γλοι[φον],
for which see below, note on p. 390.

(11)

ΒΑ
ΑΙΕΡΑ
ΔΑΝ
ΚΑ

ιερά, for whom in connection with
this shrine compare below, Nos.
12, &c.

Another has only the letters ΜΕΑΑΙ, and another is too fragmentary to be worth publication. To conclude these *disiecta membra*, a piece of the architrave of the temple, now forming the lintel of a hut in the gorge below, must be mentioned. It had been inscribed perhaps with the dedication of the temple, but some half-effaced and unintelligible letters are all that remain.

Excavation—which from the natural character of the site would be easy and comparatively inexpensive—would probably reveal many other tablets and pedestals of similar purport; but enough has been found to demonstrate the importance of the part once played by this shrine in the social life of the Macander valley.

In the neighbouring villages of Ortakeni and Badinlar we discovered further interesting and important evidence of this. In the remarkable series of inscriptions which follow, the god appears as a malignant deity to whose influence is ascribed the visitation of heaven upon offenders against various points of religious observance. Many of these offenders represent themselves as *iepoi* or *iepai*, and from the fact that the transgression is in two or three cases stated to have been committed on the *χορίον*, it is evident that they were resident in or about the temple itself: at least the remarkable hill on which the latter stood is the most natural location of this *χορίον*, and its vicinity was apparently distinguished from the neighbouring villages as consecrated ground. Others again do not appear to be specially attached to the temple, but simply residents in Motella or elsewhere. The actual nature of the visitation is not stated, but it undoubtedly took the form of disease, perhaps malarial fever, which always hangs about the valley. Six of these inscriptions fall into one class, and may represent some one particular visitation from which the inhabitants of the district suffered at some period: this may be inferred from the striking similarity of the appearance of these six stones, and still more from the extraordinary barbarism of their orthography and etymology, looking like the work of one illiterate hand. The supposition that they are couched in some strange dialect peculiar to this valley is precluded by the utter absence of any phonetic or philological uniformity in their strange aberrations, and by the existence of similar inscriptions in the same localities

in ordinary Greek. The application to the vowels of the phonetic laws obtaining in the modern language will go a little way, but will not explain all varieties, while the frequent omission of necessary consonants, and substitution of false ones, points to the ignorance and carelessness of a particular lapicide. If, as has been suggested to me,¹ he was in the habit of cutting all the perpendicular strokes first, and then working back to make the horizontal and curved, some explanation may be found for the presence of Ν where Π should be, Ε where Ε, Ρ where Φ, Τ where Γ, and *vice versa*. The letters were as a rule clearly cut and well preserved, and the strange orthography is not due to the copyist: most of them were seen and most carefully examined by both Professor Ramsay and myself. Their interpretation is as strange to the province of philology as epigraphy, and is sheer puzzle-guessing in many cases, and I cannot hope to have done more than suggested a possible solution of many of their worst lines, with all the labour that I have expended upon them. Any one who criticises such solutions must bear in mind the extraordinary variants which present themselves in the really certain portions of the inscriptions, *e.g.* ΚΟΛΛΘΙΝ, ΚΟΛΛΘΕΣΑ, ΚΟΛΑΣΘΕΙΣ, and ΚΟΛΕΘΕΙΣ; ΕΠΟ and ΤΠΟ in the same inscription; ΕΜΑΡΤΗΝΚΕΝΑΙ and ΗΜΑΡΤΗΚΕΙΝΕΙ; ΚΑΤΑΦΟΡΝΗΣΕΙ, ΚΑΤΑΦΡΕΙΝΗΣΕΙ, and ΚΑΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙΝ and so forth. The motive of these inscriptions may be paralleled from certain others published in the *Μουσείον της Σμύρνης*.² The five are as follows:—

(12) In the wall of a house in Badinlar: broken at the top.

ΙΟΕΙΣΑΓΑΟΗΜΕ
ΟΥΙΕΡΑΒΙΑΘΙΣΑ
ΥΠΟΛΥΤΟΥΚΕΝΜΑ
ΡΤΗΣΑΕΤΗΚΩΚΟΛ
ΑΘΕΣΑΕΠΟΤΟΥΘΕ 5
ΟΥΕΠΙΟΚΕΣΤΗΛΟΠ

¹ By the Rev. H. A. Wilson, of Magdalen College Oxford, to whom I am indebted for one or two other suggestions in the guessing of these puzzles.

² Nos. πζ', τεζ', τλγ', τλδ', τλθ', ελγ', ελδ', ελζ', υζ', to which my attention was called by Professor Ramsay.

ΡΑΦΗΣΕΝΠΑΡΑΓ
ΕΛΩΝΜΗΔΕΝΑΚΑ
ΤΑΦΡΟΝΕΙ

ἡ δαίνα ἡ] (π)ό(σ)ις? Ἀγα(θ)ημέ[ρ]ου ἱερὰ βιαθίσα ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κέ ἡμάρτησα ἐτήκω κολαθεσα ἐπὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπὶ ὃ κέστηλο(γ)ράφησεν παραγέλων μηδένι καταφρονεῖν τὸν θεόν.

"(. . .) wife of Agathemerus, a servant of the god, having been forced by him (i.e. Agathemerus) and sinned, wasted away under the punishment of the god; after which she also set up a stone, advising none to despise the god."

At least one line has been lost at the top of this stone, but it is complete at the bottom. The general character of the lady's offence would seem to be intercourse with her husband while engaged in the service of the temple; possibly the women of the neighbourhood served for short periods in turn, and during such periods were expected to keep free from the pollution of sexual intercourse: on any other supposition the mention of the husband would be strange, and a similar explanation suits the following text also:

(13) In the wall of a house at Badinlar, on a stele with pediment, a good deal defaced, but otherwise complete,

	ΑΠΕ////	////ΩΝΙΟΥ	
Μ	ΟΤΕΛΛΗΝΟΕΞΟΜΟΛΟΓΟ	Υ	
Μ	ΕΚΟΛΑΘΕΙΛΥΠΟΤΟΥΘΕ	ΟΥ	
ΕΠ	ΕΙΗΘΕΛΗCΑΜΕΙΝΕ	ΜΕ	ΤΑ
ΓΥΝ	ΕΚΟCΔΙΑΤΟΥΤΟΟΥΝΠ	Α	5
Ρ	ΑΝΓΕΛΩΝΑCΙΝΜ////ΔΕ		
Ν/	ΚΑΙ ΑΙ////ΟΙΗΤΩΘΕΩΕ	ΠΙ	
CZ	ΕΙΗΘΟCΙΑΗΝΕΞ	ΟΝ	
	ΗΛΑΡΙΟΝΜΕΤΑΤ	ΗC	
Ε	ΜΙΓΥΝΕΚΟC		10
	ΒΑΕΙΔΙΔΟC		

The arrangement of the letters on the stele is so erratic that it is hard to be always certain how many have dropped out: probably one in line 4, two? in line 7, besides those lacunae

which are obvious. I subjoin a conjectural restoration and translation:—

Ἀπε[λλης Ἀπολλ]ωνίου Μοτελληνὸς ἐξομολογούμε κολασ-
θεις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεὶ ἠθέλησα μείνει μετὰ γυνεκός· διὰ τοῦτο
οὐν παραινέλω (π)ᾶσιν μ[η]δένα κα(τ)α(φ)[ρ]ό(ν)η τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ
ἔξει (τη) ὁ[μ]ίλην! ἐξ[αὐ] τ[ὸν] (στ)ηλάριον? μετὰ τῆς ἐμ(ῆς)
γυνεκὸς Βασιλίδος.

There are many points here which, to say the very least, are doubtful; it is conceivable that more letters have dropped out in line 4 and ὁμίλην is, for these inscriptions, not out of the way for ὁμίλιαν. I will hazard the conjecture that the last letters conceal the name ΒΑΣΙΛΙΔΟΣ, and that a verb has either dropped out after it, or is understood. No letters would then be required in line 10.

‘I Apelles, son of Apollonius, make my confession, having been punished by the god for wishing to remain with my wife; wherefore I recommend to all that none despise the god when he shall have intercourse? whereupon (I erected) this tablet together with my wife Basilis?’

The wife in this case again is *ἐπά*, and, when not ‘in course,’ resident with her husband at Motella. Perhaps he, too uxorious, had detained her beyond the date at which she should have taken up her abode at the temple.

The next three ascend a scale of difficulty and obscurity:

14. At Badinlar

ΠΑΙΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΛ
ΟΙΔΙΤΟΝ ΜΑΡΤΗΚ
—ΙΝΕΙΕΠΕΙΤΩΧΩΡΙΠΙΣΕ
ΤΥΧΕΙΚΑΙΔΙΗΘΑΤΗΝ
ΚΩΜΗΒΑΝΑΓΝΑΛΗΜΟΝ 5
ΗΣΑΠΑΡΗΜΗΕΙΣΤΗΝΚΩΜΗ
ΠΑΡΑΓΕΛΩΜΗΔΕΙΣΚΑΤΑΦ
ΡΕΙΝΗΣΕΙΤΩΘΕΩΝΕΠΕΙΕΖ
ΕΙΤΗΝΣΕΙΑΗΝΕΖΟΠΡΑΡΕΙ
ΕΡΑΙΣΕΤΟΝΜΕΤΟΝΗΠΡΟΓΕΜΕΝΕ 10
////ΤΥΧΕΙΣΚΑΙΕΖΩΜΟΛΟΘΗΣΑ
/////ΚΑΙΕΙΡΑΟΗΖΟ

One or two letters may be missing at the end of the last line. The right side is a little worn and a letter here and there has gone.

... Αὐρ[ι]ν[ι]οῦ Ἀπολλ[ωνί]ου διὰ τὸ ἡμαρτηκέναι ἐπεὶ τῷ χωρίῳ ἰστένχει καὶ διῆθα τὴν κόμην ἀναγὰ λημον [τ]ῆς ἀπάρης " μὴ εἰς τὴν κομην." Παραγέλω μηδεὶς καταφρενῆσει τῷ θεῷ <ν> ἐπεὶ εἴξει τὴν σείλην ἢ εἴ ο(ῦ) π(α)ρα(β)εἰ[σ]εῖ (β)αίσετον μετον ἢ πρὸ (τ)εμένε[ος] [ἀ]νυχεῖς καὶ ἐξωμολογησάμην καὶ εἴ(κ)α(θ)ηζόμην. ?

It would be idle to defend this restoration at any length; the latter part is only possible on the supposition that the lapicide knew next to nothing of Greek, at least as a written language. The fault committed is pretty clear—the transgression of a definite injunction against entering a certain village without purification. Ἀπάρη I have little doubt is for ἐπάρη, and the concluding σ has fallen out by carelessness; διῆθα must represent διῆ(λ)θα (i.e. διῆλθε, for nothing is so shaky as the verb and substantive terminations in these inscriptions), and λημον, λῆ(σ)μων. So far there is some approach to certainty, but the meaning of σείλην is most obscure: can it be for σάλην, i.e. 'sickness' or 'trouble'? The next words are hopeless: my suggestion that they represent an aorist form of βαίνω is the last effort of despair, and the change of subject does not add to the probability of the conjecture: μετον I hardly venture to suggest as representing μετὰ in its compounded sense of 'behind,' the following πρὸ is the only justification I can offer; εἰκαθηζόμην may be compared with εἰστηλογράφησα in No. 15.

[... wife of Aurelius Apollonius because she had sinned since she chanced upon the high place and passed through the village, unpurified, forgetting the ban against entering the village. I recommend none to despise the god since (if he does so) he will have trouble because he transgressed (?) You must go behind or before the sacred enclosure. Being in evil plight I both confessed and sat as a suppliant.?

If there is any intelligibility in this interpretation, a village

¹ Mr. Ramsay suggests that ΕΕΙΑΗΝ be a lapicide's error for Π and Α have dropped out before it.

'the threatened punishment': Ε might

must have lain about the temple and within the pale forbidden to all but *ιεροί*.

(15)

ΜΕΓΑΣΠΟΛΛΩΛΕΙΜΗΝΕ

IL

At Badinlar

ΣΟΦΡΟΝΙΕΡΟΣΚΟΛΕΟΣ

ΕΠΟΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΛΕΙ

ΜΗΝΟΥΔΕΙΤΘΕΜΑΡ

ΤΗΝΚΕΝΕΙΠΟΙΣΤΡΙΦΟΙΣ 5

ΕΙΔΑΓΤΗΝΚΛΗΣΕΙΠΟ

ΚΕΙΤΟΓΖΗΝΕΙΔΑΣΑΠΟ

ΛΩΝΟΥΜΑΚΕΔΟΣΚΑΙ

ΑΜΑΖΟΝΑΣΚΑ ΕΙΚΟΙ

ΑΧΕ////ΙΔΙΑΙΣΕΖΟΜΟΛ//// 10

ΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΣΕΙΣΤΗΛΟΓΙ

ΦΗΣΑΠΑΡΑΣΕΛΩΜΗΛΤΙ

ΣΚΑΤΑΡΟΡΝΗΣΕΙΕΠΕΙΤ

ΩΧ////////ΕΙΑΓ////////Γ////////

///ΛΕΝΣΥ 15

With the exception of one or two illegible lacunae this stele is complete. Unfortunately, while its forms are slightly less obscure than those of the preceding inscription, its general sense is far more so, and the most important part, the description of the offence, is not the least uncertain. The unnecessary dot in the O of line 4, and the closing of the H in line 5 prepare us for unusual aberrations in the sequel, and the end of the latter line is the first difficulty. After trying all variations and considering the common sound of *δ*, *ο*, *ύ*, *ή* and *ει* in modern Greek, I can only suggest that it is a phonetic rendering of *ὑπεστρέψα*, an aorist formed from *ὑπεστρέφω* by ignorant analogy, as in the preceding text I conjectured that *ἐβησα* was used as aorist of *βαίω*. If so, it will mean 'I turned round,' and ΕΙΔΑ(Ε) should be the thing turned; from line 9, where *εἰκό(ν)α* is a pretty certain reading, the inference arises that some indignity paid to temple garniture is here in question: can *εἶδας* then = *εἶδος*, a seat or

stool, perhaps a votive tripod? It recurs in the next line, and, supposing 'Απο[λ]λῶνου to be a mistake rather for 'Απόλλωνιον than 'Απόλλωνος which is rightly spelt in the heading above, it would then mean 'the seat of Apollonius the Macedonian,' (the omission of a syllable of Μακεδ(όν)ος is nothing surprising,) 'and the Amazons,' (some well-known votive group in the precinct), 'and a statue of Chelidia' (?). I leave this suggestion to those versed in ill-spelt texts, and return to the greatest difficulty of all, viz. the words following the first εἰδας, and presumably defining its identity: ΚΑΗΕΕ looks like κλησεις which, from the sense of 'name,' passed into the later one of mere 'word,' and ΙΠΟΚΕΙΤΟ(Σ) must have some relation to ὑπόκειμαι. The general reference appears to be to a chair over which was written a name contained in the letters ΖΗΝ, which may represent the poetic name of Ζεὺς or a partially obliterated Ζήν(ωνος), or the like; but I cannot suggest any probable construction, and must append only an imperfect cursive text and translation.

Μέγας 'Απόλλω Λειμηνός.

Σόφρον ἱερὸς καλεῖθεις ἐπὶ 'Απόλλωνος Λειμηνοῦ δ(ια) τὸ ἐμαρτυρικενε. (ύ)π(ε)στρ(ε)φήσα? ἔ<ι>δ(ο)ς? ?¹ ἔ<ι>δ(ο)ς? 'Απο[λ]λων(ι)ον Μακεδ(όν)ος καὶ 'Αμάζοντας κα(ι) εἰκό(ν)α Χελ[ι]δία<ι>? ἔξομο[σ]γ(η)σάμενος εἰστηλοσ[ρά]φησα παρα(γγ)έλων μ(η)δεῖς κατα(φρο)νήσει ἐπ<ε>ῖ τῷ χω[ρί]ῳ 'Απ[ό]λλωνος [Λει]μηνοῦ.

'Great is Apollo Lermenus. I Sophron, the servant of the temple, having been punished by Apollo Lermenus, since I had turned round (or over) the chair . . . , the chair of Apollonius the Macedonian, and the Amazons, and the statue of Chelidia (?), made confession and set up a tablet, recommending that none despise the god, upon the high place of Apollo Lermenus.'

Chelidia is an unknown name, and, as I have indicated, the stele is a little worn at this place: but Χελιδών is found in *C.I.G.* 4595.² The metathesis in καταφορνῆσει reveals the carelessness of the lapicide. The last words prove that this stele, probably like all the others, originally stood in the temple

¹ The suggestions which occurred to me for the filling up of this lacuna and that in the following text, I have, in deference to more experienced opinion, suppressed. If anything in the other

texts appears over bold, I must crave indulgence for the disinclination of human nature to 'give up' a puzzle.

² Also the name of Verrea's mistress.

precinct; and if the restoration were not so uncertain, it might be an interesting addition to our knowledge of the character and contents of the temple on the Maeander.

(16) Stele on the wall of a house at Badinlar: below the inscription a rude representation of two legs and the generative organs.

ΗΛΙΟΣ
ΙΥΡ
CΩΤΗΡΧΟΣ

ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΜΟΤΕ/
ΗΝΟΣ ΚΟΛΛΘΙΝΕ ΠΟΤΟΘΓ
5 ΟΥ ΠΑΡΑΓΕΛΩΝ ΜΗΛΙ
CΑΝΑΙΙΟΝΑΝΑΒΗΤΕ ΠΙΤΟΧ
ΩΡΙΟΝΕ ΠΡΟΚΗCΙΗΚΗΝΕ
ΕΤΕ ΤΟΝ ΟΡΧΙCΕΓΩΓΕ
ΑΗΚΗΝCΑΜΗΝΕ ΠΙΤΟΧ
10 ΩΡΙΩΝ.

This inscription is a piece of very careless work: *κολαθιν, το θεού, μηλ(ει)ς* and so forth are transparent errors. In line 6, there has been a cross-stroke between the two uprights in the fifth place, looking like the cross-bar of a π, very low down; the letter was probably N and the whole word ANA(ΓN)ON used as an adverb. ANABHTE is probably *ἀναβῆται*. I cannot satisfactorily interpret the last four lines of this text, which appears to be equally obscure and obscene. The forms KHNH[C]ETE and HKHNHCAMHN are probably connected with *κινέω*: but ΕΠΡΟΚΗCΙ and the connection of *ὄρχις* with the preceding words I must give up.

(Α) ὁ ἥλιος Σωτηρχὸς Δημοστράτου Μοτελληρὸς κολαθ(ε)ί(ς) ἐπὶ το(ῦ) θεοῦ, παραγ(γ)έλ(λ)ων μη(δε)ίς ἀνα(γν)ον ἀναβῆτ(αι) ἐπὶ τὸ χωρίον ὄρχις· ἐγώ γε (δ) (ἡσχησάμην?) ἐπὶ τὸ χωρί(ο)ν.

The first letters of Aurelius are cut far away on the left as indicated: Soterchus is a name known to Pape.

(17) Stele broken at the left hand top corner, high up in the

wall of a house at Ortakui: although in a somewhat inaccessible position, the letters were easily read by us both, and may be taken as certain:

ΚΑΘΑΡΙ ΟΙΚΕΟΥΣΙΑΙΕΛ
ΥΡΙΟΝΙΝΑΜΥΤΟΕΜΟΝΕΩ
ΛΙΚΕΜΟΠΕΜΕΑΠΟΚΑΘΕΣΤ¹Ε
ΣΩΜΑΤΙΔΙΟΠΑΡΑΝ²ΕΛΛΩΜΗΘ
5 ΕΝΑΙΕΡΟΝΑΘΥΤΟΝΑΙΓΟΤΟΜΙΟΝΕΣΘΕ
ΙΝΕΓΕΙΠΑΘΙΤΕΤΑΕΜΑΕΜΑΣΚΟΛ
ΑΣΕΙΕ

This stele was a fortunate find for several reasons: its purport is sufficiently clear and very interesting; and, being more carefully cut and better spelt than the preceding texts, while showing evident traces of similar aberrations, it can be used as a commentary on them, and a justification of otherwise improbable interpretations. For example, we have *παραγγέλλω* nearly correct for the first time, and the verb and substantive terminations are uniformly normal: but *μηθίνα* and *ἔσθιν* are obvious errors, and *πάθιτε*,¹ which ought to have a future sense (unless it be a 'habitual' aorist), shows an instructive uncertainty in tense usage: ΜΥ, which must be *μοι*, is a common phonetic variant, but ΟΠΣΕ for *ὀψε* suggests that ψ was unknown to the lapicide, and indeed it is never once found on these inscriptions. ΑΙΓΟΤΟΜΙΟΝ is probably a single word, coined for the occasion and meaning a goat-steak; it might be for *αἰγ(α)τόμιον ἔσθιν* = 'to eat, cut into pieces,' but would not possess much meaning. The second Μ in line 3 is difficult to account for, on any other supposition than that of a pure lapicide's error, similar to the reduplication of *ἐμός* in line 6. There is not very much to guide the restorer in the mutilated lines 1 to 4, but, luckily the purport of the whole does not depend thereon to any serious extent. Comment on the whole I will postpone to the end of the set.

[(name) . . .] καθαρ[μ]οῖς² καὶ (θ)υσίαις (ἐ)τίμησα ἢ τὸν κ[ύριον] (ἢ) ἵνα μὴ τὸ ἐμὸν σώ[μα] σώ[ω]ς[ε] ἢ κε μ' ὀψ<μ>ε

¹ Perhaps *πάθιτε* for a future *παθήτε*.

² There appeared to be space enough

for a larger letter after the ρ than Ι. About ten letters have gone in line 2.

ἀποκαθέστησε [τῷ ἐμ](ῶ) σώματι δι' ὃ παραγγέλλω μηθένα
ἱερὸν ἄθροτον αἰγροτόμιον ἐσθῆιν ἐπεὶ πάθῃτε τὰς ἐμὰς <εμας>
καλοῦσεις.

'[I . . .] honoured the Lord? with purifications and burnt sacrifices, that he might rescue my body, and at length he healed me in my body: wherefore I recommend that none eat a sacred goat-steak which may not be sacrificed: for he will suffer my afflictions (if he does so).'

In line 3 *σώζει*, if right, must be a phonetic misspelling for *σώζοι* (ει and οι are pronounced alike in modern Greek); *κουφίζοι* would be better, but, unless the letters were much crowded, there seems hardly room for it: in the next line the letters of *σώματι* are so crowded, and four letters are not too much to supply before the broken ω.

(18) Stele in the wall of a house at Badinlar, broken on the left side and the bottom; its triangular head shows the middle of the lines of the inscription to be at Δ in line 1.

ΗΠΙΑΔΗΕΑΤΤΑ	Λοκλ]ηπιῶδης Ἀττι-
ΕΡΟΣΚΟΛΑΣ	λον ἐ]ρὸν κολασ-
ΠΟΤΟΥΕΠΙΦ	θεὶς ὁ]πὸ τοῦ ἐπιφ-
ΤΑΤΟΥΘΕΟΥ	ανεστ]αίου θεοῦ
5 ΛΩΝΟΣΛΑΡ	Ἀπόλ]λωνος Δαρ-
ΤΙΠΕΝΦΘΕΙΣ	μηνοῦ ὅ]τι πενφθεῖς
ΟΛΟΤΙΑΝΗΜΑ	εἰς ἀπο]λογίαν ἡμί-
ΙΚΑΙΟΤΙ	ρτηκεν] καὶ ὅτι...

If the third complete letter of line 7 is really a τ, we have here the name of some unknown village: but it is more than probable that it is either a mistake for a γ, or has been wrongly copied, owing to the horizontal stroke being cut too far to the left of the upright. If so *ὁμολογίαν* or *ἀπολογίαν* can be restored. The letters become smaller and more crowded from line 6 downwards. We are again in the region of ordinary Greek and a translation is unnecessary; for the meaning of *πε(μ)φθεῖς εἰς ἀπολογίαν* can hardly be determined without the last portion of the inscription.

(19) Stele, of which only the mutilated top remains, in Badinlar.

ΑΟΛΛΙΟΕΑΠΟΛΩ

Ἀλλιος Ἀπόλω

ΗΑΙΩΜΟΕΑΣ

νι Ἠλίφ ὁμοσας

AB

One or two more letters in line 3 were wholly illegible. This, with the following, is probably honorific, but is added here to complete those referring to Apollo.

(20) Stele in the wall of a house at Badinlar, broken on the right side, but otherwise complete?

ΑΣΚΛ/

ΝΙΟCΑΙ

ΙΕΡΟCΕΑΝ

ΥΠΕΡΑΠΟ

5 ΝΑΝΤΡΑ

ΜΕΝΟΙΑΠC

Since Ἀσκλη[ās is almost certainly the necessary restoration in the first line, and Ἀπόλλω]νιος seems to follow it, only half the original stele is here preserved, and any restoration must be somewhat conjectural. The following I suggest as its original form:—

Ἀσκλη[ās καὶ Ἀπολλώ]νιος Ἀ(π)[ολλωνίου] ἱερός<ς>
ἀν[εστήσαμεν] ὑπὲρ Ἀπο[λλωνίου] εὐχα]μενοι Ἀπό]λ-
λωνι.

Notwithstanding the considerable element of uncertainty in most of these inscriptions, they assuredly add something to our knowledge of this cult of Apollo, who divided with Leto the Mother¹ the religious supremacy in this portion of the Maeander

¹ See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, p. 375. In connexion with this goddess an inscription is there published (No. 7) from the mosque at Ortakui, which Professor Ramsay had an opportunity of examining again this year. The first name appears now to be ΝΕΙΟΣ, but little light was thrown on the obscure 6th line: instead of ΚΕΚΟΛΛΟΙΓ . . . , Professor Ramsay read this year ΚΕΚΟΛΛ-

ΘΙCΑΙΓ . . . εὐχα(σ)θ(ε)ς. What ΤΟΝΓΛΟΥΤΟΡΟΝ, which was read on both occasions, may be, is hard to say: could it be ΓΛΟΥΦΡΟΝ and be a barbarous word, connected with γλῶφω, and meaning an inscription? The last lines would then mean, 'and I having been chastised erected the inscription as an offering to Leto the Mother.'

valley. We have found the central shrine, once evidently replete with inscribed tablets, emancipatory, honorific and votive: adorned with statues and possibly other votive objects, such as tripods: situated on a consecrated *χωρίον* and surrounded by a *σάουη* lying within the pale which none might enter without purification. The service of the temple was done by members of hieratic families, male and female, normally resident in the neighbourhood, but performing their sacred duties in certain courses (?), and separated, during such periods, from their ordinary avocations and family relations. To them belongs, as perquisite, the sacrificial meat, after it has been formally offered to Apollo. Any offence against sacrificial observance or the demands of the position of a *ιερός* is held to be visited directly upon the offender by the god, and indeed other offences, if followed by illness or other misfortune, seem to be considered as under his cognisance. In atonement the offender makes public confession, doubtless in the temple, and erects a votive tablet recording the same. Even without the dubious inscription No. 16 we should naturally infer the character of the worship to be orgiastic, like Phrygian worship in general and that of Leto the Mother in particular,¹ and possibly its sensual elements may account for the reluctance of Apelles (No. 13) to allow his wife to take up her required residence at the shrine. The whole set of inscriptions form a curious memorial of the religious life of this pastoral district in the period immediately antecedent to the general spread of Christianity through Phrygia by the labours of St. Abercius.

I will add a few inscriptions gathered from the villages lying around the shrine, but not relating directly to it. The first is a most interesting fragment relative to the regulation of vineyards, which still cover the hill slopes of this fertile district, a district which, compared to most of the great central plateau, is a smiling garden: and the city's name proves their great importance of old in this region. The fragment is unfortunately too much mutilated to tell us more than that these were strict vine laws, apparently in the interest of the *δεσπόται τῶν ἀμπέλων*. It is an altar-shaped marble stele in the courtyard of a house at Develar, half-an-hour south-west of Ortakeni: it

¹ *Ibid.* p. 394.

was originally 24½ inches in breadth, but a piece has been broken off the right-hand side, reducing the breadth at the first legible line to 18½ inches, the breakage becoming slightly narrower towards the bottom. It is also broken at the top, wholly illegible at the base, and much worn on the left edge where one or two letters must be allowed for in every line. The letters which are very indistinct in many places, are well and carefully cut in small characters, and the whole has the appearance of a public document of importance.

(21)

ΕΖΑΝΓΕΛΩΝΙΝ ΑΓΝΛΗΠ

ΠΤΙΝΑΥΤΑΣΗΡΟΦΑΣ(ΙΙ)ΗΙΥΤ(ΟΥ)ΤΙΝ ΛΟ

ΕΝΑΠΣΙΚ(Ε)ΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟ

ΕΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΑΙΣΤΩΝΑΜΕΛΩΝΚΤΟΥ

5 ΥΓΕΡΑΥΤΩΝΤΟΠΡΑΓΜΑΔΙΕΝΕΝΚΗΤ/

ΕΝΤΕΣΑΜΓΕΛΟΙΣΒΟΣΚΗΜΑΤΑΝΟ

ΓΕΙΝΚΑΤΕΧΙΝΡΟΣΤΙΝΒΛΑΒΗΠΑΝ

ΥΤΩΝΩΣΑΝΤΙΣΒΟΥΛΗΤΕΤΟΥΣΔΕΠΣ

ΜΕΝΔΟΥΛΟΥΕΤΡΟΣΑΓΓΕΛΛΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ

10 ΔΙΑΥΤΟΙΓΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΠΑΡΑΦΥΛΑΞΙΝΜΑΣ

ΣΤΟΑΤΕΧΕΣΧΕΣΘΕΑΥΤΟΥΣΚΕ(Π)ΙΙΙΟΝΟΥΙ

ΕΙΝΕΔΕΚΕΚΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΠΑΡΧΟΝΤΩΝΤΗΣ

ΚΕΝΕΧΥΡΑΣΙΑΝΤΟΙΙΣΘΕΠΑΡΑΤΩΝΔΕΣΠΟΤΣ

ΕΜΜΑΤΩΝΚΠΟΙΜΕΝΩΝΤΩΜΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩΜΕΤΟΙΕ

15 ΝΤΩΝΧΩΡΙΩΝΩΝ(Η) ΛΥΣΑΝΤΩΝΤΟΥΣΠΟΙΜΕΝ

ΑΙΣΤΑΣΑΝΤΕΛ

.

.

.

20

. ΕΠΟΙΚΟΙ . . .

. ΔΟΥΛΟΙ .

The loss of the top, and from six to four letters on one side, and two, as a rule, on the other, makes a satisfactory restoration impossible. In lines 5, 12, 13, 14, and 16 no letters

are wanting on the left, and in 15 perhaps none on the right. I have inclosed in brackets one or two doubtful letters.

- .. ἐξ ἀνέλων (ἢ κ)λῶν(α) ἢ π[τόρθον κόπτειν ἢ βλ[
 α]πτειν αὐτὰς ἢ προφάσ(ε)ι ἢ
 .. ἐν ἀπο(θῇ) κ(ῆ) ἂν δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτα πο[ιήσῃ] . .
 .. ἐν δεσπόταις τῶν ἀμπέλων κ(αἰ) [.
 5 ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τὸ πρᾶγμα διενέγκητ(α)[ι
 ἐν τ(αἰ)ς ἀμπέλοις βοσκήματα ἢ ο[ί]ας ἢ
 ἀ]γειν ἢ κατέχιν πρὸς τὴν βλάβην ἀν[πέλων] . . .
 τ]ούτων, ὥσαν τις βούλητε, τοὺς δὲ πο[ιμένας τ-
 οὺς] μὲν δούλους προσάγγελλομένους . . .
 10 .. αὐτοὶ γινόμενοις παραφυλαξιν μάσ[τιγὰς] !
 ι]ς τὸ ἀπέχεσ<χε>θε αὐτοὺς [τ]ῆς ἐπι(π)όνου !
 . . . δε κ(αἰ) ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπαρχόντων τῆς
 κ(αἰ) ἐνεχυρασίαν ποιῶσθε παρὰ τῶν δεσπότην κ(αἰ) θρ-
 εμμάτων κ(αἰ) ποιμένων τῶν ἐλευθέρων
 15 .. τῶν χωρίων λυσάρτων τοὺς ποιμέν-
 (α)ς τὰς ἀντέλ[ους]

 20
 . ἔποικοι . . .
 . δούλοι . . .

(22) In the precinct of the mosque at Develar: altar-shaped marble stele, much worn on each side, but otherwise complete.

HPΘONKAI OΠ
 *TONTOΠOCA
 MNOCΔIOMHΔC
 *APTEMNOCCEY
 5 PHCINΛABONT OY
 *ΠΑPATO*ΔHMOY
 ET EOCENΩKHΔE
 EΔEO APTEMΩKA
 NIAYTO*XPYCOΠ

- 10 CETERΩΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙC
ΤΑΙΠΑΡΑΤΑΓΕΓΡΑΜ
ΕΙΔΕΤΙCΕΠΙΗΔΕΥCΕ
ΗCΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑ
ΠΩΔΡΑΧΜΑCΒΦΤΟΥ
15 ΤΟΥΤΟΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΤΕ
ΘΗΙCΤΑΑΡΧΕΙΑ

- Τὸ ἡρώδου καὶ ὁ περ-
ὶ αὐτὸν τόπος Ἀ[ρ]-
τέμῳ Διομήδους
τοῦ Ἀρτέμῳ συν[υ]-
5 ὤρησιν λαβὼν τοῦ το-
ποῦ παρὰ τοῦ δήμου . .
ἐτ<τ>εος . ἐν ᾧ κήδε[ύ]σε-
τε δὲ ὁ Ἀρτέμων κα[ὶ] ἡ γ-
υ[ν]ή αὐτοῦ Χρυσόπ[ολ]-
10 ῖς· ἑτέρω δὲ μηδὲν εἰ[ρ]-
ται παρὰ τὰ γεγραμ[έν]-
α· εἰ δέ τις ἐπι(κ)ηδέυσ(ε)
θήσ(ε)ι τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ τα[μ]-
(ε)ῖφ δραχμὰς βφ· τοῦ-
15 του τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπετέ-
θη ἐς τὰ ἀρχεῖα.

The second τ in ligature in line 7 is a lapicide's error: there appeared to be no trace of letters before $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$, and the numeral must have been in the preceding line.

The following are from Medale (Motella): the first I give in cursives only, since we had not sufficient opportunity of noting its uncial forms. It is cut on an oblong tablet, once fastened to a wall by two projecting wings. The present possessor, who, for some reason only known to himself, had coloured it purple, demanded an exorbitant price for a permission to copy it; failing to bring him to reason, Mr. Ramsay kept him in play, while I learnt the inscription by heart.

(23)

Ἀγαθὴ τύχη Διὶ Σωτήρι
καὶ θεοῖς σεβαστοῖς καὶ
τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Μοτελληνῶν

Ἀτταλος Ἀττάλου Ζήν-
 ωνος τὴν ἐξέδραν καὶ
 τὴν στοῶν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἀπο-
 καθέστησεν ἔτους σκά
 μ(ῆνος) Ὑπερβερταίου δεκάτη.

The year is equivalent to 137 A.D. Hyperbertaeus was one of the Macedonian months which were imported into Asia Minor.

(24) Fragment in the wall of a house.

ΓΛΥΚΕΙΑ	. . . . .
ΑΡΙΝ	. . γλυκεῖα
	. . χ]άριν

(25) Fragment in the wall of a house, rudely cut.

ΔΗΜ	Δημ[όστρατος Μ]ηνόγίνου[ς Ἀπολλω]εῖο
ΗΝΟΓΕΝΟ	
ΝΙΩΙΔΙΩΥ	ιδίω υ[ἱὸ μνήμης] χάριν
ΧΑΡΙΝ	

The two following were copied in 1883 by Mr. J. R. S. Sterrett, while travelling with Professor Ramsay:

(26) Altar-shaped stele broken at the base.

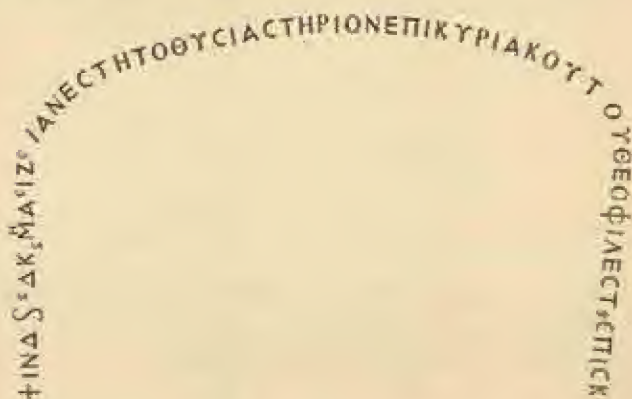
ΑΜΜΙΑΒΡΥΩΝΟΣΒΡΥΩ	Ἀμμία Βρύωνος Βρύωνι καὶ
ΝΙΚΑΙΠΑΠΑΤΟΙΣΕΑΥ	Παπία τοῖς ἑαυτῆς τεκνοῖς τὸ
ΤΗΣΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΤΟΜΝΗ	μν(ν)ημεῖον ἐκ τῶ(ν) ιδίων
ΜΕΙΟΝΕΚΤΩΙΔΙΩΝ	ἐποίησιν μνήμης [χάριν
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΜΝΗΜΗΣ	

(27) Altar-shaped stele, in the precinct of the mosque, complete.

ΕΤΟΥΣΣΑΣΕΜΗ	Ἔτους σλζ' μῆνος (Δ)εῖον ζ'.
ΝΟΣΛΕΙΟΥΖΑΜ	Ἀρμία Μηραφίλου Ἀρμία Πα-
ΜΙΑΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΥΑΜ	πίου θυγατρὶ ιδία ἐποίησεν
ΜΙΑΠΑΠΙΟΥΘΥΓΑ	ἐκ τῶν ιδίων μνήμης χάριν
ΤΡΙΙΔΙΑΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ	
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΜΗ	
ΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ	

The year is equivalent to 151 A.D.; Dios is another imported Macedonian month.

The following Christian inscription is cut in semicircular fashion in poor letters of late period upon a stone, now built into the wall above the door of the mosque at Keuseli, a village about an hour north-east of Medele.



(28)

+ Ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) δκ'· μῆ(νος) α'· ιζ'· ι'· ἀνέστη τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπὶ Κυριακοῦ τοῦ θεοφιλεστ(άτου) ἐπισκ(όπου).

The order of the numerals in the date is strange: δκ' must belong altogether to the Indiction, as a 20th year is impossible in this reckoning: if so, the last numeral of all must be the year, and, following the small marks to the right of the numerals, I have divided the whole as above. (17th day of the 1st month of the 10th year of the 24th Indiction). Reckoning from the Constantinople era (312 A.D.), we get 667 A.D. as the date at which this *θυσιαστήριον* was erected in the episcopate of Cyrisc. According to Dr. Lightfoot¹ the *θυσιαστήριον* was rather the sacarium in which the altar stood, than the altar itself: in this case it was possibly an addition to a previously existing church.

Returning to the other side of the Maeander, the following sepulchral stelae were found in Ortakui this year:

¹ *Apocalyptic Fathers*, vol. ii. p. 43.

(29) (Also copied in 1883).

ΤΑΤΙΑΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩ	Τατία Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Μηνάδος
ΜΗΝΑΔΟΣΙΔΙΩ	ἰδίῳ ἀνδρὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων
ΑΝΔΡΙΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΤΕ	μνείας χάριν ἐποίησεν.
ΚΝΩΝΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑ	
ΡΙΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ	5

(30) ΣΩΠΑΤΡΩ Σωπάτρῳ.
(Relief of a man standing).

ΠΑΠΙΑΣΜΕΤΑΤΩΝ	Παπίας μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν μνήμης
ΥΕΙΩΝΜΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ	χάριν.

The following were copied by Professor Ramsay and Mr. Sterrett in 1883:

(31) ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΣΤΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΗΝΟΔΩ
 ΟΥΤΗΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗΤΕΚΟΥΣΗΜΕΙ
 ΙΝΗΚΑΙΓΝΗΣΙΑΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΜΜΙΑΚ
 ΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΑΜΜΙΑΚΑΙΕΑΥΤΩΕΥΝ
 ΤΟΙΕΜΝΗΜΗΣΧΑΡΙΝ

Τατίανος τρις τοῦ Μηνοδώ[ρ]ου
 τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ τεκούσῃ Μέλ[τ]ινῃ
 καὶ γησιᾷ γυναικὶ Ἀμμία
 κ[αί] θυγατρὶ Ἀμμία καὶ ἑαυτῷ
 5 σὺν [αὐ]τοῖς μνήμης χάριν.

(32) ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΠΑΠΙΑΤ	Ἀπολλώνιος, Παπία τ[φ]
ΑΔΕΛΦΩΜΝΕΙΑΣΧΑ	ἀδελφῷ μνείας χάριν.
ΡΙΝ	

(33) ΜΑΡΚΟΣΦΙΛΙΠ	Μάρκος Φιλίππῳ τῷ πατρὶ
ΠΩΤΩΠΑΤΡΙ	μνήμης ἔνεκεν.
ΜΝΗΜΗΣΕΝΕ	
ΚΕΝ	

(34) On a fragment of the architrave of a large grave.

ΦΛ·ΑΠΦΙΑΤΣ	φλ(αβία) Ἀπφία τ[.] ἐκ[
ΤΩΠΙΛΙΩ	τῷ(ν) ἰ(δ)ι(ω)ν

The following inscription I copied in 1887, in the court-yard of a house in the village of Kabalar about sunset. I give the transcription in cursive without the epigraphic text, which is so engraved as to defy reproduction except by a careful drawing. It gives the names of two villages in the territory either of Dionysopolis or of Mossyna; and it proves that the name of Salsalouda which I gave in my *Cities and Bishoprics* (J.H.S., 1883, p. 386) should be Salouda, the first syllable having been doubled by an error of the engraver.

The stone is covered with rude sculptures, portraits of the persons enumerated, and the names are engraved in the rudest style in the most irregular way between the reliefs. Two *hodjas*,¹ unfortunately, were in the court-yard; one of them was firmly resolved that I should not copy the inscription, the other was willing to let me see it for a consideration. The former was almost prepared to use violence in defence of the stone, threatening it and me with a pickaxe; at one time when he actually seized me by the shoulder, I thought that fighting was unavoidable, but a few words induced him to remove his hand and trust to the pickaxe again. In the circumstances it was rather difficult to use the rapidly diminishing light to the best advantage. Next morning we all went in a body to the house, but bribes would not induce the *hodjas* to allow us again to enter the court; without leave one cannot well enter a Turkish house, though after leave is once given to enter, one does not feel bound to retire as soon as the owner gets tired of one's society. I have therefore no description of the stone and its reliefs; and also I feel sure that examination in a better light would give the text more completely.

. . . .]αι Μηλοκομητῶν φράτρα ἀνέθηκεν.

*Απολ[ωνίδην Μαγάδος ἡγεμόνεζ Μηλοκομητῶν

]ν Σαρβαλα εἰ την Σαλουδέαν Ἰε[εσί]ου Ἀριστιδίου

ἐπιμελησαμένου Ἀπολλωνίδου τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίδου (sic) τοῦ Ἀρισ[

τίδου ?] Μηλ[ο]κομητου κα ο]ν Σαλουδ[έω ?]ν. Σαλου-

δεῖν. Σαλουδ[ε]ίς. Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀπολλωνίδου Μελοκομή[της].

¹ In Asia Minor every village has at least one *hodja* for each mosque, who leads the prayers and attends to the mosque, receiving a certain allowance from the village. Prof. Robertson

Smith informs me that the case is different in Arabia, where any one of the villagers leads prayers, not a special functionary.

Ἀτταλίων Ἀρείδου Μηλοκωμήτης. Μηρόφιλος Μηροφίλου
 Ἀπελλιδης Σαρβαλα Σαλουδεύς. Φύρανδρος Φυειραν(?) Σαλ-
 ου[δεύς]. Πε . . . υ[ε]ατης [Μη]λοκω[μήτης].
 Ἀπολλωνίδης [Δο]υλιχίων [Σαλο]υδεύς. Ἀπολλών[ιος] Μακρυ !
 [π]απαδε[ύς]. Τρώϊλος Γαίου [Σαλου]δεύς.

At a third attempt in 1887 I at last read completely the inscription published in *Cities and Bishopsrics, surru* vol. iv. p. 383, No. 6: Ἀπολλωνίφ Μηροφίλου τῷ διὰ γένους ἱερεῖ τοῦ Σωτήρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ κ.τ.λ.

W. M. R.

It is possible that future travellers will yet find other unpublished stelae in the villages of Ortakœni and Badinlar; for it takes a Turkish villager a very long time to produce what he has in his possession; and even our two days in Badinlar may have been too short for the workings of his mind. We have, however, the double satisfaction of being at least more fortunate than our predecessors, and of having made a real contribution to the social history of what must once have been one of the most populous and prosperous districts in Phrygia.

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A THASIAN DECREE.

THE stone bearing the following inscription was found by Mr. Theodore Bent last year at Limena in Thasos, built into the wall of a Byzantine church which was pulled down for the erection of a house. Mr. Bent made an excellent impression of the inscription, which he has kindly sent me; upon this the text is based. The inscription is entire on the right and at the bottom; the left and the top are mutilated. The existing portion measures just one foot in height, and nine inches in width. The surface is for the most part well preserved, and the readings are certain except at the beginning of lines 17—18, of which more will be said. The letters are engraved στοιχῶδον.

ΚΕΙΟΝ ΠΑΡ /
 ΔΕΙΞΕΤΕ ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΗ /
 ΡΗΘΗΝΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΗ /
 ΜΙΣΘΟΝΟΦΕΙΛΟΝΤΑΝΤ
 ΞΕΙΟΙΤΕΦΕΥΓΟΝΤΕΣΥΓ 5
 ΡΟΛΙΤΑΙΕΣΤΑΝΕΝΗΜΕΡ
 ΡΟΣΤΑΤΗΣΜΗΤΕΤΑΝΑΛΛ
 ΑΛ ΑΓΕΙΝΡΡΛΤΟΝΑΛΛΑΚΛΙΕ
 ΑΙΡΟΛΙΤΑΙΕΣΤΑΝΟΣΔΑΝΟΛΙΓ
 ΕΝΗΘΕΙΞΕΤΡΙΗΚΟΝΤΑΜΝΑΣΦ 10
 ΚΗΡΥΧΘΕΙΞΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣΕΤΗΣΠΟΛ
 ΕΙΛΞΑΝΣΙΛΗΚΑΙΑΤΕΛΗΣΕΣΤΑΚΑ
 ΙΔΕΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΜΗΔΕΟΡΚΟΕΜΗΔΕΙΞ
 ΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΤΟΑΛΛΟΤΙΑΝΕΡΙ
 ΙΗΙΗΘΡΚΟΝΟΜΝΥΗΙΡΑΝΤΑΑΚΡΑ 15
 ΑΙΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΕΞΕΙΞΕΛΙΘΟΝΟΕ
 ΘΗΥΞΟ(?)ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΑΤΕΤΑΝΓΡΑΜΜ
 ΕΙΟΤΑΤΑΣΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΝΤΕΞΕΛΛΙ
 ΕΣΟΛΟΡΚΟΝΔΕΟΜΟΣΑΙΡΑΝΤΑΣΑ
 ΟΛΙΓΑΡΧΙΗΝΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΣΑΝΤΑΣΚ 20
 ΗΜΟΥΟΝΑΝΗΒΟΛΗΣΥΝΓΡΑΨΗΙΑΡΧ
 ΞΕΝΔΕΘΑΣΛΙΗΡΟΦΑΝΟΡΑΣΛΝΙΔΗ
 ΟΧΟΣΚΛΕΟΔΗΜΟΥ *vacant.*

I venture to restore as follows :—

- . . . § 1. εἰ δὲ τινι ἡ ἀτέλεια ἡ πρυταν]εῖον παρὰ [τῷ
 δήμῳ ἀερερρήθη μὴ γενη]θείσης τε ὀλιγαρχ[ίῃ-
 ς ἀκυρα ἔστω, ὅσα δὲ ἀνερ]ρήθη ἐν ὀλιγαρχίῃ [κ-
 ύρια· § 2. οἱ τε νῦν ἀρχοντες] μισθὸν ὀφειλόντων τ-
 5 ὦν δούλων? τοῖς συνεστ]ῶσι· § 3. οἱ τε φεύγοντες ἐπ-
 ὶ τοῦ δήμου ἢν κατίωσι] πολῖται ἔστων ἐν ἡμέρ-
 ῃ τῇ αὐτῇ, καὶ μήτε π[ροστάτης μήτε τῶν ἄλλ-
 ῶν τις θελέτω ζητη]μῖ ἀγειν πρῶτον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐ-
 ν ἡμέρῃ τῇ αὐτῇ πολῖται ἔστων· § 4. ὃς δ' ἂν ὀλιγ-
 10 αρχίης νῦν ἤδη γ[ενηθείσης τριήκοντα μνᾶς φ-
 ἔρη τῇ πόλει] κηρυχθεῖς εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλ-
 εως ἐπηνήσθω] εἰως ἂν ζῇ, καὶ ἀτέλης ἔστω· § 5. κα-
 ἱ μὴ δυνάσθω μη]δὲ ψήφισμα μηδὲ ὄρκος μηδεὶς
 ἀκυρον ποιεῖν] τὸ ψήφισμα το(ῦ)το, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἂν ἐπι-
 15 ὦν τις χρηματί]ξῃ ἢ ὄρκον ὁμνύῃ πάντα ἀκρα-
 τῇ νομιζέσθω· § 6. καὶ ἀναγράψαντες εἰς λίθον θέ-
 σθων ἐν τῷ Διόνυσον, ?] § 7. ἀντίγραφῷ τε τῶν γραμμ-
 ᾶτων ἐς στήλας] λειοτάτας ἀναγράψαντες ἐλ λι-
 μένι αὐτὰ σφίξ]έσθω(ν)· § 8. ὄρκον δὲ ὁμόσαι πάντας Ἄ-
 20 θηναίους τοὺς] ὀλιγαρχίην καταστήσαντας· κ-
 αὶ ὁμόσαι τοῦ δήμου δι' ἂν ἡ βουλὴ συνεγράψῃ, § 9. Ἄρχ-
 ῶν Ἀθη(νησι) Καλλία]ς, ἐν δὲ Θάσῳ Ἡροφῶν Θρασωνιδ[έω],
 ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, . . .]λοχος Κλεοδήμου.

A glance at the document suffices to connect it with the revolution at Thasos described by Thucydides (viii. 64) as part of the programme of Peisander and his friends in B.C. 411. Peisander and the leading oligarchs in the armament at Samos had entered into communication with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes in the winter of B.C. 412—411. Fired with the double hope of crushing their political opponents at home, and of ending the weary war with Sparta by help of the Persian gold, they had sent Peisander and his brother envoys to Athens, and had laid all in train for the suppression of the democracy.¹ Early in the year 411 B.C. Peisander sailed from Athens for Ionia, with ten Athenian envoys, to pursue negotiations with Alcibiades and Tissaphernes.² They soon discovered how unsubstantial was

¹ Thucyd. viii. 47, 48, 53, 54.

² Thucyd. viii. 54.

their hope of Persian help, and how grossly Alcibiades had deluded them. They returned to Samos to take counsel with their friends. It was decided to go on with the political revolution at any cost, and to prosecute the war as before.¹ Accordingly Peisander and five of the envoys are despatched to Athens, to consummate the destruction of the democracy, with instructions to call upon all the cities they could upon their way, and establish an oligarchy.² Tenos, Andros, Carystos, Ægina and other cities were thus visited by Peisander, and the government changed.³ While Peisander and the five envoys were thus engaged upon their mission westward, the other five were despatched under Diotrophes upon similar errands among the other dependencies of Athens; the words of Thucydides are (viii. 64): *παρακελευσάμενοι οὖν τοιαῦτα τὸν μὲν Πείσανδρον εὐθὺς τότε καὶ τῶν πρέσβων τοὺς ἡμῖς αἰστέλλον ἐπ' αἰκου, πράξοντας τάκει, καὶ εἰρητὰ αὐτοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων πόλεων αἷς ἂν προσίσχωσιν ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστάναι· τοὺς δ' ἡμῖς ἐς τὰλλα τὰ ὑπῆκα χωρία ἄλλους ἄλλῃ διέπεμπον. καὶ Διοτρήφην, ὄντα περὶ Χίον, ἱρημένον δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐπὶ Θράκης ἄρχειν, αἰστέλλον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν.* Diotrophes sailed to Thasos, overturned the democracy and established an oligarchy in its room; *καὶ ἀφικομενος ἐς τὴν Θάσον τὰν δῆμον κατέλυσε.* It is this revolution to which our inscription refers. But although successful at the moment, it proved no exception to the failure which everywhere attended the plans of the Four Hundred. Their hatred of the demos had blinded them against seeing facts as they were; it was obvious that in such revolutionary times there could be no halting-place—especially when all Greece was divided into two hostile armies—between democracy and the Athenian alliance on the one hand, and oligarchy and the Spartan alliance on the other. The proceedings at Thasos were a case in point. Within two months the oligarchy at Thasos was in correspondence with other Thasian oligarchs who had

¹ Thucyd. viii. 56, 63; comp. Aristot. *Política*, viii. 4, § 13 (Longinus) = 1204 B: *ἀπὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥεπαρισσάντων τὸ πρῶτον δαδόντες μεταβάλλουσιν τὴν πολιτείαν, εἰς ἑταίρου βίῃ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, οἷος ἐστὶ τὸν τετρακοσίαν τοὺς δῆμον ἐξουσίαν, φάσκοντες τὸν βασιλεῖα χρημάτων παρὶς τοῖς πόλεων τὸν πρὸς Περσέων, φασκόμενοι* 34

ἐστέχειν ἐπειρῶντο τὴν πολιτείαν. Aristotle seems to imply that Peisander and his colleagues had overestimated from the first their confidence in the promises of Alcibiades, and were not so minded against as Thucydides describes.

² Thucyd. viii. 64, 65.

³ Thucyd. viii. 69, with Grote's remarks thereon, *History*, ch. 62.

previously been driven to take refuge in Peloponnesus. Before long Thasos had received a Lacedæmonian garrison and harvest. The comment of Thucydides is striking: *περὶ μὲν οὖν τὴν Θάσον πάναντία τοῖς τῆς ὀλιγαρχίας καθιστάσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐγένετο, δοκεῖν δέ μοι καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις πολλοῖς τῶν ὑπηκόων σφαιροσύνην γὰρ λαβοῦσαι αἱ πόλεις καὶ ἄδειαν τῶν πρασσόμενων ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντικρυς ἐλευθερίαν, τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ὑπουλον αὐτονομίαν οὐ προτιμήσαντες.*¹

Short-lived as this Thasian revolution proved, it was part of a movement which at the instant vibrated from one shore of the Ægean to the other, and to the oligarchs of Thasos must have seemed a matter of life and death. No wonder therefore if they took pains to secure themselves against a counter-revolution (lines 12—16), and ordered copies of the documents which established the new constitution to be carefully inscribed and preserved (lines 16—19).

If the historical reference of the decree were less obvious and certain, I should have hesitated on palæographical grounds to assign the inscription to so early a date as the fifth century. On the one hand the forms of *Μ* and *Ξ* are decidedly splayed, the right leg of *Ν* does not touch the line, and the middle stroke of *Ε* is equal in length to the upper and lower strokes; but, on the other hand, *Ω* *Ο* *Λ* are rather smaller than the other letters. In fact the forms are practically identical with those of the Thasian inscriptions which Bechtel (*Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*, p. 3; published in the *Abhandlungen d. Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1884, Band xxxii.) assigns to about B.C. 300. But, the truth is, Ionic palæography underwent little or no change during the latter part of the fifth and the fourth centuries B.C. The Olynthian treaty between Amyntas and the Chalcidians (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 60) cannot be much later than 400 B.C., and its lettering (to judge by excellent impressions which lie before me) is quite as far advanced in the direction of decline, if not more so, than that of our Thasian decree. The letters of our decree are simple and firm, and engraved *στοιχηδόν*, this arrangement being only violated twice, in lines 12 and 21, where *ΗΙ* and *ΟΝ* are made to occupy each but one space. Such

¹ The very next year, B.C. 410, Thasos again reverted to the Athenian alliance (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 1, 32): 'Ερ Θάσω δὲ

κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τούτων ἀπέδωκεν γενομένης ἐκείνου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ὁ Ἀδώνης ἡγεμενὸς Ἐρεβίνου.

deviations are not unknown in Attic documents of the fifth century (e.g. see *Greek Inscr. in B. M.*, Pt. i., Nos. xxvii., line 39; xxxviii. B, line 26; *C.I.A.* i., Nos. 45, line 10; 506, line 3; 419, lines 5, 6; 433, line 29; 443, line 2; compare *ibid. supplm.*, No. 61a). ΟΥ has not entirely taken the place of Ο for the diphthong: in line 21 we have ΒΟΛΗ and perhaps [ΔΙ]ΟΝΥΞΟ in line 17; but [Δ]ΗΜΟΥ and ΚΛΕΟΔΗΜΟΥ in lines 21, 23. More noteworthy as an index of date is Ο for the genuine diphthong ου in ΤΟΤΟ = τούτο (line 14): in Attic inscriptions of the latter part of the fifth century the same mistake is occasionally found (see Meisterhans, *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*, p. 30). The dialect is consistently Ionic: ὀλιγαρχίη in lines 3, 20; τμήματα, line 10; ζώη in line 12, from ζῶει so common in Herodotus. ΕΙΩΞ in line 12 is certainly εἰως for ἕως; but it must not be confused with the supposed Homeric form εἰως = ἕως, which all the recent grammarians discard as a mere blunder of the MSS. for εἰος or ἥος (see Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* s.v. and *reff.*). Rather it is an early example of that tendency to insert an iota after epsilon, which became so common in the Attic and Ionic of the fourth century; compare forms like δειήται, ἰδρύσειωσ, πέλουσα and so on (see Meisterhans, *Grammatik*, pp. 21 fol.). This spelling of the particular word ἕως does not appear to occur elsewhere, but examples of other words so modified are not wanting as early as our inscription; see Bechtel, *Inschriften der ion. Dialekts*, No. 18, who edits δειόμενος in a document hardly later than our decree, and mentions, as the earliest instance he has noticed, Νηλείωσ in an inscription of B.C. 418 (*Εφημέρις Ἀρχαιολ.*, 1884, 161). Our inscription is neatly engraved, but there are some slips: ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΗ in line 22 should be ΘΡΑΣΩΝΙΔΕΩ, and -ΕΞΘΩ at the beginning of line 19 is almost certainly a blunder for -ΕΞΘΩ[Ν].

The phrasing of the document is terse and brief; unfortunately it seems to contain none of the conventional formulæ to enable us to determine the exact length of the lines. Lines 7, 9, 18, and 20 foll. seem the easiest to restore, and I suppose the lines originally to have consisted of 36 letters each. The 23 imperfect lines before us form only the conclusion of the original decree, which may have been three times as long. The earlier portion must have contained provisions respecting the change of government from democracy to oligarchy, the con-

stitution of the Boule (comp. line 21), the terms of the oath (comp. lines 19 foll.), and other particulars. The extant fragment contains only a few subordinate clauses, which I have endeavoured to recover as follows:—

§ 1. *Honours and privileges granted by the preceding government are cancelled* (lines 1—4). This question would be sure to arise; but my restorations are by no means certain: ἀτέλεια ἢ πρωταρίαι occurs in a similar connection in the well-known ancient inscription from Cyzicus, about Manes, son of Medices (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 312 = Röhl, *Inscriptiones Antiq.* 491). This repudiation by an oligarchy of the acts of the democracy illustrates an interesting passage of the *Politics*, where Aristotle discusses the identity of the state, and how far a government is bound to recognize the engagements made by its predecessor. He inclines to make the identity of the πόλις depend upon identity of constitution (πολιτεία); but he hesitates to justify repudiation by this theory (iii., 3, Congreve = 1276, see the notes of Susemihl): ἀποροῦσαι γάρ τινες πόθ' ἢ πόλις ἐπραξε καὶ πότε οὐχ ἡ πόλις, οἷον ὅταν ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας ἢ τυραννίδος γένηται δημοκρατία· τότε γάρ οὔτε τὰ συμβόλαια ἐνιοι βούλονται διαλύειν κ.τ.λ. and *ibid.* ad fin., εἰ δὲ δίκαιον διαλύειν ἢ μὴ διαλύειν ὅταν εἰς ἑτέραν μεταβάλλῃ πολιτείαν ἢ πόλις, λόγος ἕτερος.

§ 2. *Rewards voted to the slaves (Υ) who had assisted in the revolution* (lines 4, 5). I place no dependence upon my conjectural restoration, beyond the fact that line 4 certainly refers to a debt which is not to be repudiated by the new government, and -ΩΞΙ in line 5 is part of the dative of the persons to whom the debt is due.

§ 3. *Outlawed members of the party to be ipso facto restored to civic rights upon their return to Thasos* (lines 5—9). That is, no period of probation should be required, nor any formal vote of the Boule. The vote of the demos which had disfranchised them is hereby cancelled, and they become what they were before. The reference to the προστάτης is interesting, and illustrates what I have remarked on an Iasian decree in Part iii. (1) of *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, No. cccxxx., lines 28 foll.; compare some remarks upon the Athenian practice in the *Hellenic Journal*, iii., p. 138.

§ 4. *Rich men invited to contribute money to the needs of the state* (lines 9—12). The general sense can hardly be other than

as restored, although I lay no stress on the particular words I have suggested.

§ 5. *The present decree to be a fundamental law of the Constitution.* If I am right in connecting our decree with the oligarchical revolution of B.C. 411, this clause received an ironical comment in the counter-revolution in favour of Lacedaemon which took place two months later. It is worth noting that in another Thasian decree, of the third century B.C., there is inserted a similar clause forbidding any attempt to repeal the enactment (*C.I.G.*, 2161): *μηδενὶ μὴτ' εἰπεῖν μὴτ' ἐπερωτῆσαι ὑπὲρ λύσιος μήτε ἐπιψηφίσαι· κρατεῖν δὲ πάντα τὰ ἐψηφισμένα.* 'Ὁς δ' ἂν παρὰ ταῦτα εἴπῃ ἢ ἐπερωτήσῃ ἢ ἐπιψηφίσῃ, τὰ τε δόξαντα ἄκυρα ἔστω καὶ χιλίους στατήρας ὀφειλέτω ἱεροῦς Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ, χιλίους δὲ τῇ πόλει.

§ 6. *This decree to be inscribed* (lines 16, 17). The letters in the impression at the beginning of line 17 are too faint to be read with certainty, but I fancy they may be -ΟΝΥΞΟ. If so, the phrase *ἐν τῷ Διονέσῳ* may be paralleled by *C.I.G.*, 213: *ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐστῆλη λιθίνῃ ἐμ Πανδίορος τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς.* But I confess that the reading is very doubtful.

§ 7. *Duplicates of the documents to be inscribed and preserved* (lines 17—19). What documents are alluded to us *τὰ γράμματα*? Probably not the present decree, but some correspondence which had preceded it—perhaps a letter from Peisander himself. The word *ΛΕΙΟΤΑΤΑΣ* is rather dim, as the surface of the stone just here is somewhat worn; but there is little doubt of the reading, though the expression is unusual. I have restored *ἐλ λιμῆνι*, although Mr. Bent warns me that 'Limena,' as a proper name of the place where the marble was found, is only modern: it is, however, the chief harbour of the island, and is built on the site of the old town of Thasos.

§ 8. *Who are to take the oath besides the Thasian oligarchs?* (lines 19—21). If I am right in restoring *Ἀθηναίους*, these are the Athenians who accompanied Diotrephes on his cruise, as described by Thucydides, *i.e.* I have omitted the article before *ὀλιγαρχίην* in line 20, following the example of lines 2, 3, 9. 'And every member of the demos shall take the oath, *i.e.* every citizen whom the Boule shall constitute a member of the demos.' This may be compared with Thucydides, viii., 67,

which describes the appointment of *συγγραφεῖς* at Athens to draw up a new constitution, and the power given to the oligarchial Boule to constitute and summon only when and as it pleased the nominal demos of 'Five Thousand.'

§ 9. *A twofold date, Athenian and Thasian* (lines 21—fin.) There can be little doubt about my restorations here. The intrigues of the Four Hundred took place during the spring of B.C. 411, i.e. during the latter half of the archonship of Kallias. The official date at Thasos was expressed by naming three archons, as we learn from the Thasian decree already quoted (Bechtel, *Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts*, No. 72 = *C.I.G.*, 2161), which is headed: 'Ἀρχόντων Ἀριστοκλέους τοῦ Σατύρου, Ἀριστομένους τοῦ Ἀμωμήτου, [Λυ](σ)ισ[τρά]του τοῦ Βιτίωνος. Three archons of Thasos were similarly named in our decree, though only the names of two are extant, and one of these is imperfect. Herophon, however, and the others are well-known Thasian names; in the Attic decrees concerning the sons of Apemantus and others, who had been exiled from Thasos through loyalty to Athens (*C.I.A.*, ii., 3 and 4), we read of an Ἀν[δ]ρέων Ἡροφ[ώ]ντος, and [Ἡρ]οφ[ώ]ν Στελλανδρ[ιδου]; also among the lists of Thasian *θεωροί* published by Bechtel (*Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre*, 1884), in No. 12 we find Μῦς Ἡροφ[ώ]ν[τος], and in No. 15 Ἡροφ[ώ]ν Ἀλεξάρχου. In No. 18 *ibid.* occurs the name Thrasonides, Εὐφριλλος Θρασωνίδου, and in No. 20 [Θ]ρασωνίδης Θάσωνος. Also Bechtel, *Inschriften des ion. Dialekts*, No. 82a (from Thasos), Εὐθ[ί]δης Θρασωνίδου, and 82b, Θρασωνίδης Τιμανδρίδου. Again the mutilated name . . . οχος in line 23 may be restored as [Θερσίλ]οχος, [Ἀντίλ]οχος, [Ἀντί]οχος or [Κλεόλ]οχος, all known Thasian names; see Bechtel, *Thasische Inschriften im Louvre*, pp. 23, 14, 6, 10. Finally Κλεόδημος, line 23, was also the name of a Thasian who was carried to Athens as a hostage (probably by Thrasybulus, B.C. 408-7), and there died and was buried (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*, No. 69); his epitaph reads thus: Κλεοδήμου(ν) το(ῦ) Ἀριστ(ι)ππο(ν) Θασίο(ν) ἐμήρο(ν).

E. L. HICKS

INSCRIPTIONS FROM THASOS.

THE following inscriptions were discovered in Thasos in the winter of 1886, by Mr. J. Theodore Bent. Owing to the opposition of the Turkish authorities he was prevented from conveying to England the original marbles and monuments, and had to be content, for the present, with his memoranda of the sites explored and impressions of the inscriptions. One of these paper impressions has supplied the text of the Thasian Decree discussed in the preceding pages. The other Thasian impressions were placed by Mr. Bent in the hands of Mr. A. H. Smith of the British Museum, to be prepared for publication in this Journal. Mr. A. H. Smith however found the task he had undertaken in preparing an Index to the *Hellenic Journal* was making such demands upon his time, that he invited me to relieve him by editing the whole of Mr. Bent's Thasian impressions. Mr. Smith had already made transcriptions of a number of the texts, which he kindly placed at my disposal. I am however myself responsible for the arrangement and restoration of the texts as here given. Their interest and value will be considerably enhanced by the memoranda which Mr. Bent himself has furnished respecting the sites and buildings wherein the various inscriptions were discovered. None of them, so far as I know, have been published before.

No. 1. 'From the temple at Alki.' 'Close up against the southern side of the entrance stood a large block of marble, with an inscription on it relating the names of various archons, polemarchs, &c.' The inscription is entire; the letters in line 1 are larger than the rest.

ΑΡΧΩΝΗΡΑΓΟΡΑΣΝΕΙΚΑΔΟΥ
 ΠΕΡΙΓΕΝΗΣΝΥΜΦΙΔΟΣΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΗΣ
 ΕΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ - ΠΟΛΕΜΑΡΧΟΙΣΩΦΡΩΝ ΜΑΡΚΕΛΕΙΝΟΥ
 ΑΝΤΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕΟΓΕΝΟΥΜΑΡΚΟΣΑΡΗΤΟΥ - ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ
 5 ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΥΔΙΟΣΚΟΥΡΙΔΗΣΙΕΡΟΚΗΡΥΞ
 ΑΠΟΛΟΓΟΙΦΙΡΜΟΣΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΟΥΗΡΑΓΟΡΑΣΑΡΧΕΛΕΟΥ
 ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ

* Ἀρχων · Ἡραγόρας Νεικάδου, | Περιγένης Νύμφιδος,
 Ἀντιφάνης | Εἰσιδῶρου · -Πολέμαρχοι · Σώφρων Μαρκε-
 λείνου, | Ἀντάνδρος Θεογένου, Μάρκος Ἀρήτου, Χαρίτων |
 Παραμόνου, Ζώσιμος Εὐφροσύνου - Διοσκουρίδης Ἱεροκῆρυξ· - |
 Ἀπολόγοι · Φίρμος Πετρωίου, Ἡραγόρας Ἀρχελείου, |
 Λούκιος.

In the Thasian decree *C.I.G.* 2161, (= Bechtel, *Inscriften des ion. Dialekts*, No. 72), the names of three archons are given by way of date; similarly three archons are named in the decree published on p. 401 *ante*. In the fragmentary psephisma published by Conze (*Reise auf den Inseln d. Thrak. Meeres*, p. 8), the date is lost. In a Thasian lease however (Bechtel, *l. c.* No. 71), only *one* archon is named: Ἐπὶ Λυσιστράτου [τοῦ Λ]ίσχραντος ἀρχο[ντος κ.τ.λ.]. We may therefore understand that though the board of three archons ought properly to be named as the eponymi of the year, yet sometimes only one was named as the *primus inter pares*. A like apparent discrepancy meets us in respect of the board of neopoiai at Iasos (see p. 105 of this *Journal*), and also the board of priests of Zeus Megistos at the same town, (*Ibid.*, p. 115). Accordingly, in the present dedication, I understand the board of archons to number three, who are each named: but the first is *ἀρχων* in a stricter sense, as presiding. Hence the combination of the singular *ἀρχων* with three proper names following, much as in the decree on p. 401 *ante*.

The *πολέμαρχοι* are not otherwise known at Thasos, and perhaps may be taken as equivalent to *στρατηγοί*. Perhaps there were five Thasian tribes.

The *ἀπολόγοι* of Thasos, known to us already from *C.I.G.* 2161, are to be identified with the *εὐθνοί*, *λομισταί*, *ἐξετασταί*, *συνήγοροι* of other cities (Schömann, *Antiqq. Juris Publ. Græc.*,

p. 85). In other words they were financial magistrates; but the title is elsewhere unknown. The father's name is omitted only in the case of Dioscourides the herald (line 5), and of Lucius one of the Apologi (line 7). Dioscourides may have been a freedman, and this would account for the omission. But Lucius, if holding an important office, must have been a full citizen, and the omission may be accidental.

No. 2. 'From the temple (Panthson) at Alki.' This stone was 'in the wall behind' the votive altar, No. 3. Letters 2 in. high.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	Διονύσιος
ΕΡΩΤΟΣ	Ἐρωτος;
ΙΕΡΟΚΗΡΥΞ	ἱεροκήρυξ

Ἐρωτ is the name of the father of Dionysios.

No. 3. 'From Aliki.' Broken at top, and on either side.

ΑΧΕΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΗΤΗ;
(*Vacant.*)

.. π]ίσης παραμονῆς τῇ(ς) ..

Liddell and Scott say *z.v.* παραμονή: 'a station or watch, Byzant.' This may be the meaning here. The lettering is coarse and late.

No. 4. 'From the temple, Alki.'

Ο	A fragment broken on all sides.
ΔΙΣ	
ΡΠ	
ΚΕ	

No. 5. 'Little altar (hollow inside) from the temple at Alki.' Height 13 in.; width of inscribed face, 8 in. The upper surface of the marble is injured.



.....
ΑΝΕΘΗ
ΚΕΝΘΕΩ
ΜΗΝΙΤΥΡΑΝ
ΝΩΔΙΟΝΥΣΩ
ΛΑΕΟΥΧΑΡΙΙ
CA *vacant*

[ὁ δαῖνα or ἡ δαῖνα]
ἀνέθη-
κεν Θεῷ
Μηνὶ Τυράν-
νῳ Διονύσῳ·
Λαέον χάρι(ν)[ποι-
οῦ]σα!

Votive offering to the deity Men Tyrannos Dionysos, from a woman (?) on account of *Iacos* (her husband?). The worship of the Moon-deity Men was widely spread, in Asia Minor especially; see the inscriptions from Phrygia published by Professor Ramsay in this Journal (iv. 1883, p. 417); Head, *Historia Numorum*, (Index, s.v. Mén). The classical passages are Strabo xii. 557, 577; and Spartian, *Hist. Caracall.* 6, 7. I know no other instance of the title *Τύραννος* being elsewhere given to this deity, nor of his identification with Dionysos. Probably the giver of the offering was a foreigner.

No. 6. 'From Alikí.' Apparently a dedication from the temple.

	[ὁ δαῖνα]
ΗΙΤΑΩΕΛΝ	.....λαὸς ἐν
ΟΜΕΝΟC <i>vacant</i>	.....όμενος
Υ <i>vacant</i>	ἀνέθηκε]ν?

No. 7. 'Edge of step, Alkí.' 'At the south-western corner of this outer chamber, which was in width 32 ft. 7 in., we came across a raised platform . . . along this, in letters of an early period, ran the inscription ΔΑΟΣΑΠΟΛΛ' . . . The letters are 2½ in. high.

ϜΔΑΟΣΑΠΟΛΛΟ broken

The O at the end is certainly given by the impression, and it is impossible to restore any case of *Ἀπόλλων*. The flourish proves the commencement of the line to be complete. I restore, with confidence, something like the following:—

Δαὸς Ἀπολλο[θέωρου ἀνέθηκεν.]

The letters may be of the third century B.C.

No. 8. 'From Alki.' Apparently broken at top, left, and bottom. Perhaps from a dedication.

ΤΟΣΑΥΤΩΝ *unin-*

ΛΕCΤΑΤΗΝ *scribed*

..... ς]τος αὐτῶν

... ἐπιμε[?]λεστάτην

No. 9. 'Stone dug up in the marble building, near the sea, Aliki. From the same building described in the heading of No. 15. Also we found another well-cut stone with *Anteros* scribbled on it in large irregular letters.'

ΑΝΕCΑΥΡΑ

ΑΝΤΕΡΩC

ΕΝ

These may be casual graffiti. But I prefer to consider them as one inscription, engraved by an ignorant or careless workman. The letters of 'Αντέρωc are three times as large as the rest.

ἀνέσ-

'Αντέρωc [τησ-] Αὐρ. Α.

εν.

The nomen and praenomen Αὐρ. Α. ought to have preceded; but, having been omitted, are put in after the name 'Αντέρωc.

No. 10. 'From the temple at Alki: edge of a cup or bowl.' Apparently an *ex voto*.

ΚΑΙΡΙΘ

Possibly Χαῖρ' Ἴθυ . . . ?

No. 11. Stone built into the Skale of Marinae, Agios Jannis.

*Broken bas-relief
with seated
figure.*

ΒΕΝΔΟΥCΤΥ
ΑΥΡ - ΕΥΤΥΧC

Βενδοῦc τυ[χ . . ?]

Αὐρ. Εὐτυχ[ος . . .]

Perhaps an *ex voto*.

No. 12. 'Slab with votive inscription from the temple, Alki.'
Height 1 ft. 8 in.; width 2 ft. 7 in. The stone seems to be sadly worn.

ONT/ ΠΗ
ΥΠΛΟΙΑΤΩΖΜΙΝ
ΤΩΤΡΩΑΔΙΝΑΥ/
ΝΕΣΟΝΑΕΡΙΗΝΕΡΙΠΛΕΥΣΑΕ
5 Ν ΥΣΑΙ Ν
C ΕΥΝΕ ΑΣΠΑΕ
ΟΙΛΗΛΤΕΘΕ
ΚΑΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΑΕ ΑΙΝΑΥΤΙ
ΟΤ ΠΕΡΕΠΑΕΥΣΑ

We can only decipher a few words here and there. *Εὐπλοια* here means 'a votive offering for a safe voyage:' see Nos. 16, 17.

[E]ὐπλοια τῷ Ζμυ[θίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι]
τῷ Τρωάδι ναυ[κλήρῳ κ.τ.λ.]

We may take *Τρωάδι* as a local dative. Then followed a metrical dedication of very small merit. For *Ἀερία* as a name for Thasos see Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θάσος.

Ν(ῆ)σον Ἀερὶην περιπλεύσας . . .
. . . . ν[α]ῦς
Σ . . . συνέ ασπασ . .
. . . . οισ(μ)ατ' ἔθος .
Καὶ . . . εὐφράνας . . . αὶ ναυτι[λ]ι . .
. . . . ο.τ. . . . περ ἔπλευσα.

No. 13. 'From the temple at Alki.' Broken at top and right;
measuring apparently 1 ft. 4 in., by 1 ft.

ΕΥΠ	Εὐπ[λοια] τῷ
ΑΣΚ/	Ἀσκ[ληπιῶ]
ΤΩ	τῷ . . .
CΥΤ	συ . . .
ΤΩC	τω . . .

Nos. 14, 15. From the East and West sides respectively of a pedestal from the temple at Alki. 'About three feet from the wall we laid bare a larger pedestal, with votive inscriptions behind and before. The inscription to the front was headed with the name of Athene... the inscription behind ...*είσφορός*... Near this pedestal we found fragments of a draped statue, which had presumably stood upon it.'

No. 14.

ΑΘΗ ΗΘ
ΕΥΠΛΕΑΤΩΗΡΑ
ΚΛΗΤΩΕΥΤΥΧΗ
ΤΩΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΕΙ
5 ΚΕΙΤΩΕΠΙΚΤΗΧ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΖΩΪΛΟΥ
ΖΩΪΛΩΑΡΧΙΚΕΡ
ΔΕΝΠΟΡΩΕΥ/
ΤΥΧΩΣ/

'Αθή(ν)η.
Εὐπλεα τῷ Ἡρα-
κλῇ τῷ Εὐτύχῃ
τῷ Θεσσαλονει-
κεῖ τῷ Ἐπικτή-
του καὶ Ζωΐλου
Ζωΐλῳ ἀρχικερ-
δενπόρῳ ἐν-
τυχῶς.

Apparently a votive offering to Athena and to Heracles, bespeaking a successful voyage (*εὐπλεα* = *εὐπλοια* by a late itacism) for Eutyches of Thessalonica, son of Epictetus and for Zoilus son of Zoilus. The latter seems to have belonged to a guild of merchants who resided at Thasos, and had taken for their patron-god *Hermēs κερδέμπορος*. They styled themselves accordingly *κερδέμποροι*, and Zoilus was their president, *ἀρχικερδέμπορος* (line 8). The inscription is very illiterate, and the blundering use of the article is highly confusing: it is not earlier than the second century A.D.; the cross at the end of line 5, and the strokes at the end of lines 8, 9, are merely flourishes. *Εὐτυχῶς* is a common finish to a late votive dedication, as Mr. Wood's Ephesian inscriptions abundantly testify. The reader may compare two well-known inscriptions, *C.I.G.* Nos. 124, and 2271, which speak of associations of merchants, *ἔμποροι καὶ νάυκληροι*.

No. 15.

	ΙΟ	..... ιο -
	ΚΙC	..... κισ -
	ΛΑΡΙΑΝΩ	..... (σ)αριανῶ
	ΦΙΜΩΝΑΥΚΑ	Τρο]φίμῳ ναυκλ -
5	ΩΚΑΙΤΟΙCΣΥΝΠΛΕ	ήρ]ρω καί τοῖς συνπλέ -
	ΟΥCΙ ΕΙCΦΟΡΟC	ουσι[ν] εἰς φορός.

I explain ΕΙCΦΟΡΟC in line 6 as standing for εἰς φορός, "thou art favourable," and suppose these to be the last words of a votive dedication, to bespeak a favourable journey (εὐπλοία) for the persons mentioned in the preceding lines. The lettering appears to be somewhat less late than that of No. 14.

No. 16. 'From Alki.' 'Between the southern wall of the temple and the hill which rose abruptly behind it ran a narrow passage, with steps leading down to the sea. . . . This passage was 7 ft. 4 in. wide, and at forty feet from the top of the steps was divided by a wall and a door. . . . This passage . . . evidently was in connection with the temple, for on one stone of the outer wall of the temple we found a much obliterated inscription, of which all we could decipher was 'to Poseidon . . . ' and in another line the name Asclepius, and in the third the name Pegasos.

ΤΕΥΠΛΟΙΑΤΩΠΟCΕΙΔ
ΑΙΤΩΑCΚΛΗΠΙΩΤΩΠΙ
surface injured ΠΕΓΑCΩ

The marks at the beginning seem to be the remains of an initial flourish. The word εὐπλοία means here 'a votive offering for a fair voyage.' See Nos. 12, 13, 17.

Εὐπλοία τῷ Ποσειδ[ῶνι]
κ[αί] τῷ Ἀσκληπιῶ τῷ π . .
..... Πεγάσῳ

No. 17. From the temple at Alki. 'Another votive tablet . . . was dedicated to Artemis . . . by Eutyclus, &c.'

ΕΥΠΛΟΙΑΣΟΙΑΡΤΕΜΙ
 ΝΑΥΚΛΗΡΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΟΥ
 ΜΥΤΙΑΗΝΑΙΟΥΠΡΟΝΑΥΚΛΗ
 ΡΟΥΤΥΧΙΚΟΥΚΥΒΕΡΝΗ
 ΤΟΥΙΟΥΚΟΥΝΔΟΥ

The letters are large, from $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. to 2 in. high: Υ tends to indulge in flourishes, and Ε has lengthened horizontal strokes. Εὐπλοία has here, as in No. 16, the meaning of 'a votive offering for a voyage.' With σοι Ἄρτεμι compare the Εὐχαριστῶ σοι Ἄρτεμι of many of the Ephesian dedications discovered by Mr. Wood in the Artemision. The date of our document is about 100 A.D.

Εὐπλοία σοι Ἄρτεμι
 ναυκλήρου Εὐτόχου
 Μυτιληναίου πρό ναυκλή-
 ρου Τυχικοῦ, κυβερνή-
 του Ἰουκούνδου.

No. 18. 'From western gate of Thasos; with bas-relief attached.'

ΚΕΡΔΩΝΗΙΙΛΓ	Κέρδων Μέγ[ας] ?
ΟΚΑΙΣΙΣΙΡΟΣΝΕ	ὁ καὶ Σίσιρος Νε-
ΜΕΣΕΙΑΠΑΛΛΑ	μέσει ἀπαλλα-
ΓΕΙΣΘΕ Σ	γείσ' εὐπλοία)s
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχήν.

An *ex voto* to Nemesis offered by some superstitious mariner after a safe voyage. He is reconciled to Nemesis (*ἀπαλλαγείς*), having escaped her wrath; but he does not boast of his good fortune, and so writes *εὐπλοίας* in cipher. The dots are on the original marble.

No. 19. From Thasos: but the locality is not specified. Perhaps from the temple at Alki?

ΕΥΗΛΕ	Εὐήμε-
ΡΟCΔΙΟ	ρος Διο-
ΝΥCΙΟΥ	νυσίου
ΝΕΛΕCΕΙ	Νεμέσει
ΕΥΧΗΝ	εὐχὴν

No. 20. 'Scribbled on the floor of the temple between the columns, Alki.' The impression is a bad one; parts of the inscriptions are marked on the impression with blue (by Mr. Bent?) but are otherwise invisible. The slab measures 2 ft. 11 in. by 1 ft. 9 in.

3—x2
 ιιχιοχι
 ΟΥΥΧ
 ΥΙΙΙ
 ΟΙΟΙΔΥ
 ΚΑΛΟΞ
 ΑCΣ
 ΑΕΙ
 ΝΗ

Evidently from various hands. They may be thus transcribed:—

(a) Ἀριστογέτω[ν] καλός[ς].

(b) Καλός . . . ες . . . λει . . . νη. Or perhaps, as no other letters appear in the impression, we may combine thus: Μεσ[σα]λείνη.

(c) I can make nothing of the smaller letters.

No. 21. 'Inscribed on the floor of the temple, Alki, between the Doric columns.' Measures 3 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 4 in. Unsuccessful impression. The letters vary from 3 in. to 4 in. in height.

ΔΕ ΕΒΑΣΙΑΕ
 ΛΙΕΡΜΙΓΕΝΗ
 ΧΑ

Possibly something like this :

Δε[κμ]ε Βασίλε[ιε].
[ΑΓ]λιε Ἐρμ(ο)γένη[ς].
χα[ίρετε].

No. 22. 'Scrawled upon the floor of the temple, between the columns, Alki.' The slab measures 14 in. by 2 ft. 3 in.

ΣΙΜΟΣΙΛΑΡΟΣ
ΚΑΛΟΣ
Γ - ΚΑΡΔΙΑΝΣ

The original inscription seems to have been Σίμος καλός · Γ. Καρδία—. C(a)ius Cardia—is the admirer who scrawled the inscription. The epithet *ίλαρός* was an afterthought of his, inserted in smaller letters; the other letters are 3 in. high.

No. 23. 'Scrawled on the floor of the temple between the columns, Alki.' The slab measures 1 ft. 9½ in by 3 ft.

Δ
Σ
Φ

ΦΙΛΩΝ
ΙΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΣ
ΙΛΟΣ
ΜΥΡCΙΝΗ

ΙΙΕΤΩ
ΚΑΛ

These appear to be by different hands and may be thus transcribed :—

- (a) Φίλων (Ἡ)πειρώτας [φ]ίλος.
- (b) [Ἐπα](ν)ετος καλ[ός].
- (c) Φίλο
- (d) Μυρσίνη (in much less careful letters).

No. 24. 'On stone at west door of the theatre.'

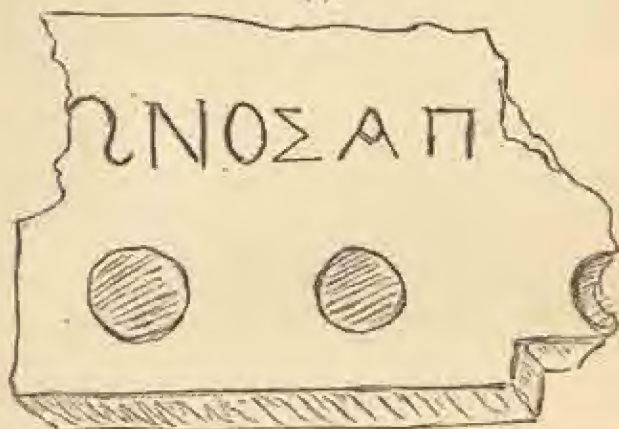
ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣΔΙΦΙΛΟΥ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣΓΓ ΟΜΕΝΙΩ

Bold letters of a good time, not later than second century, B.C.
Those of line 2 rather smaller.

Δίφιλος Διφίλου
ἱερεὺς γε[ν]όμενος ? κ.τ.λ.

No. 25. Specimens of rough inscriptions from seats in the theatre of Thasos:—

(a).



2 ft. 1 in. wide. Three holes 5 in. in diameter, $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. deep.

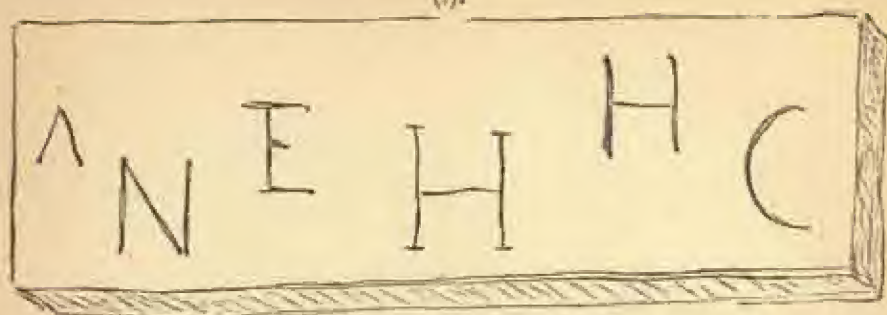
... ωνος 'Απ...

(b).



K turned into B.

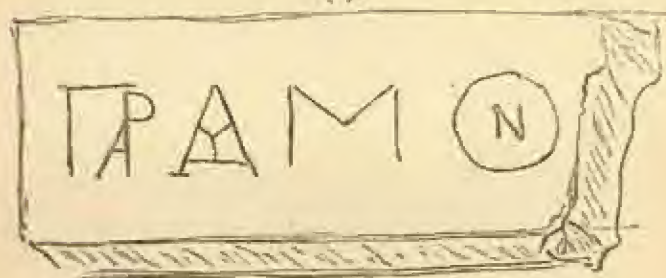
(c).



4 ft. 9 in. long. 1 ft. 7 in. wide.

... ἀνέτης

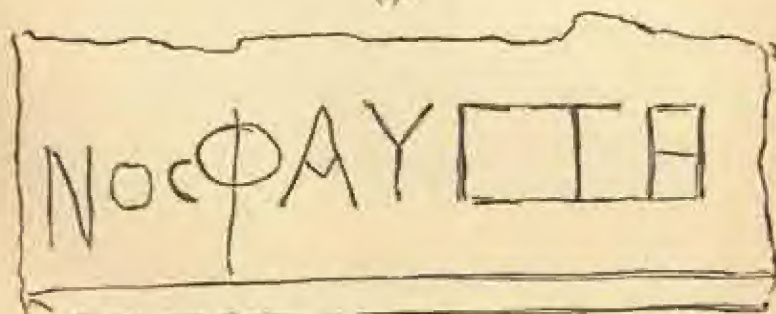
(d).



The measurement is not given.

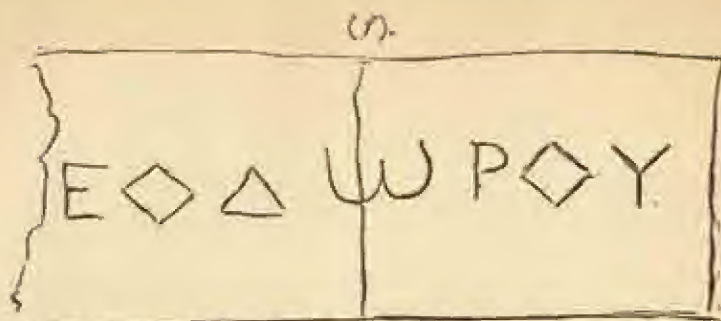
? Παράμειν...

(e).



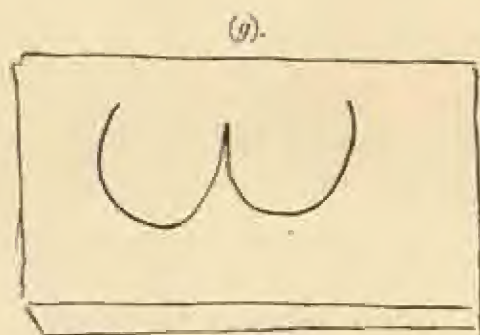
3 ft. 6 in. long, by 1 ft. 6 in. wide.

... νος Φαυστες ...

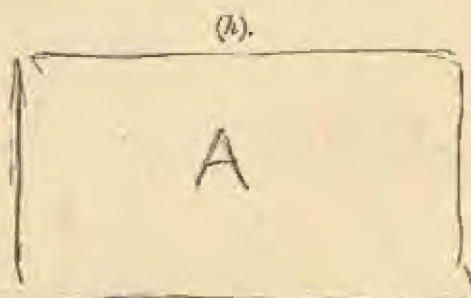


Broken in two, no measurement given.

[Θ]εοδώρου



The Omega is 2 ft. long, by 1 ft. wide.

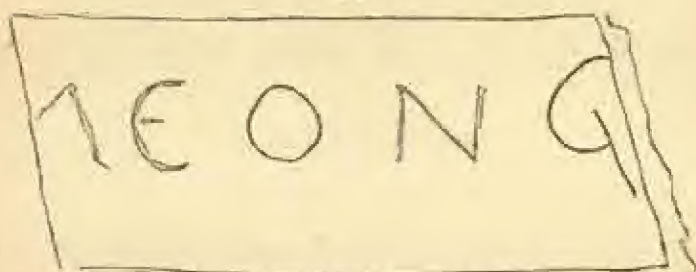


Seat next to Omega had Α $\frac{1}{2}$ ft. high; a great many seats had Omega and Alpha upon them.

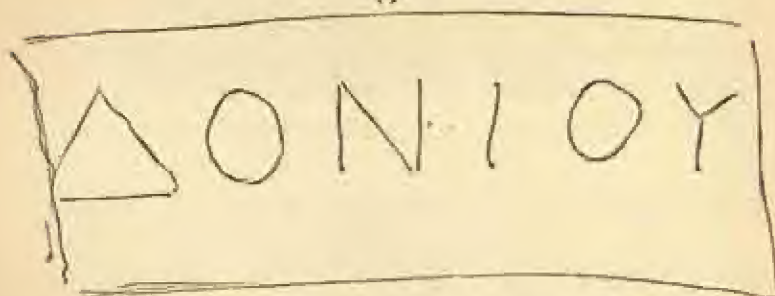
(i).



(k).



(l).



1 ft. 5 in. wide. 3 ft. 6 in. long. Very marked curve.

... *δολίου.*

(m).



'Specimen of Σ from large inscription in theatre.' From impression: Σ is 8 in. high.



'Specimen letter of large inscription round orchestra of theatre'
From impression: Π is 8 in. high.

No. 26. 'From the theatre.' Letters 6 in. high.

ΡΕΙC

No. 27. 'From front edge of a seat in the theatre.' The letters are 2½ inches high.

ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΥΛΕΓΛΕΚΤΟΥ

'Ονησίμου Ἐγλέκτου.

No. 28. 'From the Roman arch.' Inscribed in two long lines

ΤΟΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝΚΑΙΘΕΙΟΤΑΤΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΔΙΣΑΡ
ΑΜΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝΑΝΤΩΝΞΙΝΟΝΞΥΞΒΗΞΞΒ·Π'Α' ΚΟΝΜΞ
ΓΒΡΞΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΝΜΞΓ-ΓΞΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ | ΜΞΓ ΗΘΑΣΙΩΝΠ
ΟΛΙΞ ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΔΟΜΝΑΝ Ξ Ξ ΗΘΑΣΙΩΝΠΟΛΙΞ ΘΞΘ
ΝΛΞΞΠΤΙΜΙΟΝΞΞΥΙ · · · · ΠΞΡΤΙΝΑΚΑ · ΗΘΑΣΙΩΝ —
ΠΟΛΙΞ

(a) Τὸν μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον Αὐτοκράτορα [Κ]αίσαρα Μ. Αὐρήλιον Ἀυτιωνεῖνον Εὐσεβῇ Σεβ(αστῶν), Πα[ρθη]κὸν μέγ(ιστον), Βρεταννικὸν μέγ(ιστον), Γερμανικὸν μέγ(ιστον) ἡ Θασίων πόλις.

(b) Ἰουλίαν Δόμναν Σεβ(αστῆν) ἡ Θασίων πόλις.

(c) Θεὸν Α. Σεπτίμιον Σεβ(η)[ρον] Περτίνακα ἡ Θασίων πόλις.

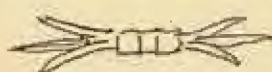
a is in honour of the Emperor Caracalla, after the death of Septimius Severus in A.D. 211, who is therefore styled Θεός in *c*, and after the death of Geta in B.C. 212, for he is not named, and before the death in 217 of Julia Domna, the widow of Severus and mother of Caracalla; to her *b* is dedicated.

In this and the following inscriptions note the affected form of the letters: Σ here is reversed, and Ξ is represented by a reversed Σ with a tongue inserted; compare *C.I.G.* 2162 (Thasos), 1508, 2112.

No. 29. 'From the Roman arch' (?)

ΔΙΟΣ — ΚΡΑΥΝΙΟΥ

Διὸς Κραυνίου.



(Representation of a thunderbolt.)

Of the same date as the preceding.

No. 30. 'From southern pedestal in front of arch.'

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ
ΤΗΝ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑ
ΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΝ
ΜΕΜΜΙΑΝ ΒΕΛΛΗ-
ΑΝΑΛΞΑΝΔΡΑΝΤΟ
ΣΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΟΝ ΣΥΝ
ΞΔΡΙΟΝ ΤΗΣ ΓΕΡΟΥ-
ΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΜΗΤΕΡΑ
Ϝ ΞΥΤΥΧΩΣ Ϝ

'Αγαθὴ τύχη
τὴν ἀξιολογωτά-
την ἀρχιέρειαν
Μεμμίαν Βελλή-
αν Ἀλεξάνδραν τὸ
σεμνότετον συν-
έδριον τῆς γερου-
σίας τὴν μητέρα
εὐτυχώς.

Of the same date as the preceding.

No. 31. 'From the Roman arch.'

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
 ΗΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ
 ΦΛ'ΟΥΞΙΒΙΑΝΣΑΒΞΙΝ
 ΤΗΝΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΗΝ
 5 ΑΡΧΙΞΡΞΙΑΝΚΑΙΑΠΟ
 ΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΑΣΥΝ
 ΚΡΙΤΟΝΜΗΤΞΡΑ
 ΞΑΥΤΗΞΜΟΝΗΝ
 ΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΗΝΤΩΝ
 10 ΑΠΑΙΩΝΟΣΜΞΤΑ
 ΣΧΟΥΣΑΝΤΩΝΙΣΩΝ
 ΤΞΙΜΩΝΤΟΙΣΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΟΥΞΙΝ

'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ
 Ἡ γερουσία
 Φλ. Οὐειβίαν Σαβεῖν[ην],
 τὴν ἀξιολογωτάτην
 ἀρχιέριαν καὶ ἀπὸ
 προγόνων ἀσύν-
 κριτον, μητέρα
 ἐαυτῆς, μόνην
 καὶ πρώτην τῶν
 ἀπ' αἰῶνος μετα-
 σχοῦσαν τῶν ἴσων
 τειμῶν τοῖς γερουσιάζουσιν.

The same affectation in the lettering. The phrase *μόνος καὶ πρῶτος τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος* is common enough in the boastful athletic inscriptions of the later empire. Of the same date as the preceding.

No. 32. 'From northern pedestal at back of arch.'

ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ
 ΙΟΙΣΡΩΤΑΤΟΝΙΙΕ
 ΟΝΒΑΚΧΙΟΝΤΟΝΑΞ
 ΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΝΙΟΥΝ

'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ
 (Τ)ὸ ἱερώτατον (ν)έ-
 ον Βάκχιον τὸν ἀξ-
 ιολογώτατον Ἰοῖν.

5	ΛΑΒ' ΜΑΚΣΔΟΝΑ ΝΕΑΥΤΩΝΙΕΡΟΦΑ ΙΜΗΘΕΝΑΝΤΕΣΤ ΕΥΤΥΥ	Λαβ. Μακεδόνα [τὸ]ν ἐαυτῶν ἱεροφά- [ντην] μὴθὲν ἀντε(στ)- [ῶτα]· εὐτυχ[ῶς].
---	---	--

A similar affectation in the lettering: Σ is reversed in line 7 and Ε in the earlier lines is scarcely distinguishable from Σ except by its longer tongue. The *ῥέον Βάκχιον* must have been a religious society for the celebration of Bacchic mysteries. Of the same date as the preceding.

No. 33. 'Broken fragment of a sarcophagus, Alikí.' Uninscribed at end of lines and at the top.

ΙΤΑΤΗΡΚΑΤΕΘΗΚΕΘΑΝΟΝΤΑ
 ΟΕΤΕΠΩΝΥΛΙΗΝ
 ΕΙΔΩΝΕΥΚΤΛΙΟΝΕΦΗΒΟΝ
 ΑΛΛΓΛΝΑΨΛ ΓΙΙΟΓ

..... πατήρ κατέθηκε θανόντα
 θετ' ἐπωνυμίην·
 εἰδὼν Εὐκταῖον ἔφηβον,
 ἀλλ' ἄγαν ἀψά[μ]ενος.

No. 34. 'Sarcophagus at Alikí, Thasos.' A description of the cemetery of Thasos is given by Mr. Theodore Bent in the *Classical Review*, July 1887, p. 210. Large, well cut letters, two inches high, hardly earlier than 100 A.D.

ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΑΔΗΣΚΑΙΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ
 ΑΦΦΙΑΔΙΤΗΙΔΙΑΜΗΤΡΙΜΝΗ
 ΜΗΧΑΡΙΝ

Ἀσκληπιάδης καὶ Χρῆστος
 Ἀφφιάδι τῇ ἰδίᾳ μητρὶ μνή-
 μης χάριν.

No. 35. 'From Alki.'

ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΙΤΕΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
ΙΙΓΥΑΡΙΝ

Τροφίμ(ω)ι Τειμοκράτης
μνήμ]ης χάριν.

Tombstone of about 100 A.D.

No. 36. 'Broken stone found on the isthmus Alki.'

ΤΟΜΙΑΗΤΟΥ
(Here is a bend in the stone.)

ΕΡΟΣ

/// Ρ

ΓΡΟΚΛΗΟΥ

. . . ἀ]πὸ Μιλήτου

. . . ερος

. . . ρ

Ἰα]τροκλήου[ς.

Perhaps part of a sepulchral stele.

No. 37. Tombstone 'from Alki': broken on all sides. Height 1 ft. 1 in.; width 3½ ft.

//////// ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣ

ΤΩΝΤΕCΑΡΩΝ

ΧΑΙΡΕ

ΝΟΝ
ΤΟΡΟΝΗΤΡΟCΤΕCΑΛΟΝΠΟΛΥΘΡΗ

ΩΚΥΜΟΡΟΙΤΥΛΒΟΙΜΙ
ΕΠΛΕΤΟΦΕΙΛΑΥΓΑCΠΑΙΔ
ΟΥΤΕΜΕΓΥΛΛΑΝΑCΙΟΙC
ΟΥΤΕΠΕΛΛΟΙCΠΑCΤΟΙC
ΑΛΛΑΤΑΦΟΥCΗΓΕΙΡΕΝ
ΠΕΝΘΙΜΟCΕΙCΑΙΜ
ΑΛΛΑΠΑΤΕΡΠΑΥCΑΙΜ
ΟΝΟΥ

[ὁ δαῖνα] θρεπτός
 τῶν τεσσάρων
 χαῖρε.
 [— — —] τῶρον ἱητρὸς τεσμὸν πολύθρηνον.

᾽Ωκύμοροι τύμβοι μ[ε]
 ἔπλετο <υ> εἰ δ' αὐγὰς παῖδ[α] . . .
 οὔτε με γυμνασίους . . .
 οὐτ' ἐπ' ἐμοῖς παστοῖς . . .
 ἀλλὰ τάφους ἤγειρεν . . .
 πένθιμος εἰς αἶμ . . .
 ἀλλὰ, πατέρ, παύσαιμ' . . .
 . . ονον . . .

No. 38. 'From the ruins of Byzantine Church, on the hill, above Limena, Thasos. Height 1 ft., width 2 ft. 2 in.

ΜΕΛΕΓΗΙΙΙΟΣΔΕ
 ΖΕΟΣΓΥΝΗΔΕ
 ΠΡΟΥΦΡΙΟΥΠΑΡΔΑΛΕΟ
 ΚΡΙΤΗΚΑΔΜΟΥ

Line 4 is inscribed in letters apparently of the third century B.C.; the iota is adscript. This formed perhaps the original inscription. The stone was some three or four centuries later employed for another epitaph.

(a) Κρίτη Κάδμου
 (b) Μελέτη Προσδέ-
 ξος, γυνή δέ
 Π. Ρουφρίου Παρδαλέου.

No. 39. 'Large blocks belonging to the Mausoleum of Philophon,' from Phoumous, near Limena, Thasos. Compare Mr. Bent's account in the *Classical Review*, July 1887, p. 211.

(a) ΦΙΛΟΦ
 ΦΙΛ

(Broken at bottom and right.)

- ΝΩ
- (b) ΦΡΟΝΟΣ ΗΑΠΟΤΕΝΖΩΟΙCΙΑ Ν ΕΙΚΕΔ
 (vacant) ΜΑΤΡΩΝΑCΟΦΙΚ IC CCIΓ NH
 ΠΑCΑΝΟΜΗΛΙΚΙΗΝΠΕΡΙΩCΙΟΝΑΝ ΑCΑ
 ΤΟΥΝΕΚΑΚΑΙΜΕΠΟCICΜΥΡΕΤΕΑΙΔΙΟΝ
 5 ΚΑΙΠΑΙΔΕ ΤΕCΕΤΗΤΥΜΟΜΟΥΝΕΚΑΜΟΙΡΗ
 ΠΡΟΥΛΑC ΝΗ ΚΙΗΝΕCΜΟΡΟΝΕΛΚΟΜΕΝΑ
 ΑΛΛΑΦΙΛΟΙΠΑΥCΑCΘΑΙΕΓΩΠΟΘΕC
 ΠΡΟCΘΕΦΙΛΟΥΠΟCIC
 ΖΩΑΛΑΥΦΙΛΑΤΕΚΝΑΥΠΕ
 10 ΕΥΧΟΜΑΙΚΑΙCΕΠΟCIC
 ΕΛΘΟΝΤΑΘΕΟΔΩΡΕΟΜ
 ΟΦΡΑΠΟΝΩΝΛΗΘΗ

Whether α should be made to read into the heading of b is doubtful: if so, we might then restore—

Φιλόφ[ρονι
 Φιλ[ά]φρονος.

The metrical inscription is an epitaph upon a wife, perhaps the wife of Philophron. It may be restored somewhat as below: observe the interchange of αι and ε in lines 4 and 7, *μύρετε* for *μύρεται*, and *παύσασθαι* for *πανσάσθε*. In line 10 similarly αι is made short as equivalent to ε.

*Ἡά ποτ' ἐν ζωοῖσι ν[εανίδος] ἀ[ν]θ[ε]ί κεδνῶ,
 [καί] μάτρωνα σοφ(ῇ) κ[α]ί (ω)σα γ[υ]νή.
 πᾶσαν ὁμηλικίην περιώσιον ἀ(ν) ασα.
 τοῦνεκα καί με πόσις μύρετε αἰδίων
 καὶ παῖδε[ς] δακρύον[τες] ἐτήτυμον, οὔνεκα μοίρη
 προῦλαβ[ε]ν ἡ[λ]ικίην ἐς μόρον ἐλκομένα.
 ἀλλὰ φίλοι πανσάσθαι· ἐγὼ ποθέο(ν)[σιν ἀκούω ?]
 πρόσθε φίλου πόσιω[ς] . . .
 ζῶ· ἀλ[λ'] αὖ φίλα τέκνα ὑπε . . .
 εὐχομαι καί σε πόσις . . .
 ἐλθόντα Θεόδωρε οἱ . . .
 ὄφρα πόνων ληθῇ . . .

No. 40. 'Built into window of Skala of Mariaes, Agios Jannis.'

ΩΜΕΝΗCΥΒΙΟΥΑΥ-

Evidently from a gravestone; the writing is late, and the grammar is at fault.

.... καὶ τῇ ἀγαπ[ωμένη] σὺ(μ)βίου (sic) αὐ(τ)[οῦ] . . .

No. 41. 'Bas-relief in Agios Jannis, Thasos; 1 ft. 10 in. in diameter.' Inscribed on different panels of the stone.

(b)

(a)

(c)

ΚΕΤ

ΟΙCΓ

ΛΟΙΚC

ΤΑΤΟ

ΥΕΙΟ

ΙΓ

ΑΕΓΩ- ΟΛ

ΗΘΗ

ΚΕΘΝ

ΕΜΑ

ΥΤΗ

ΚΕΤΩ

ΓΛΟΙΚΟ

ΤΑΤΩΜ

ΟΥΑΔΡΙ

ΕΙ

ΤΙΔ

ΕΒΟΥΛ

ΗΟΥΝC

ΧΕΤΟ

The orthography is barbarous, and the lettering late and course.

(a) [Ἐποίησα] ἃ ἐγὼ (τ)ό(δ)η θηκέ(ον) ἐραυτῇ καὶ τῷ γλοικο-
τάτῳ μου ἀ(ν)δρί, (b) καὶ τοῖς γλοικ(ο)τάτο[ις] υἱοῖς. (c) Εἰ
τι δὲ βουληθῶν (εἰ)χέτο.

The phrase εἰ δὲ τι βουληθῶ is common enough in the wills, or extracts from wills, inscribed on later gravestones. Here we have apparently εἰ τι δὲ βουληθῶν (sic), ἐχέτο (= ἐχέτω). The meaning is: 'this tomb is for the afore-mentioned persons only, but if I add a codicil in favour of another person also, let it so hold good.'

No. 42. 'Little stone at Agios Jannis, Thasos.' Measures 6 in by 3 in.

ΕΙΘΥC

ΑΠΟ/

Evidently part of a panelled sepulchral stèle of the ordinary type.

Βαίθον . . .
'Απολλοδώρον ?

No. 43. From Thasos, but locality not named. The surface is very much worn.

//////////ΛΙ>
//////////
C
ΑΣΥΠΙΣΙ
OY Y
OΛΠC
ΕΑΣΩNC
+ ΓΙΟΣΕΓΩ
CΛ/

The cross reveals the Christian origin of the inscription. In line 9 OΛΠO may suggest the common Greek prayer for the dead that they may rest *ἐν τοῖς κόλποις Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Ἰσαὰκ καὶ Ἰακώβ* κ.τ.λ. Compare e.g. *C.I.G.* 9120, 9121; and *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellénique*, i. 321. Line 8 may be a citation from Scripture [*Ἰ*]γιος ἐγώ κ.τ.λ.

No. 44. 'From a wall, Limena.' Measures 1 ft. 9 in. in height; 1 ft. 2 in. wide,

ΟΣ
ΜΑΧΟΥ
ΑΧΟΣΑΤΤΙΚΟΥ
ΗΣΧΑΙΡΕ
ΟΣΛΟΥΚΙΟ
ΙΙΖΠΡΟΣΦΙΑ
ΧΑΙΡΕ
ΑΝΟΣΛΟΥΚ
ΤΩΝΚΔ
ΦΙΑΗΣΧΑΡ

- (a) ος
 μάχου
- (b) αχος Ἀττικοῦ
 [προσφιλ]ῆς χαίρει.
- (c) ος Λουκί[ου],
 [ἐτῶν] ιξ̄ προσφιλ-
 [ῆς] χαίρει.
- (d) ἀνὸς Λουκ[ίου],
 [ἐ]τῶν κδ̄
 [προσ]φιλῆς χαίρ[ε].

Funeral stele to the members of the same family: the inscriptions were added from time to time.

E. L. HICKS.

THE following notes respecting the four buildings which I excavated on the island of Thasos last winter may perhaps serve to illustrate the foregoing inscriptions.

(a) *The temple at Alki.* Alki is a promontory to the south of Thasos, where the marble quarries were, and it is connected with the capital by a road of fine old Hellenic work, many portions of which are still in perfect preservation. The ruins of the town, where the marble merchants and operatives lived, are on a narrow tongue of land which unites the marble isthmus to the main island. Close to the sea on the eastern side of this isthmus we saw the foundations of a considerable building. Five grades of marble steps led to the water's edge, and these steps were constructed of immense blocks of marble; that on the northern edge of the lowest grade measured 16 feet 11 inches long, 5 feet 3 inches wide, and 2 feet thick; that on the northern angle of the top platform was 12 feet long, 5 feet 3 inches wide, and 1 foot 7 inches thick. The building which stood on this platform was entirely ruined, and in the debris several feet deep we found many remains. The front length of the top of the platform was 54 feet, and 2 feet 4 inches from the outer edge was the foundation of the temple building, with a façade of 45 feet. Our time only allowed of the partial excavation of the two outer chambers, the one towards the sea being 32 feet 7 inches in length. On the south-west of this we found a raised platform, along the front of which ran inscription No. 7, and in the debris in front of it were the inscriptions Nos. 12, 13, 17; a well cut stone, 3 feet 1 by 1 foot 3, down the front of which was carved a curious head with a long beard in 5 braids, which appeared as if it had been one side of a seat; a small, rudely cut head; and the torso of a male archaic statue. This statue had 15 braids of hair down the back, and measured from below the trefoil-shaped knee to the neck 4 feet 5 inches, around the shoulders it measured 4 feet 10½ inches, and round the waist 3 feet 4 inches; strength was well developed in the sinews of the legs and chest.

This outer chamber was divided from an inner one by a wall of large, well cut blocks of marble, fastened together with iron

rivets set in lead. The two first blocks on the northern side measured respectively 3 feet 2 inches and 12 feet 2½ inches, and formed the base of a square-cut ornamentation which had adorned the front of this wall. Then came the entrance, 5 feet wide; closely fitted on to which was inscription No. 1. In front of this was a small pedestal which had evidently carried a statue, of which we found no trace; but about three feet from the wall was a larger pedestal, on the front of which was inscription No. 14, and at the back No 15; close to this lay the trunk of a small draped statue. On the southern wall of this chamber was another raised platform similar to the one in the other chamber, on which we found the votive altar No. 5, and above it, in the wall, a stone with inscription No. 2 upon it; near this stood a circular pedestal of apparently archaic date, 6 feet 2 inches round at the base, 1 foot 6 inches diameter at the top, and 3 feet 2 inches round the neck, and 3 feet 5 inches high; it had twenty flutings of Doric style.

This chamber was 14 feet 8 inches wide, and the outer wall formed a curious conglomeration of the old Doric edifice and later Roman alterations. On the central marble were the bases of two Doric columns, 2 feet 8 inches in diameter, and 6 feet 6 inches apart; they stood on a platform 3 feet 1 inch wide, which was continued to the south by a narrower platform with traces on it of a later colonnade, before which were the bases of columns of late date. Between the two Doric columns were the scribblings Nos. 20, 21, 22, 23.

Between the south wall of the temple and the hill ran a narrow passage with steps down to the sea, and the southern wall was formed of slabs of marble curiously thin in proportion to their thickness, one being 11 feet 5 inches long, 1 foot 7 inches high, and only 7 inches thick. In this passage (7 feet 4 inches wide and 40 feet long) we found the stone with inscription No. 9 upon it, and in the temple wall a stone with No. 16 upon it.

(b) *The theatre.* In the town of Thasos the theatre occupied a bend in the hill just inside the walls, about five hundred feet above the level of the town. The lines of the seats, and the colonnade behind the stage, were visible, but were covered with brushwood and soil; on clearing some of the seats—of which we roughly conjectured that there must have been from twenty-

five to thirty rows—we found the rough inscriptions Nos. 25, 26, and 27. Commencing at the edge of the semicircle, we found that beneath the seats, dividing them from the orchestra, had run a wall of twenty-seven large blocks of marble, the average size of which was 5 feet 9 inches by 4 feet 8 inches wide, and 10 inches thick. These blocks had been pushed frontways from their position by the weight of earth from behind, and on each block were two large letters, specimens of which are given—No. 25 (M). Some of the blocks were missing, but the letters on those we found ran as follows:—

HP	PA	ΣΕ	Φ	Ι		
----	----	----	---	---	--	--

Α	ΜΕ	ΙΑ	Ι	ΞΠ	Α	ΝΗ
---	----	----	---	----	---	----

	ΑΡ				ΟΙ	
--	----	--	--	--	----	--

	ΤΗ				ΠΟ	Ι
--	----	--	--	--	----	---

Along the top of these blocks ran iron railings to protect the seats, the front row of which appears to have been so placed that the knees of the spectators would be on a level with the top of the wall.

The orchestra and stage fittings had been subjected to considerable alterations during the Roman period: behind the proscenium had run an elegant Doric colonnade with light columns 2 feet 9½ inches round, with fifteen flutings, on which rested a triglyph 1 foot 6 inches high, with plain metope one foot square; and behind this colonnade were the bases of six massive columns, which had evidently supported the exterior decorations. A narrow passage by which the chorus entered ran underneath the stage, which was of late construction, as was evident from a portion of the Doric colonnade having been used to build it;

this passage was 2 feet 5 inches wide, and the marble pavement of the orchestra was 10 feet 8 inches below the level of the stage. From one extremity of the semicircle to the other the theatre measured 76 feet. At the western gate we found inscriptions 18, 19, and 24.

(c) The Roman arch we found in the town occupied a conspicuous position on what appears to have been the central street, the site being only indicated by a stone about three feet out of the ground, the rest being buried in some twelve feet of soil.

The arch was 54 feet in length, and rested on four bases—the northern and southern columns being alone perfect—4 feet 8 inches square at the base, 9 feet 5 inches high, and having a small pattern down the outer edge. The two outer entrances were 6 feet 2 inches in width, the central expanse being 20 feet, and the whole structure rested on a raised marble pavement 6 feet 11 inches in width. The capitals which adorned these columns were of very elaborate workmanship, representing floral patterns in very high relief, below which ran an egg and tooth border; they were only worked on two sides, and had evidently been affixed to the body of the arch. Each capital, of which we found two large and four small, had a different design, the larger ones being 2 feet 10 inches square at the top, and the smaller ones 2 feet 4 inches. Above these capitals appears to have run a very rich frieze 2 feet 6 inches wide in huge blocks of marble, ranging from 7 to 10 feet in length. The top of this frieze was decorated with a deep egg and tooth pattern, and below this, to the front of the arch, ran the inscription No. 28, 19 feet 7 inches long, in two lines, and in letters three inches deep. Above the frieze ran a projecting cornice, and at the top of the arch stood a colossal statue of a man struggling with a lion, the fragments of which we found in the soil below; the man's head was missing, and the lion's much damaged. The man had his left arm round the lion's neck, which he is tightly squeezing, so that the lion's tongue hangs out, and his right arm was apparently held up with a weapon in it, ready to strike; he had one knee on the ground, and wore a short tunic. The lion's haunches rested on the ground, and the forepaws are fixed in the man's flesh. The length of the lion, from the head to the root of the tail, is 7 feet 6 inches, and the man is 3 feet 5½ inches round the

thigh; but from the fragmentary condition of the statue it was difficult to select satisfactory measurements.

In front and behind the two central columns of the arch were four pedestals, three with inscriptions, Nos. 30, 31, 32. That to the front and to the right was 6 feet 9 inches high, and had inscription No. 31; just below it lay the statue which had surmounted it, in perfect condition save for the tip of the nose and the right hand. It represented a female figure 6 feet 3 inches high, enveloped in a long cloak, the left hand by her side being adorned with a large ring; the face was that of a young and graceful lady, and the drapery hung much more gracefully than it did on fragments of the statues which we found close to the other pedestals.

In the neighbourhood of the arch we found many well cut stones with decorations of a date much earlier than that of the arch, and a stone with inscription No. 29.

For tomb of Philophron and others, *vide* above-mentioned number of *Classical Review*.

J. THEODORE BENT

ITYS AND AEDON: A PANAITIOS CYLIX.

THE cylix which is the subject of the following paper has a double claim on the interest of archaeologists; first, it presents a peculiar, and—so far as at present known—for art a unique form of a familiar myth, the slaying of Itys; second, it is inscribed with the love-name Panaitios, and therefore is readily classed with an already familiar group.

The vase in question is first reported by Dr. Helbig in the *Bullettino*, 1878, p. 204. It was found at Cervetri in the Bocanera excavations. It is now in the museum of Munich, and it is to the kindness of Professor Brunn that I owe the permission to publish the vase and the superintendence of the necessary drawings. A vase of so great interest could hardly have escaped publication but for the fact that it made its reappearance in the world saddled with what seems to me a mistaken interpretation. Dr. Helbig, without any hesitation, says (*loc. cit.*): 'Una tazza . . . la quale nell' interno rappresenta un mito molto raro cioè quello di Prokne ed Itys,' and cites as a parallel the well known Paris vase (*Ann.*, 1863, tav. d'agg. C.) Dr. Klein, who had not seen the vase, describes from report (*Meistersignaturen*, p. 145): 'Prokne im Begriffe dem auf einem Bette, u.s.w.!' My own view is that not Prokne, but her mythological prototype Aedon, the original nightingale, is represented, and that the vase-painter embodies the Homeric, not the later Attic form of the myth. The Munich cylix gives us the earlier (Aedon), the Paris cylix the later (Prokne) tradition. It is solely to draw attention to this point that the remarks that follow are addressed; the interesting question of the origin, development, and various transformations of the myth I reserve for a future occasion.

after the usual scheme are represented; of these a rough woodcut is given for the sake of completeness.

To return to the interior main design. The composition is very simple. A woman holding a sword in her right hand is about to plunge it into the neck of a naked boy; with her left she holds his hair, keeping him backwards the better to strike home. The boy lies on a long couch leaning against a cushion, he half struggles up and stretches out the right hand to implore mercy. In front of the couch is a large *deinos*; suspended on the wall behind is a cylix and the sheath of a sword. Dr. Klein (*loc. cit.*) says in his description 'neben ihm liegt seine phrygische Mütze,' but the 'phrygische Mütze' is obviously only the conical and tasselled cushion of the ordinary shape. It closely resembles the cushions of the Euphronios Kottabos vase. Though the composition is so simple, it is very satisfying; the swaying curve of the woman's figure and the counterbalance of the outstretched hands of both figures, the downward intention of the body of the slayer and the upward of the slain, are notes which mark the design as belonging just to that happy time when the decoration of the circular interior of the cylix was at its finest.

The boy is clearly inscribed Ι Τ Υ Σ. I may remark in passing that I incline to hold with Roscher (*Lexicon sub voc. Aedon*) that the name Itys or Itylos is not onomatopoeic, but rather, as Hasychius (*sub voc.*) explains, is a name meaning tender, young = *véos, ἀπαλός*. Itys remains a constant feature in the later Attic development of the myth. As regards the woman figure, it has been usual to consider that she is uninscribed, and hence the name Prokne was unhesitatingly given. I believe that the inscription starting from the hilt of her sword and extending over the boy's head refers to her. Its position makes no difficulty. Quite clearly to be read are the letters Α - Ε Δ Ο Ν Α Ι, and between the two first a portion of a letter which may safely be restored Ι. Thus we have, I think, quite beyond doubt *αιεδοραι*. I hoped for traces of a final α to make up *αιεδοραία*, but Professor Brunn informs me there are none. This form *αιεδοραία* for the nightingale *ἀηδών*, so far as I know, nowhere exists, but I cannot resist the conviction that the inscription is the name of the woman figure and the equivalent of *ἀηδών*.

If this be the case, we have here the representation of no specifically Attic legend, but an embodiment of the story known

to Homer; for completeness I cite the familiar words (*Od.* XIX. 518):

ὥς δ' ὅτε Πανδαρέου κόρη χλωρῆς ἀηδὼν
καλὸν ἀείδῃσιν ἔαρος νέον ἱσταμένοιο,
δενδρέων ἐν πετάλοισι καθεζομένη πυκινούσιν,
ἧ τε θαμὰ τραπῶσα χέει πολυηχέα φωνήν,
παῖδ' ὀλοφυρομένη Ἴτυλον φίλον, ὃν ποτε χαλκῷ
κτείνε δι' ἀφραδίας, κοῦρον Ζήθοιο ἀνακτος.

The murder was unwitting (*δι' ἀφραδίας*), its remoter cause the scholiast on the passage tells us. It may be worth while to quote his comment in full: 'Αηδὼν δὲ ἡ πρεσβυτάτη Ζήθω γαμηθεῖσα τῷ Δίῳ μὲν παιδί Ἀμφίονος δὲ ἀδελφῷ Ἴτυλον ἔσχε παῖδα, φθοροῦσα δὲ τῇ ὁμονύμφῃ τῇ Ἀμφίονος γυναικὶ Νιόβῃ τῇ Ταντάλου, τινὲς δὲ Ἱππομεδούσῃ, ἐχούσῃ πλείονας παῖδας, ὧν ὁ ἀριστος ἦν Ἀμαλεὺς, ἐπεβούλευεν τούτῳ. καὶ τῶν ἀνεψίων συντρεφομένων ὅθεν καὶ συγκοιμᾶσθαι συνέβη κρύφα παρήνευσεν τὴν ἐνδυτέρω κοίτῃν ἐλῆσθαι, ὅπως εὐεπιβούλευτος αὐτῇ νύκτωρ ὁ Ἀμαλεὺς γένηται. καὶ τοῦ πάθους αὐτὴν σφόδρα καταλαβόντος ἠῤῥατο πᾶσι θεοῖς μεταστῆναι ἐξ ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἡλλάγῃ εἰς τὸ ὁμώνυμον ὄρνεον.'

The same story in its main outlines, though with difference of detail, is told by Eustathius *à propos* of Pherekydes (fig. 29):
γαμεῖ δὲ Ζήθος μὲν Ἀηδόνα τὴν τοῦ Πανδαρέου. τῶν γίνεται Ἴτυλος καὶ Νηὺς. Ἴτυλον δὲ ἡ μήτηρ Ἀηδὼν ἀποκτείνει διὰ νυκτὸς δοκοῦσα εἶναι τὸν Ἀμφίονος παῖδα ζηλοῦσα τὴν τοῦ προειρημένου γυναῖκα ὅτ' αὐτῇ μὲν ἦσαν ἑξ παῖδες αὐτῇ δὲ δύο. ἐφορμᾷ δὲ ταύτῃ ὁ Ζεὺς ποινὴν. ἡ δὲ εὐχεται ὄρνις γενέσθαι καὶ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς ἀηδόνα. θρηνεῖ δὲ αἰὶ ποτε τὸν Ἴτυλον ὡς φησὶ Φερεκύδης.

I have said above that it is not my purpose to trace the myth through its various literary ramifications. The main lines are clear. The Greek—who was a better poet than naturalist—mistook, there is no doubt, the male bird for the female; he put 'Philomela' for 'Philomelus' and the song seemed to him not one of gladness and rapture, but of passionate regret: the bird was robbed of her nestlings. Then, by a process perfectly easy and familiar to the Greek and every other humanising mind, the bird became a princess who had lost her child; then so passionate was the note, it seemed she had sinned as well as suffered: she

had slain her child, unwitting, but with intent to slay another's. So far only one sister, one sad bird, the nightingale, appears; but there was another bird of spring with a 'thin, sharp cry,' the swallow, and the fierce hoopoe who, tradition said, followed the pair, and so we have the horrid story of Prokne, Philomela, and Tereus. How far this was originally a native myth, when exactly it arose, whether the story of the two Attic sisters existed separately and was afterwards blended with the Aedon metamorphosis, I do not at present propose to consider; neither can I discuss whether the actual nightingale gave rise to the original story, or whether a princess Aedon slew her child, and then by etymology became connected with the nightingale. The point I desire to emphasise here is that as the simple Aedon myth still maintained itself in Attic times in literature, so here, if the inscription be read rightly, we have an instance hitherto wanting of this form in art. No doubt the play of Sophocles, the 'Tereus,' in which the two sisters are represented as slaying the child, tended to efface in literature as in art the earlier conception. We may note that the vase-painter takes the story as presented by the scholiast only in its simplest and most essential outlines; there is no attempt to depict the two children. It is enough that Itylus is slain.

The remaining inscription above the head of Aedon may be restored ΠΑΝΑΙΤΙΟΣ; the actually remaining letters are Π-ΝΑ ΙΟ; the ς given by Dr. Klein cannot be clearly read, though there are the remains of some letter plainly visible. Dr. Klein has collected the seven Panaitios vases. The name occurs seven times, once on a vase by Euphronios (British Museum, 222), once on a vase by Duris (Berlin, 2283), five times on unsigned vases. The question naturally rises, are we to connect the Aedon vase with either master. It is of course much to be regretted that the restoration of the faces prevents a careful comparison of the drawing of profiles, but the composition certainly recalls that of the interior picture of the Euphronios Troilos vase. We have the same back-drawn figure, the lifted sword, the hand grasping the boy's hair, and the boy's arm extended for mercy. This similarity in composition was the thing that struck me on my first glance at the vase before I even saw what was the subject represented. It will be remembered that the Troilos vase comes ninth in Dr. Klein's chronological

series of Euphronios vases; we shall therefore perhaps not be far wrong if we connect the vase with the later manner of Euphronios. This connection with the later manner of Euphronios is borne out by certain analogies to the style of Brygos. The long graceful figure of Aedon, draped in the full chiton and diploid is strikingly like some Brygos figures, noticeably the Andromache of the Ilioupersis vase and the women figures of the Komos cylix (Wurzburg 346). At the same time the pose of the Aedon figure is very similar to that of the figure of Eos in the Eos and Meimon Duris cylix of the Louvre.

J. E. HARRISON.

VASES FROM CALYMNOS AND CARPATHOS.

[Pl. LXXXIII.]

Of the vases figured on Pl. LXXXIII. nos. 1, 2, 4, and 5 come from the island of Calymnos. Nos. 1, 4, 5, and the large amphora of which a cut (Figs. 1, 2) is given below, belong to a series which has been described by Cecil Smith in the *Classical Review*, i. p. 80. The Bügelkanne (no. 2), was obtained by me subsequently, and was found on another site. The sponge-fishers of Calymnos have, by little and little in the last hundred years or so, come to regard the probability of invasion as more remote, and have consequently devoted their spare time and money to bringing their houses nearer the sea, until they have at length taken their lives in their hands and established themselves close to their native element. When Ross visited the island the only town was that which is still known as 'ἡ Χώρα.' It is situated about two miles from the harbour and immediately underneath the still older medieval fortified town, now quite deserted. There is no evidence that there was an ancient city on this site, but the chief sanctuary of the island, the temple of Apollo, was in the immediate neighbourhood, on a ridge which overlooks two of the most productive valleys in this barren island. Most of the inhabitants have now moved down to the modern town which is close to the harbour and which bears the name of an ancient deme—Pothia. This name is probably genuine, as that tender regard for antiquity which finds a home for an outcast ancient name in the face of inseparable difficulties is not so developed here as in the kingdom of Greece. That there was a Hellenic settlement on this site is indicated by the inscriptions and

fragments of architecture which have been found near the old church of the 'Panagia Calamiotissa' (not Calymniotissa as Newton gives it in the *Inscriptions of the British Museum*).



FIG. 1. VASE FROM CALYMNOS.

Quite near this modern town, on the slopes to the east of the torrent which falls into the harbour, there is an extensive Hellenic necropolis. The tombs which have given us these



FIG. 2. ANIMALS ON REVERSE OF VASE.

vases are situated on the hill to the west of the torrent, and are excavated in the pumice (*pozzolana*). All I can learn of the circumstances of their discovery is that the twenty vases

described in the *Classical Review*, i. p. 89, and about ten others of inferior interest, were found together. The Bügelkanne, (no. 2), was found with other Mycenaean vases, most of which were broken, on a site about half a mile distant, but also in the *pozzolana* on the right bank of the stream.

Although these vases are undoubtedly later than most of those from Ialysus, I do not think there is any reason for pronouncing them to be later than many of the fragments from Mycenae and Tiryns; and certainly none for calling them archaistic, as Reinach does in his notice of them, *Rev. Arch.* x. p. 83. The animals on the large vase (Fig. 1) seem to have been drawn by a hand accustomed to draw birds: cp. the heads and necks of the birds on the vase *Myk. Thongef.* pl. ix., and the bird's head *Myk. Vasen*, no. 400. Quadrupeds drawn in the same style appear on the fragments *Myk. Vasen*, nos. 409, 412, 416a and b, 417. As birds occur on Mycenaean pottery before quadrupeds, this shows quite a natural development. We have no exact parallel from Mycenae for the manner in which the bodies of the animals are filled in with dots, but a glance at *Myk. Vasen*, nos. 392, 397, 398, 406, 417, and *Tiryns*, pl. 15a, will show that there is great latitude in the fillings which are adopted for the bodies of animals. We find them filled in with dots on a fragment from *Tiryns* (plate xxia), belonging to a class certainly later than the Calymnos vases, and distinguished by the use of white paint, and by subjection to the influence of the geometric style. The bodies of the fishes and birds on the calathus, (no. 5), are completely filled in in the colour of the glaze, like those of most of the quadrupeds on the fragments from Mycenae, where on the other hand we find on the bodies of fish and birds various combinations of lines (*Myk. Thongef.* pl. ix., *Myk. Vasen*, 383, 384, 397, 398, 402, 415, and 636 from Ialysos). The reverse of our vase (Fig. 2) is occupied by a similar scheme of two pairs of animals facing a tree. Their bodies are filled in with colour, but not entirely, a space being left between the filling and the outline. There is nothing else in the decoration of the vases which would warrant us in placing them in a category by themselves. The heraldic scheme of two animals facing a tree, which betrays oriental influence, is found at Mycenae (nos. 412, 413, and fig. 36). The shapes of the bird's tails on our no. 5 show an adherence to the older traditions of Mycenaean painting, as they correspond very closely

to those on a vase from one of the tombs, *Myk. Thongef.* pl. ix.¹

The bronze sword (no. 3), and the five vases 6—10, are from Carpathos, and were found, according to trustworthy information, in the same tomb. They have been already described in Furtwängler and Löschke's *Mykenische Vasen*, p. 83. There are only two mistakes in this notice which I have to correct. The first relates to the discovery of the tomb, the credit of which is wrongly assigned to me; the second to the description of no. 10. This vase has not two handles, but opposite the handle the head of a goat is applied in relief. For an animal's head thus employed we may compare *Myk. Vasen*, pl. xliii. There it is underneath the handle. The form of the vase, if we except this appendage, exactly corresponds to no. 71.

The bronze sword corresponds in form to *Myk. Vasen*, pl. D, no. 11. The handle had been filled with ivory, fragments of which were found still attached to the rivets.

Although several of the vases here published show interesting varieties of form and ornament, their importance lies rather in the locality of their discovery, than in the additions which they furnish to our knowledge of the Mycenaean style. The occurrence in an island so near the coast of Caria as Calymnos of an extensive Mycenaean necropolis might seem to favour the hypothesis of the Carian origin of this civilisation. I take this opportunity of making a few remarks on questions suggested by this discovery and by the results of excavations which I made in Caria in 1886.

Although much study continues to be devoted to the early pottery of Greece, the ethnographic relation of the Mycenaean and geometric styles has still to be established. While we know the former to be the earlier, we have no evidence which enables us to assign a definite chronological limit to the period of either. The scarab of Amenhotep III. from Ialysos loses any value it ever possessed in this respect, if it is, as Torr pronounces (*Classical Review*, i. p. 250), a later imitation. I scarcely think that our knowledge or ignorance of Egyptian art in the interval

¹ Furtwängler conjectures that the difference in the birds' tails on this vase is a distinction of sex. We certainly find this distinction in two other-

wise similar animals on the reverse of our amphora (Fig. 2), one of which has a beard while the other has none.

can be profound enough to enable us to assert with him, that an imitation of a work of the fifteenth century cannot have been made until the seventh, and in any case we could not take the pottery with us in this *sillo mortale*, as nothing 'Mycenaean' is recorded as having been found in the same tomb with the scarab. The occurrence of a Bügelkanne on the wall-paintings of the tomb of Rameses III. only shows that this form was then known in Egypt or Phoenicia, from whence the 'Mycenaean' ceramic art may afterwards have borrowed it. The signed vase of Aristonophos, which is executed in the style of the most remarkable of those from Mycenae (*Myk. Vasen*, pl. 42 and 43), is evidently an imitation, probably of Italian origin¹ (Arndt, *Studien zur Vasenkunde*, p. 4). Köhler (*Mith.* iii. p. 8) was the first to assign a Carian origin to the 'Mycenaean' civilisation. Furtwängler and Löschke regard the 'Mycenaean' style as Achæan, the geometric style as Dorian, but as they print 'Achæan' in inverted commas and style the pottery pre-Hellenic, it is evident that they do not assign to the term its strict ethnological meaning, and we must wait for the book on the subject which Furtwängler has promised us, to learn what it connotes to him. Dümmler and Studniczka (*Mith.* xii. p. 1), have given convincing reasons for regarding the geometric style as proto-Hellenic, and the 'Mycenaean' style as foreign or pre-Hellenic. They both adopt Köhler's Carian hypothesis.

It is better if we can look at the question first from the point of view of a palaeethnologist unaided and unencumbered by literary tradition. The tombs of Mycenae and Orchomenus, and the palace of Tiryns have revealed to us the art of a

¹ I think the Italian origin of the vase is indicated by its subject. Another monument, which gives us also one of the earliest representations of Greek myths, in point of style, which we possess, the carved trunk from Chiusi (*Mon.* x. pl. xxxviii) relates to the same story, that of Polyphemos; a story localised in the West. That this carving is not Phœnician work is shown by the type of the griffin, which is Greek, and by the lotus pattern which resembles that on the Rhodian vases, but the style of

the figures is Phœnician, and the tomb in which it was found must belong to the same period as the Regulini-Galassi tomb at Caere (cp. the pattern on the bronze fragment *Mon.* i. pl. xxxviii with *Mon. Etr.* pl. xxxii), where many objects in metal and ivory were found which we know to be Phœnician in style. Although these two works are executed under different influences, the identical form of the ships on both is a sign of common origin.

people, who were evidently in close relations with Egypt. This Egyptian influence is most apparent in the wall decorations of Tiryns and Orchomenus, where we have designs borrowed from the tombs of Thebes (see Schliemann, *Tiryns*, p. 111), and in the contents of the probably contemporary necropolis of Ialysos. But even in the earlier tombs inside the wall of Mycenae we have not only a method of burial resembling the Egyptian, but we find bronze weapons of Egyptian shape, the inlaid work on which is certainly Egyptian in style if not in workmanship. In the pottery of the same epoch we have a system of ornament, independent in its origin of any known foreign influence, and obviously developed among a maritime people. This native system makes itself felt in the mural paintings, but does not borrow the more ambitious Egyptian designs of the latter. Although among the objects in metal and ivory found in the tombs there are some which may be regarded as Phœnician importations (*e.g.* the gold Astarte-figures from Mycenae, and the ivory box from Menidi), we find on the pottery the very slightest traces only of oriental influence. The motive of two animals facing a tree only occurs on the latest examples, and the tress, a favourite ornament in Mesopotamia, is found only twice (*Myk. Vaseu*, 9, 338). We are led to look for the origin of this pottery in the islands of the Aegean partly by the marine ornaments, and partly because it can be shown to be derived from an earlier class of ware, found in the prehistoric settlements of Thera, and which is again connected with the earliest pottery of the 'Hissarlik' period (Dümmeler, *Mith.* xi. p. 32); Furtwängler has promised to demonstrate this. The area of its discovery extends over Eastern Greece, the Southern Cyclades, Crete, Rhodes, Cyprus, and the islands off the coast of Caria. In the northern islands of the Aegean very few specimens have come to light, and we have practically nothing from Asia Minor. In Cyprus the later classes of 'Mycenaean' ware begin to show themselves only in the later tombs of the epoch represented by the necropolis of Alambra. Phœnician vases make their appearance simultaneously (Dümmeler, *Mith.* xi. p. 234). It is evident that Cyprus is thus excluded from the area within which the style may have originated. The same remark applies to Melos for the same reason (Dümmeler, *Mith.* xi. p. 40). Indeed Thera is the only island where vases of the

earliest Mycenaean *technique* have been found. We may, I think, conclude that the Mycenaean style had its origin among some family of the people whose remains we find at Hissarlik, in Cyprus and the Cyclades, at a time when these people were already in communication with Egypt and the East, and that the locality of its birth and growth is to be sought somewhere in the southern coasts or islands of the Aegean, but probably not in the Cyclades. The geographical distribution of the finds rather points to Crete as a centre of production, during the prevalence of the later styles at least, and Thera where the transitional vases have been found is, of all the islands, that most accessible from Crete. Certainly the lentoid gems which accompany this class of pottery have been found in greater numbers in Crete than elsewhere.

Although we are less perfectly instructed concerning the customs and surroundings of the people who employed the 'geometric' style, we know that it only appears in the seats of Mycenaean civilisation at a late period of the latter. We cannot I think say that it derives anything from the style which preceded it (except possibly the shape of the Bugelkänne). There are certain geometric motives, such as cross-hatching, triangles and rhomboids, which the Mycenaean style inherited from the 'Hissarlik' types of ornament, and which are also common to it and the later geometric style. On the other hand the meander is foreign to it, and concentric circles are only employed to accentuate the shape of the vase. Furtwängler and Löschke cite the quatrefoil and the double axe among the types borrowed by the geometric style, but the quatrefoil on 'Mycenaean' vases, such as the bull's head (pl. lxxxiii. fig. 9), is perfectly different from the 'geometric' form (see *Annali*, 1872, pl. k, no. 8). The double axe on the 'Dipylon' vase (*Cemeterium Cyprus*, pl. xxix.) has the form which we know from Carian coins and monuments. That on the fragment, *Myk. Vasen*, 195, is something quite dissimilar, and I question whether it is an axe at all, as the same object occurs on other 'Mycenaean' vases without any trace of a handle.

The geometric vases are found associated with fibulae, iron weapons (Helbig, *Homer. Epos*, 2nd ed. p. 79; *Monuments Grecs*, II-13, p. 42), and incineration, while in the 'Mycenaean' tombs the weapons are of bronze and burial is practised. We have in

fact an absolute break in our tradition, which can only be accounted for on the hypothesis of conquest by a different race. The earlier style however survived after the introduction of the later, and gradually came under its influence. This influence is especially apparent on fragments from Tiryns (see F. and L. *Myk. Vasen*, p. xii.) Everything points to the conclusion that the conquerors were Greeks, and the conquered race therefore not Greek. With the geometric style begins the organic development of Greek pottery; we can trace its influence through a certain class of vases found chiefly near Athens and illustrated by Böhlau (*Jahrbuch*, 1887, p. 33) until we come to the earliest inscribed Attic vases (Beundorf, *Griech. Vasenbilder*, pl. liv.). The form of these transitional vases and the style of the figures are quite 'geometric.' Whatever 'Mycenaean' elements we find in them are probably derived from the islands, where this influence seems to have remained active; the small ornaments scattered on the Melian vases and the spirals are undoubtedly 'Mycenaean.' We have other specimens of this mixed insular style in the fragment of a pithos from Crete (*Mith.* 1886, pl. iv.), and on gold work found at Corinth (*A.Z.* 1884, pl. 8). This vitality of 'Mycenaean' traditions in the islands seems again to point to the conclusion that the style originated there. The Greek character of the 'geometric' style is confirmed, as Studniczka has shown, by its association with the fibula, and by its long continued ceremonial and sepulchral use in Attica and elsewhere.

Further researches may enable us by the aid of this clue to trace something of the earlier history of the Greek race, and to determine the degree of their kinship with other peoples. For the purpose of a comparison of geometric pottery from Greece with that found elsewhere, we may, in the absence of a history of its development, distinguish two classes: (1) Vases of the 'Dipylon' type proper, where figure-paintings are common, and where there is a predilection for small concentric circles connected by tangents; (2) Vases where the decoration is purely geometrical and is composed chiefly of horizontal bands, meanders, large concentric circles, and zigzags. The bodies of these latter are usually glazed, only a small field being left for the ornament. Pottery ornamented in this simple geometrical manner is found in Greece, in Rhodes (Camirus, see *Jahrbuch*,

1886, pp. 136-7), and in the tombs of Assarlik in Caria (*supra*, p. 64). The cinerary amphora from thence (p. 71, fig. 8) exactly corresponds in form and ornament to amphorae from Greece in the British Museum; the only apparent difference is that some of the encircling bands are filled in with white colour. I do not know to what extent white can be detected on geometric vases from Greece; at any rate it has disappeared, if it ever existed, on the specimens I have seen. I am inclined to regard it as a mark of Asiatic origin (v. *infra*). The concentric half-circles on the Bügelkanne from Assarlik (fig. 18) and on the small amphora (fig. 6) may be compared with those on the Rhodian vase (*Jahrbuch*, 1886, p. 136, no. 2996). The vase from the 'tomba del guerriero' at Corneto (*Mon.* x. pl. x. c. no. 12) belongs to this class, and its similarity to pottery from Camirus has been pointed out by Helbig (*Ann.* 1874, p. 262). At Assarlik were found fragments of vessels where the ornamentation is more limited, consisting only of horizontal bands and large concentric circles, and where the body of the vase is not glazed (see p. 72, fig. 15). It is however impossible to draw a definite line between these vases and those where glaze is more extensively applied, as the same decorative motives are found on both, and the surface of the pottery has been so much destroyed, that we cannot tell in many instances where there has been glaze and where not. Fragments bearing a close analogy to the Assarlik pottery have been found by Dennis in the Bin Tepe tumuli at Sardis (*Smith, Glass. Rev.* i. p. 82), and by Spiegelthal in the tomb of Alyattes there. The latter have been described and illustrated by Olfers (*Lydische Königsgräber bei Sardes*, pl. v): in three instances, figs. 4, 5, and 6 white colour is employed. The vase figured in the *Annali*, 1872, pl. K 13, seems to belong to the same class, and is thus described by Hirschfeld, p. 153: 'In clay, form, and colour, it is quite different from the vases together with which it was found. The clay is of an opaque red, and is covered with glaze of a blackish hue, in which, on the body and rim, are incised straight lines filled with white. It is with some hesitation that I cite for comparison with this vase some others found in the so-called tomb of Alyattes in Lydia, as it has not been possible to find this pottery at Berlin.' The vases mentioned in the text are those described by Olfers, those referred to in a foot-

note as having a similar glaze are no doubt Dennis' fragments. It is unfortunately impossible to decide if the exact *technique* here described is employed on the Assarlik vases, as the only one which showed traces of white lines has been injured in cleaning. Probably the fragment found near the tomb of Tantalus at Old Smyrna mentioned by Burgon (*Tr. R. S. of Lit.*, N. S. ii. p. 258) is also to be added to this list. He cites it as resembling Athenian geometric pottery. It is impossible to judge from the illustration which he gives. Professor Ramsay has shown me fragments decidedly of the same class as those from Assarlik, which he picked up in the neighbourhood of Phrygian tombs.

I think that, as this ware only occurs near centres of Greek colonisation, we cannot help recognising here a geometric style of Asiatic origin, to which the majority of the Rhodian vases and some of those found in Greece and even Italy belong; and, as fibulae and gold ornaments such as those from Assarlik are elsewhere associated with geometric ornament and incineration, we cannot separate them from the rest of the find, and must expect to discover them also in the Asiatic tombs which contain similar pottery. Whether such tombs are peculiar to the west of Asia Minor, or extend far inland, we do not as yet know.

Supposing the existence of an Asiatic geometric style to be established, it does not follow that that of Greece is derived from it. It may be possible to distinguish a Greek style characterised by the employment of the small concentric circles connected by tangents, which we find on bronze work of undoubtedly Greek origin, and an Asiatic style to which large concentric circles and possibly the use of white¹ are peculiar. Could we be certain that the sarcophagi from Assarlik were Asiatic, we should have to admit a much more direct and powerful influence of Asiatic on Greek work than the evidence of the painted vases enables us to detect. The stamped designs upon them correspond very closely to painted ornaments on fragments from Tiryns and Athens. (*Tiryns*, fig. 21, pl. xvii. pl. xxv. *Mon.* ix. pl. xxxix., and for the fringe outside the circles on fig. 24, p. 77, cp. *Tiryns*, pl. xxv.). But it is possible

¹ For the characteristic use of white on later Asiatic pottery, see Smith, *J.H.S.* vi. p. 185.

that these sarcophagi may be imported. It is interesting to find that M. Rayet was inclined to regard the geometric style as of Carian origin (*Mon. Grecs*, nos. 11-13, p. 43). I am sorry to say that, if the book mentioned there has been published since his lamented death, I have not seen it.

In Italy during a period when the weapons are chiefly of bronze and when iron is of rare occurrence, we find fibulae and incineration together with incised geometrical patterns on the pottery (Poggio Renzo, Villanova, the majority of the 'tombe a pozzo' at Corneto). As the 'geometric' discoveries in Greece and Asia belong to the developed iron age, we have no materials for comparing this system of ornament with that employed by those people in the same stage of civilisation, but it resembles that of the later Greek painted geometric pottery in its love for the meander and differs from it in its avoidance of circles. This absence of circles may indeed depend only on technical reasons, as they would not be attempted by a workman tracing patterns in moist clay with the hand: indeed it seems that *stamped* circles do occur on certain vases from these tombs. (Helbig, *Ann.* 1884, p. 131.) With the introduction of the precious metals, the more general use of iron and traces of communication with Egypt, burial begins to take the place of burning. Among the articles of personal ornament most frequently found in the later 'tombe a pozzo,' where the bodies are still burnt, are circles of pale gold attached to bronze, (*Mon.* xi. pl. xxiv. 6, pl. lix. 23, *Mon.* xii. pl. iii. 21. *Bull.* 1882, pp. 43, 163, 213, 1883, pp. 115, 120), and spirals of either bronze, silver or gold, which Helbig conjectures may be for the hair (*Homer. Epos.* second edition, p. 243). Two similar spirals were found in one of the Assarlik tombs (*supra.* p. 69, fig. 7); of the pale-gold circles we have one specimen from Assarlik (fig. 11), and three from Rhodes, *A.Z.* 1884, pl. 9, nos. 6 and 8 (Camirus), *Myk. Vases*, p. 17, fig. 5 (Ialysus). In a few of the later 'tombe a pozzo,' and in the 'tomba del guerriero' (*Mon.* x. pl. x.), and others of its class (*Bull.* 1874, p. 55), where burial is practised, but which are connected with the earlier tombs by the occurrence in them of semilunar razors and other objects, we meet for the first time with painted pottery. One of the vases from the 'tomba del guerriero' is, as we have seen, probably Asiatic, but the others show a different system of

ornament. There are no circles, but, together with common geometrical patterns such as broken maeanders, rhomboids, and triangles, we have friezes of birds. These birds occur on the geometric fragments from Nineveh (*Ann.* 1875, pl. *H.*), and they seem to be the earliest and commonest animal motive employed by the Greek 'geometric' style. Gold ornaments with similar designs were found in the same tomb, *Mon.* x. pl. *xb.* 2, cp. *A.Z.* 1884, pl. 10, 1. As these designs on gold and pottery appear at a period not distant from the introduction of the precious metals and of the art of painting on clay, we are justified in concluding that the system of decoration here employed was imported simultaneously. We cannot connect it directly with Greece or Asia Minor, but the pale-gold circles and the spirals, as well as the occurrence of the Asiatic vase mentioned above, indicate at least communication between Asia Minor and Etruria.

We may now inquire how the facts we have met with illustrate and are illustrated by information derived from other sources and current hypotheses.

In the early native Italian tombs we have indications of affinity with the Greeks and some justification for referring the geometric style to an Italo-Greek or Aryan origin, while in the contents of the first tombs where there are traces of foreign influence there is at least fuel to feed a belief in the Asiatic origin of the Etruscans. We are fortunate in being able to look forward to a comprehensive treatment of these questions by Helbig in the second part of his '*Beiträge zur altitalischen Kultur- und Kunst-Geschichte.*'

The existence in Greece and Asia Minor of allied geometric styles, combined with fibulae and incineration, will, if confirmed, point here also to a common origin of their populations. If we had to deal only with the Leleges, to whom the tumuli of Assarlik and old Smyrna probably belong, we might point to many parts of Greece where Leleges are said to have once existed, and to names ending in -ssos, -ssa, -sos, -sa, which meet us frequently in Greece, and which, although distributed over a large area in Asia Minor, are far commonest in that part of the sea-coast of Asia which was the home of the Leleges (see Pauli, *Vorgriechische Inschrift auf Lemnos*, p. 44). If, however, these discoveries extend over Phrygia and Lydia, our conclusions

will reach further, but we must wait before formulating them for clearer notions of the ethnography of Asia Minor.

If we regard the non-Hellenic character of the Mycenaean civilisation as established, we must reconcile this with its correspondence in many particulars and in geographical distribution to the Greek world of epic tradition. Its most important seats are at Mycenae, Orchomenus, Sparta, the towns most famous in the Epics. The relations in which the 'Mycenaean' people stand with regard to Egypt are mirrored in the account of the voyage of Menelaus and the narrative of Odysseus (*Od.* § 152). The conspicuous position occupied by Crete in the Homeric poems accords with the conjecture that it was one of the chief seats, and probably the fatherland, of this civilisation. It might perhaps seem too adventurous to seek in the Mycenaean vases found in Sicily (*Ann.* 1876, p. 56), an illustration of the early connection between Crete and Sicily shadowed in the stories of Daedalus and Minos. The area of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the Mediterranean seems curiously coterminous with that described as Greek in the Homeric catalogue, and which was subsequently Dorian. If, starting from the Peloponnesus, we travel through the islands where extensive Mycenaean discoveries have been made, Aegina, Melos, Thera, Crete, Rhodes, Carpathos, Calymnos, we are accompanied by Homer and the Dorians, and where one guide fails us, as in Thera and Melos, the other continues. On the other hand, we have much to set off against this correspondence with Homeric tradition. Helbig has shown in detail how the Greeks of the Epics had degenerated in the arts of war and peace from the princes of Mycenae. The descriptions of the entombments of Hector and Patroclus suggest to us, as Studniczka has already noticed, a form of burial, as well as a structure of tomb, such as we find at Assarlik together with 'geometric' surroundings.¹ We can only arrive at the conclusion that the 'Achaean' conquerors of Sparta and Mycenae found there a people whose civilisation they inherited rather in the imagination of the epic poets than in reality; that, after reaching the heart of this civilisation in the Peloponnesus, or possibly in Crete, they

¹ Even the envelopment of the cinerary urn in a linen cloth has been illustrated by a discovery at Corneto (*Bull.* 1884, p. 15).

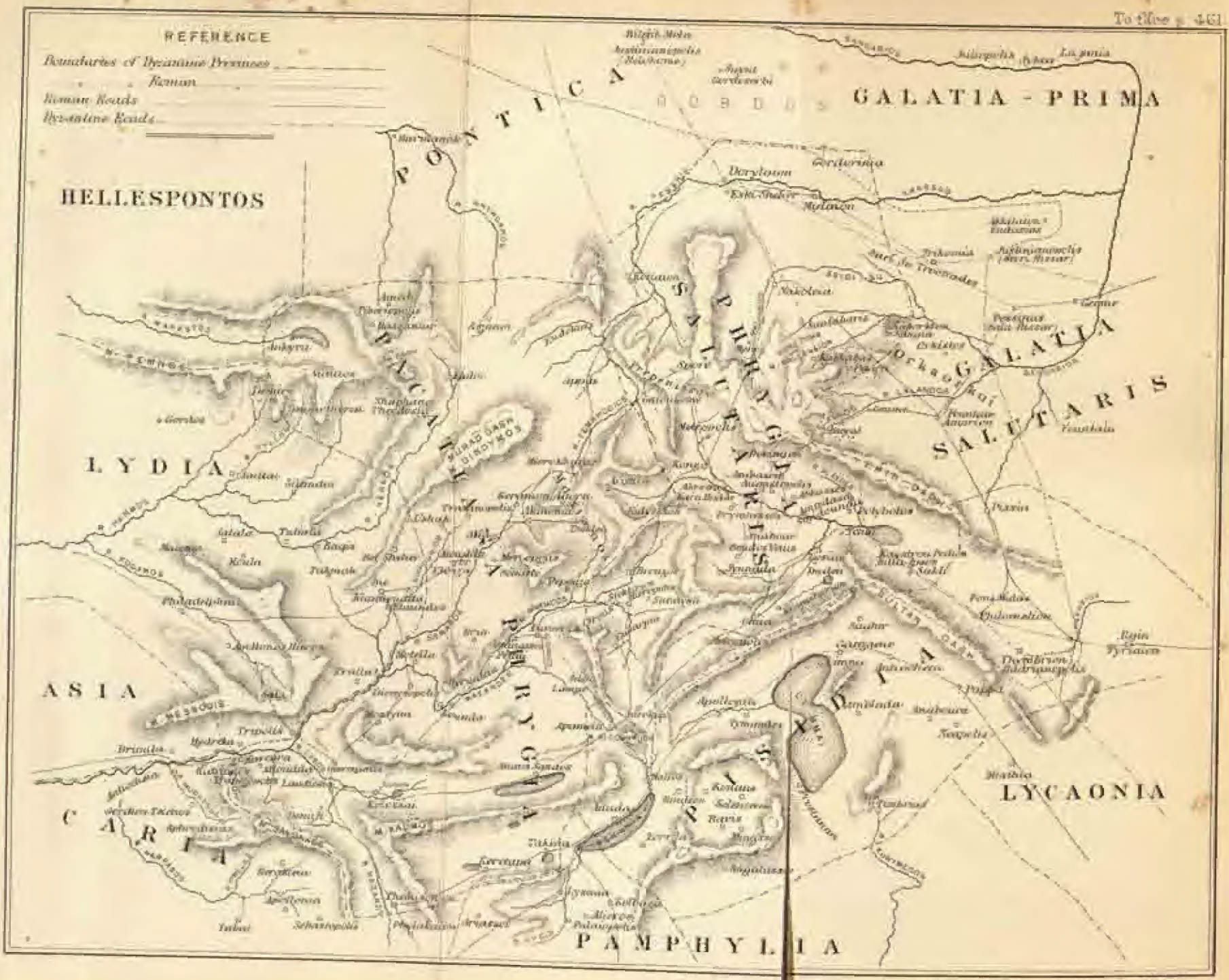
circulated with it through the islands, and that the Dorian colonisation, if not identical with this progress, at least, starting from the same source, followed in the same track. Wherever we seek the birth-place of this Mycenaean civilization, certainly there is no evidence of weight for its Carian origin. We should in that case expect to find survivals of it in Caria after it had disappeared even from the islands. Nothing 'Mycenaean' has been found in Caria and the pottery of the Leleges, the inhabitants of its coast, belongs, as we have seen, to a primitive geometric system. The Carian or Lelegian ownership of the tombs of Assarlik, which I have assumed throughout, has been questioned by Studniczka (*Mith.* xii. p. 18). I have tried to show that Assarlik is the site of Tormera, a town of the Leleges, but the strongest argument is of course the Asiatic character of the pottery. If Helbig is right in his interpretation of the line, H. B. 872, referring to Amphinachos the leader of the Carians, we have in the spirals found at Assarlik at least an interesting illustration of it. We cannot argue from the occurrence of the double axe either on the ring from Mycenae, or on the Dipylon vase (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, pl. xxix.) for the Carian origin of either, and, if we could, the latter corresponds most closely to the Carian form. The double-axe was probably not originally any more exclusively Carian than the triquetra was exclusively Lycian. The tradition preserved by Plutarch (*Quest. Graec.* 45) seems to indicate that it was derived from Lydia. We have, it is true, notices of Carian settlements in Greece, but not in those places where products of Mycenaean art have as yet been found. I think that the whole story of the Carian occupation of the islands is lacking in trustworthiness. As Herodotus tells us, the Carians themselves knew nothing of it. It is a little curious that this historian should go to the Cretans for the early history of his native land, even supposing a well-known saying had not reached his ears. Most probably he did not hear this story in Crete, but in Halicarnassus, where it may well have originated in the time of Artemisia, whose mother was a Cretan lady. It seems to be formulated in a way calculated not to wound the susceptibilities of the native population of Caria. Thucydides derives his information from Herodotus, adding as a confirmation the tombs found in Delos. Probably these were Greek tombs of the 'geometric' period in which the bodies were

burnt, and a quantity of iron weapons were deposited. At the date of these interments the method of disposal of the dead and the shape of the weapons were doubtless similar in Caria and Greece. Here they had been superseded in Thucydides' time, but had survived in Caria, until this day, of all the coast-provinces of Asia Minor, that most impervious to Hellenic influence.

W. R. PATON.

REFERENCE

Boundaries of Byzantine Provinces
Roman
Byzantine Roads



THE CITIES AND BISHOPRICS OF PHRYGIA.

PART II.

THE study of the Phrygian cities, the concluding part of which is here published, claims to be complete in the sense that it enumerates and places every *polis*, i.e. district, which had at any period a self-centred municipal existence; besides this it enumerates and discusses many villages and towns which formed part of the territory of these *πόλεις*. The hope of the writer is to make a study of the local history of the whole central plateau of Asia Minor, tracing from the beginning of recorded history to the Mohammedan conquest the varying fortunes of every district, collecting the scanty indications of its social condition at different points in this long time, and essaying a picture of the growth and decay (which sometimes recur in a second cycle) of its civilization. The present study is restricted by the conditions of available space to the narrowest limits of a preliminary survey of the entire country of Phrygia. This survey is founded on certain principles, some of which are here enunciated for the first time, while others have been to a certain degree recognized and stated by M. Waddington and Professor Hirschfeld, though they have never been consistently applied and carried out to their logical conclusion. I may here briefly state them.

1. The Byzantine ecclesiastical lists (including Hierocles' Synekdemos) must be the foundation of any systematic investigation of Anatolian antiquities.

2. These lists are complete for their respective periods, and the discrepancies between them are all to be explained by the modifications of provincial organization and ecclesiastical rank.

3. The order of enumeration adopted by Hierocles, when once his *principle* is understood, may be pressed very close as topographical evidence.¹

4. The ecclesiastical subdivisions of the various provinces were made strictly according to locality: each subdivision is a distinct local group of bishoprics. This principle, towards which I was gradually forced in writing Part I., and which I there advanced with much hesitation, has proved itself in the following cases: (1) the Hierapolis group, (2) a second Hierapolis group, (3) the Khonnai group, (4) the Akmonia group, (5) the Kotiaion group, (6) the Amorion group, (7) the group along the Roman road Kormasa-Kretopolis in Pamphylia.²

5. The common formula, *ὁ Στρατονικείας ἦτοι Καλάνδου, ὁ Παλαιουπόλεως ἦτοι Ἀλιερού, ὁ Σελευκείας ἦτοι Ἀγρῶν*, is correctly interpreted by Professor G. Hirschfeld as giving the names of two neighbouring towns, and not two names for the same town. The reason lies in an historical process of great interest—the gradual transition from the Graeco-Roman sites, easy of access and either defenceless or strong through artificial fortifications, to a different kind of situation, which suited the disturbed state of the country when Sassanian, Arab, and Turkish conquerors successively swept over Asia Minor.

6. A modern town or village of more importance than its neighbours usually corresponds to each ancient city, though it is generally on a different site. The reasons which lead to change of site form the subject of a special investigation;³ but the

¹ I except Lydia and Hellespontus, of which the lists are very puzzling, both in order and in extent; they seem to me not to be founded on ecclesiastical lists, and to be unique in their character among all the provinces of Asia Minor.

² (3) and (7) are discussed in my 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands,' see *Asiatic Researches*.

Asiatic Researches, 1857 and 1858; the others are discussed in the course of the present paper.

³ This investigation forms the subject of a paper which will, I hope, soon appear in the Transactions of the Royal Geographical Society; the reasons in brief are (1) change in the lines of road, (2) military strength, (3) water supply.

fact of such correspondence often furnishes topographical evidence.

7. In the Peutinger Table the distances, apart from frequent inaccuracy, are reckoned from city to city; the cities often lay a little apart from the direct line of road, and the sum of separate distances is therefore decidedly greater than the whole length of the road. The distances on milestones, in the few cases where we know them, are reckoned direct along the road.¹

8. The lists of bishoprics in each province given in the *Notitiae* do not exactly correspond with the actual facts of any single period, and are often self-contradictory. Thus in *Notitiae* VIII., IX., Amastris occurs twice, both as an archbishopric and as a bishopric subject to Gangra; it was created an archbishopric about 800, and obviously in these *Notitiae* the list of the province of Paphlagonia has been left uncorrected. In the later *Notitia*, I., Amastris is entered only as an archbishopric: the list of Paphlagonia has been corrected. Such a fact, which is typical of a large class, shows how carelessly the modification and rectification of the registers was performed.

9. Allowing for this character of the *Notitiae*, they may be arranged in the following chronological order: VII. is the oldest, and while it contains some facts of the ninth century, it in general represents the state of the Eastern Church at a decidedly earlier time; it is much to be regretted that so large a part of it is lost, including the whole of Phrygia Pacatiana. VIII. and IX. are almost identical, and stand between VII. and I. I. is dated A.D. 883, but is not corrected up to date: in one case (see C) it gives an arrangement which had been disused before 787. III., X., XIII. are the latest, and in some respects show the changes effected by the Palaeologi, but alongside of this show some marks of a much earlier time. The other published *Notitiae* give only the metropoleis and archbishoprics, and not the lists of bishoprics subject to the various metropoleis.

10. The lists of metropoleis at the beginning of most *Notitiae* are much more carefully corrected to date than the lists of

¹ I have proved this in detail in my 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia.'

subordinate bishoprics, the latter sometimes giving a state of things centuries earlier than the former.

11. The terms, city (*πόλις*) and bishopric, are coextensive, and Hierocles' list of *poles* is therefore equivalent to the list of bishoprics of his time, and has been very greatly influenced by ecclesiastical lists.

12. The order of precedence among the metropolitans cannot be proved to have been settled earlier than Justinian; certain lists of bishops at Council Chalced. A.D. 451, which are arranged in the later order of precedence, are made at a later time. The order of precedence was probably settled by Justinian, though I have not as yet found any certain proof of this.

XX.—A passage of Strabo¹ proves that there was in Phrygia a city bearing the name of the god Men. Men Askaenos was worshipped in the two cities immediately adjoining Sebaste, viz. Alia and Eumeneia. This suggests the probability that the Menopolis of Strabo, which must be a place of some consequence and which yet has left no other memorial of itself, changed its name to Sebaste under Tiberius, who is known to have made some changes in Phrygia and Pisidia.²

XXI.—ELOUZA or ALOUDDA struck no coins: considering its advantageous position on a great road, this can hardly be explained except by its being subject to Sebaste: this would also explain why Dios Kome (at Kabaklar) was subject to Sebaste, as is shown to have been the case by the inscription which mentions it.

XXII.—AXMONIA was situated at Abat Koui, as has almost universally been agreed by writers of this century. Situated on a half-isolated hill between two confluent streams, it must have been a fortress of the first importance in ancient time. It was a *caput viæ*, roads radiating from it to Apia and Kotiaion, to

¹ P. 657, τὰ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ (ἱερὰ), τὸ καὶ τοῦ Μήντος ἐν τῇ ὁμορφύᾳ τόπος, καὶ τὸ καὶ Ἀσκηνόου τὸ πρὸς Ἀρτωχίᾳ τῇ κατὰ Πισιδίαν (which Strabo considers to

be in Phrygia), &c.

² Tiberiopolis in Phrygia, Pappa Thera in Pisidia, derive their name or second name from him.

TOLEMY.	COINS.	COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, 451.	HIEROCLES, 530.	NOTITIAE I., VIII., IX.	NOTITIAE III., X., XIII.
[Λαοδικεία] Ἱερὰ πόλις Inscr. 129 A.D. [Βιτάδα II] [Τραπεζοῦ πόλις] [Ἱεροδ. : Σαμβο] Διοκλιανόπολις Ἱερὰ πόλις [Γάγγη I.] Σαυί [Pliny] [Pliny] [Village of] Inscr. 200 A.D. Πέλτα Ἐμένεια Σιλβίον [Memopolis Strab. I.] [Ἀλυδία] Ἀκμονία Μακρονόοι Διόκλητος ὁ Δόκλος Κυδισσέτις Κερυνεῖα Ἀζανί Τιβεριούπολις [Κάδοι] Ἀγκυρα Σόναος [Pamphylia] Γριμενοθύριται Τραπεζοῦται Inscr. c. 138 A.D.	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΙΕΡΑΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΑΤΤΟΥΔΕΩΝ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΚΟΛΑΣΣΗΝΩΝ { ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΚΕΡΕΤΑΠΕΩΝ ΘΕΜΙΣΙΩΝΕΩΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΥΡΓΑΛΕΩΝ [Εὐμενεία] ΟΚΟΒΛΕΩΝ ΠΕΛΤΗΝΩΝ ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΣΕΙΒΑΙΑΝΩΝ ΒΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΩΝ ΑΚΜΟΝΕΩΝ ΑΛΙΗΝΩΝ ΙΕΡΟΧΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΗΝΜΟΙ ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΣΩΝΜΟΙ ΕΑΝΩΝ ΚΥΔΗΣΣΕΩΝ ΑΠΗΙΑΝΩΝ ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΚΑΔΟΗΝΩΝ ΑΓΚΥΡΑΝΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΕΙΤΩΝ ΤΗΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΓΡΙΜΕΝΟΘΥΡΕΩΝ ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ	Laodicea (Hieropolis; Orna, Ephes.) Mousynoi Attouidai Trapezopolis Colossae Curetara Themisaeon Nes (i.e. Samus I.) Dionysopolis (Amastrisopolis, Cons. 530) Atanensoi (Lousia, Syn. vii.) Peltai Sibitum Schusta Ponta Akmonia Alianoi Diokleia Aristion Kydisai Thilipropolis? Kadi Thiodosiorpolis Synnaos Temenothytai 	Λαοδικεία Ἱερὰ πόλις Μόσυναι Ἀττινίδαι Τραπεζοῦ πόλις Κολασσαί Κερετάται Θεμισιδίαι Οὐαλέντις Σαυαί Κονιστινίται Σετούσιται Κράσσα, Κράσσων Πέλται Ἐμένεια Σιλβία Πέπουζα Βρίαναι Σεβαστή Ἰλουζα Ἀκμόνα Ἀλίοι Ἰοχαράται Διοκλίας Ἀρίστιον Κυδισσοί Ἀπία Εἰδουαίται Ἀζανί Τιβεριούπολις Κάδοι Θεοδοσία Ἀγκυρα Σόναος Ταμίνας Θέραι Ταυρόπολις Ποτάχεμαρηνίται	δ Λαοδικεῖαι II. δ Ἱερὰ πόλις II. 5, Μόσυναι, Μουσῶν II. 5, Ἀττούδων, Ἀττούδων 18, Τραπεζοῦ πόλις [District separate] [District separate] [District separate] [District separate] [District separate] II. 3, Διονυσίου πόλις II. 4, Ἀναστασιουπόλις 17, Ἀττανουσοῦ, Ἀττανουσοῦ [District separate] 5, Πέλται 13, Εὐμενείαι 19, Σεβλίας, Σεβλίας, Σεβλίας 18, Ἱκρίων (i.e. Ἰβρίων) 11, Σεβαστή, Σεβαστή 9, Καίριαι, Διόζων [District separate] 15, Ἀλβίαι [District separate] [District separate] [District separate] [District separate] [District separate] 6, Ἀπία, Σεπία 3, Ἀζανῶν, Ἀζανῶν 2, Τιβεριουπόλις 7, Ἀκάδων, Κάδων 14, Ἀγαθῆς Κάδων 4, Ἀγκυρανοῦ 13, Ταμίνας Θέρων, Τραπεζοῦ πόλις 10, Τραπεζοῦ πόλις II. 2, Μεταλλουπόλις	δ Λαοδικεῖαι II. δ Ἱερὰ πόλις II. 4, Μόσυναι II. 3, Αἰττούδων, Ἀττούδων 2, Τραπεζοῦ πόλις III. δ Χανῶν 5, Χαυροτόται, Χαυροτόται 19, Θερμινουπόλις 18, Σιναῦ, Σιναῦ } II. 5, Φόβων 12, Ἀττανουσοῦ, Ταναῦσοῦ 13, Αὐλῶν 7, Πέλται 5, Εὐμενείαι 9, Σεβλίας 22 { Οἰκουμένου ἦτοι Οἰκοκάρων Ἱερατικουπόλις, Οἰκοκάρων 4, Σεβαστεῖαι 17, Ἐλάδην, Ἐλαδῆν 5, Ἀκμωνεῖαι 16, Ὀρίων 15, Ὀράων 20, Διοκλείαι 21, Ἀριστεῖαι 14, Κυδισσοῦ, Κυδισσοῦ 8, Ἀπείαι II. 10, Ζανῶν II. 8, Τιβεριουπόλις II. 9, Κοῦων II. 6, Ἀγκυραῖ II. 7, Σουαῖ 10, Παμφοῖν Θερῶν, Μίον Θερῶν 11, Τραπεζοῦ πόλις, Τραπεζοῦ πόλις II. 2, Μεταλλουπόλις

Philadelphia and Smyrna, and to the Pentapolis (see XXXIV.). I found the eleventh milestone from Akmonia on the Hamam Su (*Ephemer. Epigr.* 177 and 1399)¹ a few miles north of Islam Keui.

The inscription published in Part I. 30, was not completely restored: I have since published a study of it,² and add here the complete text: [ἡ πόλις] εἰ[τείμησεν Δούκι]ον Σερονήριον Δο[υκίου υἱὸν Αἰμ]ιλία Κορνοῦτον δέ[κανδρον ἐπ]ὶ τῶν κληρονομικῶν δικα[στηρίων, τ]αμίαν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων ἐπα[ρχείας] Κύπρου, ἀγορανόμον, στρατηγ[όν], πρεσβευτὴν καὶ ἀντιστρατήγου] Μάρκω Ἀπωνίῳ Σατουρνείῳ Ἀσι[ανῆς] ἐπαρχείας, τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐεργέτην. The consulship and proconsulship of Aponius Saturninus, who is familiar to us from Tacitus' *Histories*, were hitherto unknown.

XXII. *bis*.—KERAMON AGORA. When Peltai has been fixed near the Maeander, and Caystri Pedion and the Fountain of Midas have long been determined by Hamilton, there can remain no doubt that Keramon Agora was somewhere near Akmonia. The modern village of Islam Keui occupies a site of the very first importance: it lies where the narrow valley of the Hamam Su opens on the great plain named the Banaz Ova, amid an open, fertile, and well-watered country. All communication between the cities of the Banaz Ova and the country to the north, north-east, and east must pass through Islam Keui and up the Hamam Su.

The Royal road of Herodotus, from Sardis to Susa, followed this route: so also did the Roman road from Smyrna, Sardis, and Philadelphia to Kotiaion, Dorylaion, and the north-east. It is a necessity of nature that the Anabasis of Cyrus should follow this road, and military considerations make it a practical certainty that an army, if it halted anywhere between Peltæ and Caystri Pedion, would halt near Islam Keui. I have therefore great confidence in placing Keramon Agora here.

In the Roman period it is clear that Keramon Agora, though certainly an important place, to judge from the remains, was not an autonomous city, but subject to Akmonia.

At some unknown period Akmonia must have been raised to

¹ I refer by the numbers to the two Supplements to C.I.L. vol. iii. pub-

lished in the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

² *Amer. Journ. Arch.*, 1885.

the dignity of a metropolis, and a group of bishoprics (XXIV.—XXVII.), lying along the roads which lead from the Banaz Ova to the north-east and east, was subjected to its authority. This arrangement is evidently unknown to Hierocles, and is therefore later than his time, and the Council lists of A.D. 536, 692, and 787, show that it did not exist in those years. But *Notitiae* I., VIII., IX. omit the five bishoprics, which form a frontier district, and this omission can be explained only by the separation (perhaps merely temporary) of this district from the control of the metropolis Laodiceia.

XXIII.—ALIA must probably be placed near Kirka, as I have already stated. The order of Hierocles shows that it must be near Akmonia, and the fact that it is not included in the district subjected in later time to Akmonia suggests a situation on the west.

Two references to this obscure city may be mentioned here. (1) The inscription (Lebas-Wadd. 699a) Θεᾷ Ἀλιανῇ εὐχὴν: M. Waddington remarks that *le dieux Aliane est inconnue*, but if we understand her as the goddess of Alia, her character and seat of worship are determined: such titles, Θεὰ Λαγβηνή, Μήτηρ Σιπυληνῇ, &c., are very common. (2) A passage in Aelian,¹ when compared with the discussion of Sabazios, Sozon, and Men, which I have given elsewhere,² and with the account which Clemens Alex. gives of the Phrygian Mysteries, shows what was the character of the god Men Askaenos, who appears on coins of Alia and on a votive relief found near the site of the city.

XXIV.—HIEROKHARAX appears in Hierocles under the corrupt form Ioukharatax, which I corrected conjecturally to Atyokharax. The only evidence of the correct form is a coin of Geta, belonging to M. Waddington, with the legend

ΙΕΡΟΧΑΡΑΚΕΙΤΩΝ ΜΟΙσεῶν.

The Ι must be understood as an incomplete Ξ, and Hiero-

¹ Ἀλὶς τῇ Σαβάρει ἰοῦσα εἰς ἑλίας Ἀντρέμους (ἦν δὲ ἐν Φρυγίᾳ τὰ ἑλίας), ἑρῶναι ἀναφύει θεῶς, μέγιστος τῆς φύσεως, καὶ θαλάσσιον αὐτῇ. Aelian, *De*

Animal. XII. 39.

² 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands,' in *Amer. Journ. Arch.*

kharax was evidently one of the two cities in the territory of the Moxeanoi, which vied with each other for the honour of first city of the tribe (see XXV.)

XXV.—DOKELA or DIOKLEA vied with Hierokharax (see XXIV.), and apparently the rivalry between the two was submitted to the Roman authorities and decided in favour of Dioklea¹ (*ἡ προκεκριμένη τοῦ Μοξεανῶν δήμου Διόκλεια*). The form of the name *Μοξεανῶν* depends on the inscription already printed, which I again verified in July 1887. Coins of Dioclea and Hierokharax give Γ not Ξ , but it must be read as an imperfectly formed π .

Dioclea is situated on the road from the Banaz Ova to the Sandykli Ova (see XXXIV.); Hierokharax on the road from the Banaz Ova towards Apia and the north, and towards Paroreios Phrygia and the east generally.

XXVI.—ARISTION or ARISTEIA: this town is mentioned only in the Byzantine Lists. Hierocles gives it between Dioklea and Kidyessos: it must therefore be placed in the western half of the Sitchauli Ova, where some inscriptions, marbles, and large blocks of squared stone, in the villages of Ginik, Göne, Karadja Euren, and Duz Agatch, indicate an ancient site. The evidence lies only in the situation of Kidyessos and the order of Hierocles and of the *Notitiae* (Dioklea and Aristion always together). The country does not seem very rich, and no coins of Aristion are known.

XXVII.—KIDYESSOS is proved to have been in the eastern part of the Sitchanli Ova by an inscription, almost defaced, on a block of marble in the cemetery at Bulja, which I copied in June 1883. It is very badly defaced, but after some study I could read the name $\Gamma\text{PATIANON}$ of the emperor honoured in the inscription and most of the letters (fragments of each alone remaining) of *ἡ Κιδυησσέων πόλις*. This inscription completely upset all my previous topographical views about this district, but has since then proved itself true by working in so well with all subsequent discovery.²

¹ Compare the history of the rivalry between Ephesos and Smyrna, Tarsos and Amazarbos, Nicæa and Nicomedia, &c.

² Without such confirmation the existence of a decree of Kidyessos here would not be sufficient proof that the neighbouring city was Kidyessos.

Kidyessos commands a very fertile territory, and was a station on the Roman road between Conni and Bronzos. Its coins, from Nero to Otacilia, mention the magistracies, Logistes and Archon, and a high-priesthood (*ἀρχιερεὺς*). The actual site is, I think, at a village reported in 1883 by my companion, Mr. Sterrett, as Outch Eyuk, but whose real name must, I think, be Geukehe Eyuk.¹

XXVIII.—PACATIANA and SALUTARIS. Before proceeding further, it is necessary to discuss the Byzantine division of Phrygia into two provinces, which, roughly speaking, was consummated about A.D. 300.

The boundaries will become clear in the discussion of the several cities, and are given in the annexed map. It is obvious that these boundaries are entirely inconsistent with the old Roman division into *conventus*, as the following lists of the various *conventus* will show. In each I give first the cities actually mentioned by Pliny as belonging to it, and add the other places within the limits thus indicated which are known to have been self-administering communities during the first centuries after Christ.

¹ Everyone who has tried knows the difficulty of catching the proper form of Turkish names from the badly articulated pronunciation of peasants. *Geuk* means blue, *Geukehe* bluish, and *Eyuk* *tasentas*: both are very

common in Turkish nomenclature.

² I disregard here the well-known controversy as to the time and manner of this division, which is for our present purpose immaterial.

THE PHRYGIAN CONVENTUS.

I.		II.		III.		IV.		V.	
1	Cibyra conventus XXV. ¹	1	Apamea	1	Synagala	1	Philomelion	1	Sardis
2	Laodicea	2	Metropolis	2	Lycaonia	2	Tymbria	2	Radiol (Macedonia Cadmon)
3	Hydruntia	3	Dionysopolitana	3	Apriani	3	Leucolichia ^{††}	3	Laconi ^{††}
4	Thionisconia	4	Euphoront	4	Eucarpus	4	Pattinon [†]	4	Philadelphont
5	Hiomopolitana	5	Aemodionessa	5	Dorylaei	5	Pattinon [†]	5	Maccini
6	Kesetapa	6	Peltion [†]	6	Milasi	6	Tyrion	6	Tripolitani Antoninopolitana
7	Takina	7	Silbiari	7	Judeonae	7	Amorion	7	Apollonhioritana
8	Erzont	8	reliqui ignobiles IX.	8	reliqui ignobiles XV.	8	Sinethionta	8	Mosetunlitana
9	Phylakaton	9	Eumeneia	9	Hiomopolis	9	Teiconia [†]	9	at all ignobiles
10	Kolonai	10	Leunda	10	Otrona	10	Oreiaton [†]	10	Tiberiopolis
11	Monayna	11	Hyrgelion	11	Bronos	11	Akklaton I	11	Synaca
12	Attoudia	12	Schaate	12	Rectorion	12	Ankyra	12	Tomeothyma
13	Kilimnias	13	Alia	13	Kutysson	13	Grimenothyma	13	Grimenothyma
14	Adada [†]	14	Peta	14	Alzand	14	Tabala	14	Tabala
15	Schaatopolis [†]	15	Sansus	15	Kotaim	15	Clamouda	15	Clamouda
		16	Blaudon	16	Prymnesson	16	Silandon	16	Silandon
			Moxunoi	17	Nakoda	17	Sattai	17	Sattai
				18	Kom		and other Lydian cities		
				19	Lysias				
				20	Schideanda				
				21	Boudon Verna				
				22	Dokimion				
				23	Meroe				

¹ *v.l.*, XXII. : read XV. It is impossible to find twenty-five cities which could belong to this conventus, when Apollonia, and the valley of Tabae, and Trapezopolis belong to Alabanda, Dionysopolis to Apamea.

Now it is naturally probable, and it is confirmed by various facts which would find their place in a full discussion of the provinces, that the lines of demarcation in the new Byzantine organization followed existing divisions to a very considerable extent, and that the reorganization attributed to Diocletian confirmed a tendency which had already been in operation. Hence, since the new organization utterly disregards the old *conventus*, I infer that the *conventus* had either been greatly subdivided¹ or had ceased to exist before the time of Diocletian. The Pentapolis (see XXIX.) was perhaps one of a number of administrative districts, which replaced the old *conventus*.

When the two new provinces of Phrygia were formed there were at first no generally recognized names to distinguish them. The Verona MS. calls them Phrygia Prima and Secunda, Polemius Silvius (ab. 385) calls them Phrygia (Prima? omitted) and Phrygia Secunda or Salutaris (the MSS. vary).² Carophrygia also occurs as the name of the eastern province about the middle of the fourth century: in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 8. Valentinian and Valens write τοῖς ἐκισκόποις Καροφρυγίας Πακатиανῆς.³

The names Pacatiana⁴ and Salutaris⁵ Phrygia came into use already in the fourth century, and soon established themselves universally. Allowing for a certain interval after their first introduction before they were universally adopted, we may say that no example occurs later than about 400 in which the provinces are called by any other name, whereas all the rare references to them between 300 and 390 use some other name either alone or concurrently with the later name.

The name Parva Phrygia occurs in one or two rare cases in the sense of Salutaris. This points to a distinction made at

¹ Marquardt (L. 341) has shown that Philadelphia became the seat of a *conventus* between the times of Pliny and of Aristides.

² The variation indicates that the later and common name was substituted in one MS. for the disused title Secunda.

³ Πακатиανῆς is the later name, added perhaps by Theod. himself, or by a

scribe, to explain the name actually used by the emperor.

⁴ The name Pacatiana occurs as a highly probable correction, *Cod. Theodos.* xl. 23, 3 (rejected however by Gothofredus), A.D. 398, and in *Not. Dignit.*, A.D. 413.

⁵ Salutaris first occurs in the case quoted above from Polem. Silv., where it is probably due to later correction.

one time between the two provinces as Great and Little. The preceding paragraph has shown how natural these names were in the early period when the provinces were called First and Second, and how easy it is to understand the conflict between many different names for the new provinces, and the final triumph of one particular pair, which are henceforward used by all writers for the following 500 years. On the other hand it is inherently improbable that after the provinces had existed for more than two centuries, and after two names had established themselves in universal use for nearly 150 years, the names *Magna* and *Parva* should come into use, survive in one or two instances, and again disappear, leaving the old names *Pacatiana* and *Salutaris* once more victorious. This view has no presumption in its favour, and cannot of itself, without some other corroborative evidence, be allowed. The conclusion therefore is that if the term *Parva* is used in the sense of *Salutaris* in a Byzantine document of doubtful date, the document was probably written during the fourth century.

This argument, which I advanced in brief terms in this *Journal*, 1882, p. 345, is rejected by M. Duchesne,¹ who thinks that when Justinian, A.D. 536, raised the governor of *Pacatiana* to the rank of *comes spectabilis*, the province acquired the title *magna* in contrast with the lower rank of the governor of *Salutaris*. But it was of course on account of the well-known superiority in size, wealth, and importance of *Pacatiana* that Justinian so honoured it; he did not make it the great province but promoted it on account of its already existing and recognized greatness. Again, if the names *Magna* and *Parva* were introduced under Justinian, how does it come that not a single example of their use can be proved afterwards? On my theory the disappearance of the names is simple and natural, on M. Duchesne's theory it is unintelligible. When I stated my theory at first it seemed so obviously true that I thought it unnecessary to search for proofs; but, when challenged for proof, I appeal to the following passages.

(1) Steph. Byz. *σ.τ. Εὐκαρπία, δῆμος τῆς Μικρᾶς Φρυγίας ἱστορεῖ Μητροφάνης τὸν βότρυν ἐκεῖ σ.τ.λ.* The natural interpretation of this passage is that Metrophanes is the authority throughout, and that he used the term *Φρυγία Μικρά*; he is

¹ 'Saint Amandus,' in *Revue des Quest. Histor.*, 1883, p. 21.

known to have written *περὶ Φρυγίας* in two books, obviously devoting one book to each province.

What then is the date of Metrophanes? In *Smith's Dictionary* no date is given to him, but the references in Waitz, *Rhetores Græci* (see index s.v.), show that he was later than Minucianus (about 270) and earlier than Syrianus (about 430). Space forbids me to enter here on the point; but I may say that my investigation was made and the date fixed with the help of Mr. Bywater.

Here we have one example of the term *Μικρὰ Φρυγία* denoting Phrygia Salutaris during the fourth century.

(2) Suidas (s.v.) calls Amachios *ἀρχὼν μικρᾶς πόλεως Φρυγίας*, and tells the story of his execution of four Christian martyrs under Julian (A.D. 364). Socrates (iii. 15) and Sozomen (v. 11) tell the same story, mentioning that Amachius was governor of the province; and therefore we must either read in Suidas, as has been proposed by Wesseling with general approval, *ἀρχὼν Μικρᾶς Φρυγίας*, or suppose that Suidas or his authority misunderstood the expression *Μικρᾶς Φρυγίας* in the original account of the incident and inserted *πόλεως*. In either case we are forced back to an original authority using the expression Little Phrygia. The error is unintelligible if Salutaris Phrygia was the name in the earliest accounts. This earliest authority must be older than Socrates and Sozomen (who use the expression *ἀρχὼν τῆς ἐπαρχίας*, *ἡγεμὼν*, or *ἀρχὼν* simply), and must therefore be very little later than the actual occurrence. The improbability of M. Duchesne's hypothesis is clearly brought out by this example: according to his view the expression *ἀρχὼν τῆς Μικρᾶς Φρυγίας* must have been substituted in the original account by a writer soon after 535, for the name *Μικρὰ* did not permanently establish itself, and can have suggested itself only to one writing under Justinian, and this writer of the sixth century must have been used by Suidas or by his authority.

Besides the ease with which my theory explains both the appearance and the disappearance of the name Little Phrygia, I have therefore made it probable that two writers of the fourth century used the name. I now come to the original point in dispute—the date at which the legend of Saint Aberkios was composed. I first argued that it was composed

shortly before A.D. 400.¹ M. Duchesne prefers the sixth century or later.

My argument rested on the use of the term Little Phrygia, which seemed to me, and still seems, conclusive. I shall, however, give further evidence which leads me to the same view.

To discuss this question with authority, one ought to have studied the lives of the various Saints of Asia Minor. This investigation, when some one is found to undertake it, will repay the toil. Of those which I have hastily read over, a certain number, distinguished by local knowledge and multitude of details, make on me the impression of having been composed not later than the fifth century. Among these I would include the tale of Aberkios, the tale of Trophimus, Sabbatius, and Dorymedon, the tale of Ariadne of Prynnessos (Sept. 17th), the tale of Therapon (May 27th),² Hypatius (June 17th: this dates about 450), &c. These were written by natives of Phrygia, familiar with the country and obviously ignorant of other countries, and they abound in details which throw light on the state of the country at the time. About the year 400 there took place a very decided literary movement in central Phrygia, marked by such names as Metrophanes of Eucarpia, and by a Christian literature, of which only a few miserable remains have come down to us. The state of manners and of government in the martyr-romances is older than Justinian, *e.g.* the Asian Diocese is administered by a *vicarius*,³ whereas Justinian in 535 abolished the *vicarius*. One point in these romances is of special interest: when they were composed, the pagan religion was not eradicated, and they preserve to us some curious information: *e.g.* a feast of Artemis called *Kάλαθος* was practised in Bithynia (*Act. Sanct.*, June 17th, p. 343).

¹ In giving the limits 383 and 385 A.D. (though I used the dates only approximately) I made my view seem too hard and fast: the latest date at which the tale was first reduced to writing is the time when *Salutaris* became the universally used term, and we can hardly place this earlier than the beginning of the fifth century.

² Mere excerpts of the stories of

Ariadne and Therapon are given in the *Acta Sanctorum*: if any MS. can be found containing their complete biography, it will be topographically very valuable.

³ *Acta SS. Troph., Sabb., &c.*, where also the governor resident at Synnada has not the rank of *consularis*, which he had acquired some time before Justinian.

Further, the date when the term 'Little Phrygia' came into use can be still more narrowly defined. About 385-93 Theodosius disjoined a large district from Phrygia, and used it to form a new province, Galatia Secunda (see LXXIV.). Phrygia Secunda, already less important and wealthy, now became also smaller, than Phrygia Prima.

I must advert to one other argument, used by M. Duchesne: he thinks that the use of *Σαλονταρία* for *Μικρά* in one MS. disproves my theory (*suffit pour écarter le système proposé par le jeune savant anglais*). But I cannot see why the substitution of the term which became practically universal soon after 400, in all books known to us, for the term which was very rare, and which on my theory was disused about 400, tells in any way against my theory: such a process is on my theory the most natural thing in the world of copyists.

One other objection to my theory, raised by myself in this *Journal*, 1883, p. 425, remains. I there argued that the text of the epitaph was transcribed by the writer after the original inscription was defaced in one line, that this defacement was clearly intentional, and must have been done by some orthodox partisan who fancied that the line favoured heresy. I suggested the Paulician heresy as the one which led to this orthodox Vandalism; but Bishop Lightfoot in his work on Ignatius and Polycarp considers that heresies prevalent before 400 were quite sufficient to produce the same result, and it is moreover probable that the words were erased while the Saint was still remembered in the country, and while people still thought the stone an important religious monument. I still adhere to all that I said 1883, p. 425, except the suggestion about Paulicianism.

XXIX.—THE PHRYGIAN PENTAPOLIS. This district may be noted as a typical example of the obscurity in which the topography of Phrygia was involved before the work of the Asia Minor Exploration Fund began. Of the five cities whose number caused the name, Eucarpia gave rise to frequent conjectures, none of which even approximated to the true situation. Of Brouzos M. Waddington¹ remarks that it does not appear to be mentioned except in Hierocles. Of Ôtrous the same might be said. Hieropolis had been so entirely forgotten that it was confused with Hierapolis of the Lycus valley, and its bishops

¹ *Papete Numismatique*, s. v. Brouzos.

PHYGLA SALUTARIS.

[T₂ / 185 XXIX

[illegible]

and its coins referred to the better known city;¹ Kiepert however observed the distinction and placed the second Hierapolis far away to the north, near Afion Kara Hissar, which led him also to suggest situations for Stectorion and Otrous in the same neighbourhood. The name Pentapolis had not been observed, the five cities had not been connected together, and no one of them had even by conjecture been placed in the valley of Sandykli where they were all situated. Hamilton proposed (and Kiepert accepts the hypothesis), to place Euphorbium in the valley of Sandykli (see LIIL).

The name Pentapolis is given in the following signature at *Concil. Constantinop.* A.D. 553 (Labbe, p. 585 [223]).² *Paxlus misericordia Dei episcopus sanctae ecclesiae Stectorii civitatis Pentapoliticae regionis Phrygiae Salutaris provinciae.*

In one other passage (*Nicet. Chron.*, 162) the Phrygian Pentapolis is referred to. About the year 1158 there was a war between Manuel and the Seljuk Turks under Kilij Arslan, and Manuel invaded the Pentapolis (τοῖς περὶ τὴν Πεντάπολιν ἐπιτίθεται). Cinnamus describes this war more fully: he says that Manuel advanced by way of Philadelphia, but the rest of his vague description conveys no note of locality except *χωρὸν τινα Σαράπατα Μόλωνος* (*Cinnam.*, 106). The astonishment of the Turks that a small Byzantine army should invade the district is vividly described by Cinnamus.

The order in Hierocles shows that the five cities are Eukarpia, Hieropolis, Otrous, Brouzos, and Stectorion. About these cities no trustworthy information existed until 1882, when I published in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* a paper, 'Trois Villes Phrygiennes,' in which I showed that Brouzos was situated at Kara Sandykli, that Hieropolis must be a city of the same valley and probably Otrous also, and suggested that Eukarpia was to be sought in the country immediately north-east, and Stectorion south, of the Sandykli valley. In 1883 I visited the Sandykli Ova twice, first along with Mr. J. R. S. Sterrett in June, and again in October alone, in order to fill up some gaps in the

¹ Forbiger, *Alt. Geogr.*, does distinguish the two, but in the same page he makes three remarks about the lesser city which are true only of the greater.

² My quotations from the *Act. Concil.* are made from lists and notes, some

written in Athens, some in Oxford (Manuel), some in Aberdeen: the paging varies according to these different editions. To reduce it to uniformity would necessitate weeks of toil, from which I shrink.

evidence. I had previously spent two days in the valley in November 1881, and again in 1887 I spent four days; the last of these visits produced no new evidence.

The rich valley of Sandykli, in which the five cities were situated, lies on the upper waters of the Glaukos, a tributary of the Maeander. Sandykli is now the seat of a Kaimakam, in the Sanjak of Kara Hissar: it is a town of mediæval growth, placed, for convenience of water supply, on the higher eastern side of the valley, whereas the ancient cities all lay in the low rich land on the west side.

XXX.—EUKARPIA. No direct evidence has yet been discovered about this city; but after placing the other four cities on well-marked sites in the valley, there remains near Ille Meşjid one other ancient site, evidently the most important of all, as it possesses a small theatre, and the fifth city of the Pentapolis must be placed here. Corroborative evidence is obtained from the line of the Roman road. In the Peutinger Table Eukarpia is placed on the road from the north to Apameia between Konna and Eumeneia. Geographical possibility leaves no doubt about the line of this road south of Konna:¹ Eukarpia must lie in the Sandykli valley, and no other site can be found on the road. The accompanying map shows that the necessary lines of the Roman roads here are confused in the Peutinger Table, the direct road from Eukarpia to Apameia being mixed with the road from Eukarpia by Eumeneia to Apameia.

XXXI.—HIEROPOLIS was situated beside Koteh Hissar: the ruins are still considerable. On the north side there are remains of walls, built of large blocks of stone, probably of the original temple which formed the religious centre of the valley. This temple, if temple it be, is the only one I have seen in Asia Minor which appears to be older than the Græco-Roman epoch: some excavation would be required before its character can be determined.

The evidence for the exact situation of Hieropolis lies entirely in the tale of Saint Aberkios² and the relation of the city to the hot springs: they are about two miles south of Koteh Hissar, and are still a great medicinal resort. Kiepert acutely argued

¹ To determine this was one of the first objects which Mr. Sterrett and I

proposed to ourselves in our exploration of 1882.

² *J. H. S.* 1882.

from the name that the town must have been situated beside some natural phenomenon, and conjectured that the site was at the hot springs now called Gejek-Hamam, about eight miles north-east of Afium Kara Hissar.

Hieropolis must undoubtedly have been originally the chief place in the valley: the population dwelt scattered over the whole country, the priests of the central *hieron* ruled them, and around the *hieron* grew a town, Hiero-polis: though no express evidence of this period is preserved, yet the analogy of other districts is convincing. Hence, according to Ptolemy (quoted LXV) the population of the whole valley were called *Ἱεροπολίται*. Another evidence that the name Hieropolis (or, as the Greeks preferred, *Ἱερὰ Πόλις*) was extended over the whole valley lies in a passage of Strabo hitherto not understood (p. 374): τὰ μέταλλα τῆς ποικίλης λίθου τῆς Σκυρίας καθάπερ τῆς Καρυστίας καὶ τῆς Δευκαλλίας (?) καὶ τῆς Συναδικῆς Ἱεραπολιτικῆς. Meineke would expunge the last word, but such an alteration cannot be accepted. ΔΕΥΚΑΛΛΙΑC must be corrected ΔΟΚΙΜΑΙΟΥ,¹ and Συναδικῆς is perhaps to be explained as a gloss on Δοκιμαίου, which was also called Synnadic marble. Hieropolitic marble was perhaps found in the almost unknown mountains between Hieropolis and Synnada: the other Phrygian city, Hiempolis on the Lycus, is not likely to be meant, as marble in that neighbourhood could hardly have escaped attention in modern times. It is also possible that Strabo used the expression Συναδικῆς Ἱεραπολιτικῆς to specify the marble accurately. I shall show below (XXXVI.) that Synnada was the central office for managing the Phrygian marble trade.

These references to Hieropolis, and the important remains of the city, make it difficult to accept the conclusion that it alone of the five cities struck no coins. I have bought in the neighbouring villages three coins, all bearing the legend ἹΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙ-ΤΩΝ, and all of the third century: besides these, I saw or bought in the neighbourhood coins of Eukarpia, Otrous, Stectorion, and Brouzos, also of Metropolis Phrygiac, of Synnada, of Eumeneia, of Apameia, and only one of Laodiceia. This statement shows how improbable it is that three coins of Hierapolis

¹ The first corruption was ΔΕΥΚΑΛΛΙΟΥ, and then the gender was corrected: on the form Δοκιμαίου

see Strab. p. 577. Hiempolitan marble, Count. Porph., *Corinthus*, p. 344.

ad Lycum, all bearing the very rare form of the name as Hieropolis, should have been found beside the site of this other Hieropolis. The type on one of these coins moreover is, as M. Waddington informed me, identical with that of a coin of Brouzos in his collection. This fact is conclusive. The rule, then, seems clear: coins of the third century, *ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ*, are to be attributed to the city of the Pentapolis. There are also some early coins with the same legend: these belong to Hierapolis *ad Lycum*. Where Greek language and civilization had fully established itself, the name is *Ἱερὰ Πόλις*: the name in central Phrygia, in Cappadocia, and in Syria is *Ἱεράπολις*. Hierapolis on the Lycus fell entirely under Greek influence in the first century of the Empire.

XXXII.—*ΣΤΕΚΤΟΡΙΟΝ*. The site of this town is fixed at Emir Hissar by the passage in Pausanias (x. 27. 1): *ταύτου [Ἰ.ε. Μυγδόνης] μνήμα τέ ἐπιφανές ἐν ὄροις πεποιήται Φρυγῶν Στεκτορηῶν*. About a mile north-east of the village is a row of tumuli on a ridge. One of them is very large, and is a conspicuous object in the view from most parts of the valley. I suppose that this is the tomb of Mygdon. The actual site of the city is at the village Emir Hissar, and the acropolis is on a little hill on the north side: the walls can be traced in the greater part of their circuit. The ruins of the city have suffered severely since Hamilton (ii. p. 169) visited them, when they were so perfect that a plan of the whole town might have been made.

XXXIII.—*ΟΤΡΟΥΣ*. It seems hardly credible that three distinct cities and bishoprics should have existed so close together as Emir Hissar, Tehor Hissar, and Koteh Hissar, but the remains at all three places prove the existence of cities of which that at Tehor Hissar—at present a village of one or two houses only—was the smallest. The name Otrous is appropriated to this site by the following inscription, on a large basis in the cemetery at Tehor Hissar, which I copied in October, 1883:—

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΑ
ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ

Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδόνα
κτίστην τῆς πόλεως

It is impossible to interpret this inscription as raised under the Empire to commemorate a patriotic fiction that Alexander the Great had founded the city: the Macedonian conqueror

would not have been styled simply Alexander the Macedonian. There can be little doubt that this Alexander is the same who is mentioned on coins of Otrous about 200—215 A.D., with the legend :

ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΔΙΑΡΧΗΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ.

Alexander was a wealthy native, who filled the high-priesthood of Asia, and brought his native city into the knowledge of the world. He probably contributed the expense of striking the first coinage of Otrous,¹ thus marking its claim to be a city, and was therefore honoured with the title "Founder" in this inscription. The epithet *Μακεδόνα* is remarkable: it bears witness, perhaps, to an attempt to concoct a pedigree for Alexander. The anxiety of Anatolian cities to connect themselves with ancient Greek history or legend is attested by many examples: many Macedonian colonies had been planted by the early Diadochi in Phrygia, *e.g.* at Peltæ, Dokimion, Kauloi, &c. It was therefore intended to flatter Alexander by representing him as of the true European lineage.

The proper form of the name is undoubtedly *Ότροφος*, whence the adjective *Ότροφηνός*: the town is named after the Phrygian hero Otreus, in whom G. Curtius long ago recognized the Greek hero Atreus (*Griech. Etymol.* ii. p. 293). Otreus and Mygdon were the Phrygian chiefs who fought against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarios (*Iliad* iii. 186), and it is certainly remarkable to find *Ότροφος*, the city of Otreus, and Stectorion, the city where Mygdon was buried (Pausan. x. 27, 1), side by side in this valley. Otreus was known also in Mysia (Strab. p. 566) at Otroia (*Ότροφία*).² The coinage of Stectorion and Otrous also bears witness to the survival of ancient Phrygian heroic legend in the valley: in both places a remarkable type occurs:³ (1) at Stectorion, "Héros casqué et cuirassé allant à gauche en retournant la tête et posant le pied droit sur une proue de navire: de la main droite il brandit une arme et de la gauche

¹ Compare the account of the coinage of Peltæ, given in my 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia and the Border Lands,' which will shortly appear in the *American Journal of Archaeology*.

² Plat. *Lucull.* has *Ότροία*, where *ο* is probably a misspelling (com-

mon among late scribes) of *ω*, so that the word ought to be *Ότροία*. *ἐν τῇ τῆς 'Ανταρίας ἀγορῆς 'Ότροία* . . . *εὐσεβέως δ' ἀπὸ 'Ότροφας 'Ότροίας καλεῖσθαι*, Strab. p. 566.

³ Imhoof-Blumer, *Münz. Gr.* p. 412; Monnet *s.v.* Otrous.

il s'abrite de son bouclier ; " (2) at Otrous, " Héros se retournant, le pied droit sur une proue de vaisseau, la main droite levée, et tenant dans la gauche la haste." Imhoof-Blumer and Head suggest the name Mygdon for this hero, but it appears to me that the name must be given according to a coin of Otrous, representing Aeneas armed bearing Anchises on his shoulders and leading by the hand the young Ascanios, towards whom he turns his head. The interpretation of the last coin is certain, and hence in the other we are not justified in seeking an otherwise unknown native legend, but we must find the Greek literary legend of Aeneas leaving Troy: the love of the Anatolian cities for introducing Greek legend, and the evident contempt of the Phrygians and Lydians for native legend, have been noted by me frequently. We see, then, in this district a cultus of Otrous, Aeneas and Ascanios, essentially the same as that implied by Strabo (p. 566) at the lake Ascania.

An inscription which I found in the mosque at Kelendres must be left in the same doubt as when I first published it¹: [Αὐτοκράτορα [Καίσαρα] Α. Σε[πτίμιον] Σευ[ή]ρον Περ[τίνακα] [Σεβαστ]ὸν ἡ βουλῇ καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος] Ὁ[τρο]ν[η]ῶν (οἱ ὁ [Βρου]ζην[ῶν] ἐπιμε[ληθέντων] τῆς ἀ[ρ]αστάσεως Ἑρμογέ[ρους] καὶ Εὐτυ[χίου] τοῦ τοῦ καὶ [. . .] νευτανου [ἀρχόντων], but the former restoration suits the space much better.

XXXIV. Brouzos.—The name is fixed at Kara Sandykli by the following text on a basis standing in front of the mosque (Ramsay, 1881): Α. Σεπτίμιον Σευ[ή]ρον ἡ Βρουζην[ῶν] πόλις τὴν ἀνάστασιν ποιησαμένων τῶν περὶ Ἀπέλλ[η]ν β' τοῦ Λουκίου ἀρχόντων. The inscription originally ended thus, but the other archons apparently desired to have their names recorded, and a new hand added καὶ Σε[ι]ῶνος β' καὶ Πωλίωνος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου Πάπου,² showing that there were four archons at Brouzos. The name, according to Fick's canon, is for *Broughos*, which is perhaps a formation from Φρύγ-ες through Φρουγος.

An easy araba road runs from Akmonia up the Ahat Keni

¹ *Trois Villes Phrygiennes*, p. 517: Ὁ[τρο]ν[η]ῶν still seems to me most probable, on account of the small space remaining in the line to receive the missing letters.

² Two other inscriptions of Brouzos

are published in my *Trois Villes Phrygiennes*. One contains the remarkable expressions ἐρεσιζόμεθα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς καταχθονίοις δαίμονας, and αὐτὸς ἔγενετο οὐκ ἔσται αὐτῷ πάλαι, καὶ ὁ βίος ταῦτα.

water, and down the Aram Tchai to the Pentapolis. That an imperial Roman road such as those of the Peutinger Table existed along this track is not probable; but the remarkable type on coins of Akmonia and Brouzos, Zeus slaying two giants, bears witness to intercourse between the two cities.¹

In the rest of Phrygia Salutaris, it is not convenient to follow the order of Hierocles. There still remain some serious difficulties in the topography, and it is impossible to face these until we have first placed those about which definite evidence remains. After placing the cities whose situation is certain, we narrow the question about the rest.

XXXV.—SYNNADA. The site was first proved by M. Perrot in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1876, from inscriptions copied in the town of Tchifat Cassaba ("Jews' Market") by M. Choisy. All previous conjectures had been far wrong. I need not repeat what M. Perrot has there stated as to the history of Synnada.

Study of the geography of the district shows that Synnada lies off the direct line of the great eastern highway: the easy road runs straight from Metropolis to Lysias, while the detour by Synnada leads over a decidedly more difficult country. Hence Synnada is omitted by Artemidorus and Strabo (p. 623) in the sketch of the great highway.

The Romans, who made Synnada the central city of a *diocesis*, introduced it also, against the nature of the country, into their road-system. No straight road is possible from Apameia to Synnada, or from Metropolis to Synnada: only a difficult mountain-path leads from Metropolis to Atli Hissar. The main highway to the east has a singularly easy route through a mountainous country, by Metropolis, Euphorbium, Kinnaborion, and Lysias: it will some day be the line of a railway.

For a short time during the first century before Christ, when the pirates made the voyage along the south coast of Asia Minor unsafe, the Roman governors of Cilicia landed at Ephesos and made the journey along the eastern highway to Tarsos. They were thus obliged to pass through Laodiceia and Apameia, and not far from Synnada: it was therefore arranged that they should hold the *conventus* of Kibyra, Apameia, and Synnada (to

¹ See Imhoof-Blumer, *Zeitch. f. Numism.* 1885, and Waddington, *Voyage Numismatique*. These moun-

tains, over which an easy road passes west and east, are impassable north to south.

which we may safely add Philomelion¹) as they passed, and that the Kibyratic *conventus* should assemble in Laodiceia, which became henceforth the chief seat of that *diocesis*.

Strabo (p. 577) says of the plain of Synnada: *Σύνναδα δ' ἐστὶν οὐ μεγάλη πόλις · πρόκειται δ' αὐτῇ ἐλαιόφυτον πεδῖον ὅσον ἑξήκοντα σταδίων*. There can be no doubt that the statement about olives was never true. Olives can never have been cultivated in the high plain of Synnada (3,400 feet above sea-level). Olives at the present day are cultivated for commercial purposes only in the lower Maeander valley: even in the Lycus valley they are said not to flourish, but above this they are almost unknown. Probably Strabo's text should be corrected to [ἀμπ]ε-*λάφυτον*: his general accuracy in regard to Asia Minor leaves me no hesitation in dismissing the idea that he made an error in such a point.

XXXVI.—DOKIMION. The site is assured by the proximity of the Dokimian marble quarries, which lie beside the junction of the two streams flowing past Seidlilar and Itchja Kara Hissar, about two miles from each. Texier and Hamilton have both placed Dokimion correctly at Itchja Kara Hissar.

I have discarded the common view derived from the *appearance* of the roads in Tab. Peut., that a Roman road ran from Dorylaion and Nakoleia by Dokimion and Synnada to Apameia. Such a road can hardly have existed, owing to natural difficulties between Nakoleia and Dokimion, and is certainly not wanted alongside of the other road from Nakoleia by Konna to Apameia. The Peut. Tab. really gives two roads—Dorylaion-Amorion and Synnada-Dokimion-Amorion, which, in the distorted representation of the country, look like a single road.

The administration of the marble quarries of Dokimion, which belonged to the emperors, is a difficult subject. I have elsewhere² suggested that the name Synnadic marble, by which Dokimian marble was known to the Romans, must have arisen because the central office for administering the Phrygian marbles was situated at Synnada, and that communications about the marbles passed between Rome and Synnada. Western peoples ordered the Phrygian marble from Synnada and called it Synnadic marble.

¹ Marguerdt is not quite certain whether Philomelion was the seat of a *conventus*.

² 'Inscriptions Inédites de Marbres Phrygiens,' in *Mémoires d'Archéol. et de Ling.*, Rome, 1882.

The *procurator marmorum*, a freedman of the emperor, resided at Synnada, and a subordinate office—that of the actual contractor for the works, or of the officials charged with the cutting (*caesura*)—existed at the quarries themselves. In the time of M. Aurelius we learn of procurators of Phrygia, imperial freedmen, also probably resident at Synnada. It is possible that the latter belong to a reorganization of the entire fiscus in Phrygia, which placed the administration of all imperial revenues, including the marbles, the estates, and other sources, in one central office. This is of course a mere hypothesis, propounded to guide future study towards its proof or disproof: according to the hypothesis the *procuratores marmorum* were superseded by *procuratores Phrygiae* about A.D. 160. The following procurators are known:—

1. [M. Ulpus] Marianus Aug. lib. proc., on two inscriptions of Synnada (*Eph. Epigr.*, 127 and 128; *Inscript. de Marb. Phryg.*, 1 and 2). His name gives his approximate date 110—130.

2. Irenaeus Aug. lib. procurator, on two blocks of Synnadic marble at Rome, date A.D. 137 (Bruzza, *Annali*, 1870, No. 258—9).

3. M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Marcio, procurator marmorum, who afterwards became procurator of Britain, and finally procurator Phrygiae, known from an inscription of Trocnada, or Tricomia (*C.I.L.* iii. 348).

4. Aurelius Aristaenetus, proc. Phrygiae, on an inscription of Synnada (Perrot, *Rev. Archéol.*, 1876, p. 198).

5. M. Aurelius Aug. lib. Crescens, procurator Phrygiae, known by a Greek inscription of Eukarpia (*O.I.G.*, 3888, where it is falsely ascribed to Eumeneia).

The subordinate office at Dokimion is implied in the following quarry-marks on blocks of marble found there:—

OFFICINA ? PELAGII	A.D. 145 (<i>Eph. Epigr.</i>)	No. 114
OFFICINA ? [PELAGII]	A.D. 146	No. 115
OFFICINA ? PELAGII	A.D. 146	No. 1381
OFFICINA ? ASIATICI	A.D. 147	No. 116 & 1376
OFFICINA ? ASIATICI	A.D. 164	No. 118
CAESURA DOMITII ?	A.D. 164	No. 118

With regard to the quarries, we find Brachium SECUNDUM, Brachium TERTIUM, Brachium QVARTUM.

The symbol REPR in five inscriptions, which I interpreted *repre(obatum)* [*non sine aliqua specie veri*, Momms.], is perhaps REPR, badly formed and badly spelt, for B. Tert.: quarry-marks are singularly rudely and even falsely scratched on the blocks.

The marble quarries of Dokimion were still rich in A.D. 414 (*Cod. Theodos.*, xi. 28, 9).

The distance (xxxii.) on the Peutinger Table between Dokimion and Synnada is true if we assume it as the sum of the distances Dokimion-Prymnessos (xvii.) and Prymnessos-Synnada (xv.). The accompanying map shows the line of the road by which the vast blocks of Dokimaion marble (Strabo, p. 577) were carried to the sea. This road does not touch the town of Synnada, but passes through its territory.

In the later Byzantine time Dokimion was separated from Phrygia Salutaris, at the formation of a new ecclesiastical division under Amorion as metropolis. This was perhaps coincident with the formation of the Khonai metropolitan district,¹ though the fact is not recorded. This suspicion is roused by the following facts:—(1) The only reference to the advanced dignity of Khonai: [Φώτιος] ἀποστέλλει Θεόφιλον ἐπίσκοπον [read ἀρχιεπίσκοπον] τοῦ Ἀμορίου καὶ Σαμουὴλ ἐπίσκοπον ἀχρὶς ἐκείνου τῶν Χωρῶν ὑπὸ Λαοδίκειαν τυγχάνοντα ἀρχιεπίσκοπον τετιμημένως, *Vit. S. Ignatii, Mansi Concil.* xvi. p. 235. (2) The early *Notitiae* VII., VIII., IX., give Amorion as a bishopric under Pessinus, and arrange its dependent bishoprics in the same way as Hierocles, whereas *Not.* I., III., X., XIII., give the following list:—

NOT. I. <i>Galatias diocesis</i>	NOT. III.	NOT. X.	Hierocles & <i>Not. VII. VIII. IX.</i>
δ τοῦ Ἀμορίου	τῆς Ἀμορίου Φρυγίας	τῆς Ἀμορίου τῆς Φρυγίας	Galatia Salutaris
δ Φιλομηλίου	α'. δ Φιλομηλίου	δ Φιλομηλίου	Pisidia
δ τοῦ Δοκιμίου	β'. δ τοῦ Δοκιμίου	δ Δοκιμίου	Phrygia Salutaris
δ Κλάγγε	γ'. δ Κλαυσεῦ	δ Κλαυσεῦ	Καρία Galatia Salutaris
δ Πολυβάτου	δ'. δ Πολυβάτου	δ Πολυβάτου	Phrygia Salutaris
δ Πισσίας	ε'. δ Πισσίας	δ Πισσίας	Not mentioned

¹ About 850 A.D. or soon after.

Such a contradiction among the *Notitiæ* points to a change in the middle of the ninth century, if we could feel any confidence that it was entered immediately in the lists. (3) In Concil. Nicæen. II., A.D. 787, Amorion is ranked as *autokephalos*, coming at the very end of the list of superior bishops, and just before the list of ordinary bishops begins. It had therefore been already raised to independent ecclesiastical rank, whereas in 692 it ranks as an ordinary bishopric subject to Pessinus. But even in 787 it is only *autokephalos*, not a metropolis: Dokimion, Klaneos, Philomelion appear in their proper provinces. At last, in the Council of 879, it appears as a metropolis, with Pissia dependent on it.

This Amorion *diocesis* is a well-marked district, within which we must not look for any of the other Phrygian bishoprics, and the order in Hierocles proves that the names Κλήρος 'Οριῆς, Κλήρος Πολιτικῆς, Δεβαλακία, Λυσιάς, are to be sought south of this district, towards Synnada and the Pisidian frontier. The importance of this inference will appear below.

XXXVII.—PRYMNESSOS. The site of this city was long sought in vain. Franz and Kiepert placed it at Seidi Ghazi on the evidence¹ of an inscription found there, engraved on a huge block of marble by the Prymnessian people. In my paper, "Prymnessos and Metropolis," I argued, from a false interpretation of the following inscription,² that Prymnessos was in the valley of Bayat: [Imp. Caesari L. Septimio, &c.] a Prymnesso ΙΙΙΓ. In the first symbol of the number the engraver has distinctly cut not Ι, but Ν: this, combined with the blurred surface, made me understand [Μ]ΙΓ, and look for Prymnessos thirteen miles away. In reality this milestone is the third from Prymnessos, and just three miles south of the bridge in which it is now built are the ruins of a city which was important enough to possess a small theatre. The ruins are situated beside the village of Seulun: the main road from Afium Kara Hissar to Tehai and Ak Sheher passes through them, and it is almost incomprehensible how they escaped notice till October, 1883. This road is one of the most important routes in the country, and even at the present day an observant eye detects the signs of an ancient city on the actual road, though the theatre is not in sight from the road. After discovering the city, and recognizing at once that it must

¹ C. I. G., 3213.

² *Eph. Epigr.*, 176 and 1468.

be Prynnessos, I went to verify the milestone quoted above, and saw the true reading.

XXXVIII.—KONE, KONNA was situated, according to the Pentinger Table, between Nakoleia and Eukarpia, on the road leading from Dorylaion to Apameia. There can be no doubt as to the course of the road from Dorylaion to Apameia. It ascends the river Parthenios to its source, descends a tributary of the Adji Su, and passes by Kidyessos into the Pentapolis. Between Nakoleia and Kidyessos it passes two ancient sites—the first at Kumbet, the second near Beuyek Tchorgia. To determine which of these is KONNA, we have to look at the Byzantine lists.

XXXIX.—METROPOLIS is mentioned by Hierocles between Dokimion and Meros. The *Notitiae* do not contain the name, but three of them mention *Κόρης ἡτοι Δημητριονπόλεως*. Demetriopolis is the "city of Saint Demetrios." It is well known that the goddess Demeter was often transformed into the Saint Demetrios, and in this case obviously the Meter Goddess has suffered the same transformation: Metropolis and Demetriopolis are the same place.

Kone and Metropolis were therefore situated near each other, and were united under the charge of a single bishop. The order of Hierocles here is important: he enumerates Polybotos, Dokimion, Metropolis in a line going westward, and then turns north to Meros and Nakoleia.

XL.—AMBASON is mentioned by Steph. Byz., *Ἀμβασον, Μητρόπολις τῶν Φρυγῶν*. It is probably identical with a place *Ἀμπούν*, mentioned on the road leading from Iconium past Afion Karn Hissar towards Constantinople by Anna Comnena in her account (Book xv.) of her father's expedition against Iconium.

Alexius Comnenus, hard pressed by the Seljuk army in the plain south of Polybotos, avoided the road *via* Dorylaion by which he had advanced towards Iconium, and took the road *πρὸς Ἀμπούν*.¹ This latter road must obviously be the alternative route to Constantinople by way of Kotiaion, and the name *Ἀμβασον* or *Ἀμπούν* appears to be still preserved as Ambanaz, a village on

¹ It is remarkable that the historian specifies the road by such an unimportant name as *Ἀμπούν*, when well-known

cities existed on this well-known and frequently used road.

the road in question, and situated in the same valley with Tchorgia. Ambason (i.e. Metropolis) and Kone must therefore lie in the valley north of Afion Kara Hissar.

Stephanus, in the entry quoted above, need not necessarily be understood as implying that Ambason and Metropolis are two names for one town. He is probably quoting from a statement (such as we often find in Byzantine documents¹), *Ἀμβασον ἢ νῦν Μητρόπολιν*, which does not imply that the two names denoted exactly the same place. Accordingly Kone, Metropolis, Ambason, were three small towns in the same neighbourhood.

It is, I think, possible to go further and specify the exact situation of Kone and of Metropolis, as we have done for Ambason. The remains of Byzantine life, and especially the rock-cut churches, at the village Ayaz Inn ("Caves of Hoar Frost"), mark it as a place of importance in Christian time: on the other hand, the remains of Roman life are unknown at Ayaz Inn, but are found about Tchorgia. Kone was the more important place in the peaceful Roman time: it lies in the open plain near Tchorgia. Metropolis became more important when the country was subject to the inroads of Sassanids and of Saracens: it lies in the hills at Ayaz Inn. The process whereby typical Roman sites were gradually abandoned in favour of safer sites in secluded positions is one to which I have frequently to call attention.

This account of Metropolis is sufficient to prove that no coins can be attributed to it (see below, LXXXVII.). Coins of Konna might, however, be expected: their absence suggests that it was, under the Empire, not autonomous but subject to Prymnessos (see LXVI.). The coins of Prymnessos bear the head and name of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΙΔΑΣ, which refers to the remarkable series of early Phrygian monuments close to the site of Metropolis.

XLI.—ACROENOS. This name occurs with the variants Acronios, Acroinos, Acrounos.² I have in an old paper given in detail the evidence which proves that the impregnable castle of Kara Hissar was the fortress Acroenos, so important in the

¹ e.g. *Κολοσσαὶ αἱ νῦν Χῆραι*: Kolossai and Ebonai are two different cities, near each other: the latter in late time supplanted the former.

² *Ἀκρονός*, strictly, is an adjective,

and occurs as such in the Tekmanian inscriptions: *ap.* *Ὀρπονός* from *Ὀρπονός*. The name refers to the remarkable rock (Greek *ἀκράς*).

Byzantine wars,¹ and need not here repeat it, as it involves a study of two different campaigns—in 739 and 1117. The earliest reference to Acroenos is in A.S. 716, but it must have existed as a fortress before that time. As soon as foreign invasion began to sweep over the country, the situation of Acroenos, on a column of volcanic rock rising sheer out of the plain to a height of nine hundred feet, must have made it a tower of strength for the country round.

XLII.—NICOPOLIS is mentioned in *Notitiae* VII., VIII., IX., and I. I have (*loc.*) shown that this is probably the name given to the castle of Acroenos in commemoration of the great victory of 739, a turning-point in the struggle against the Arabs. This Greek name, like many others of the kind, gave place to the native name in later times: in the last *Notitiae* III., X., XIII., we find no Nicopolis, but Acroenos. When this fortress first became a city and bishopric, it was put at the end of the list with Kone and Skordapia, which are in the same district; but as it must have steadily grown in importance, till it is now one of the chief towns of Anatolia, we find it in the late lists placed fourth in order, immediately before the neighbouring city Prymnessos. In these later lists I feel certain that the correct entry would be ὁ Ἀκρονησὺ ἦτοι Πρυμνησοῦ. As Acroenos flourished, Prymnessos must necessarily decay; and there are various examples of the retention of a bishopric in the ecclesiastical lists after its place had been taken by another city. Thus Perga remains after Attalia had become the first city of Pamphylia and seat of the archbishop;² and Pessinus was merged in Justinianopolis (Sivri Hissar).³

XLIII.—PAROREIOS PHRYGIA. The region so named has never yet been accurately specified. Strabo's language (p. 576) describes the long valley which extends along the northern side of the Sultan Dagb (ὁπερὴν τινα ῥάχιν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἐκτεννομένην ἐπὶ ὄνσειν). Paroreios extends from Tchai (Holmoi)

¹ 'Prymnessos and Metropolis,' in *Mithril, Athen.*, 1882. In this, my first attempt at reasoning on Phrygian topography, with only a hurried glance at the district to work on, and encumbered by the traditional misconception as to the road from Nakoleia to Synnada, I am pleased to be able to quote the

discussion of the site of Acroenos as conclusive, and to confirm by fresh reasons the situation assigned to Augustopolis.

² See my paper 'Antiq. of S. Phrygia and the Border Lands.'

³ As I shall prove in a forthcoming study of Galatia.

to Ilghin (Tyriaion); it stretches north-west to south-east between Sultan Dagh and Emir Dagh.

Strabo (p. 576) gives a list of the districts and cities of Phrygia Magna; he uses this term in the ancient sense, as distinguished from Phrygia Epiktetos and Phrygia Hellespontiaca, not in the later Byzantine sense (see XXVIII.). Phrygia Magna is divided into (1) Paroreios Phrygia; (2) Phrygia πρὸς Πισιδίαν, including Antioch of Pisidia, Limnai, and much of Ptolemy's Φρυγία Πισιδία; (3) τὰ περὶ Ἀμόριον καὶ Ἀκμόνειαν καὶ Σύνναδα, Central Phrygia in our conception, but Strabo includes all Northern Phrygia in Epiktetos or in Mysia; (4) Ἀπίρεια ἢ Κιβωτὸς λεγόμενη καὶ Λαοδίσεια· περίκειται δὲ ταύταις [ἄλλα τε]¹ πόλεις καὶ . . . Ἀφροδισιάς Κολοσσαί Θεμισσώνιον Σαναὸς Μητρόπολις Ἀπολλωνιάς, ἐτι δὲ ἀπωτέρω τούτων Πέλται Τάβαι Εὐκαρπία Λυσιᾶς; this group includes the southern and south-western part of Phrygia, with which Strabo included the plain of Tabae.²

This entire list is clear and well arranged, if we remember that Blaundos is reckoned to Lydia (not, with the numismatists, to Phrygia), that Trajanopolis and Temenothyrai belong to Strabo's Maionia, and that Kadoi, Ancyra, and Synaos belong to his Mysia. One correction of the text, however, has been required, AKMONEIAN for EYMENEIAN; the latter word disturbs the order, and renders unintelligible the whole list. No writer could place Peltae and Eukarpia in one district, Eumeneia in another.

It shows the obscurity of Phrygian topography that Paroreios, a district which is so clearly marked by nature and by ancient writers, should never yet have been correctly defined. Its chief cities are Polybotos, Julia, Philomelion,² Hadrianopolis, and Tyriaion; it extended, according to Strabo, from Holmoi (Tchai) to Tyriaion.

XLIV.—POLYBOTOS. The accusative Πολύβοτον is still in use, as Leake observed, under the form Bolowodun, the name of an important town, the seat of a kaimakam, on the horse-road

¹ The insertion is mine.

² Yet in 576, using a different authority, Artemidoros, he places Tabae in Pisidia. Tabae is perhaps corrupt in the passage in the text above.

² ταύτης δὲ τῆς Μεγάλης (Φρυγίας) ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Παρὸρεος Φρυγία, περὶ ἣν τὸ Φιλομήλιον, Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieget. 815.

from Constantinople by Eski Sheber to Konia; this road was one of the most important in Asia Minor from the foundation of Constantinople till steamships recently superseded land roads as the means of communication between the capital and the south coast of Syria and Cyprus. Before Constantinople was founded, Polybotos lay off the main road and was an unimportant place, while Julia, in the same plain further south, was the chief city.

XLV.—JULIA. This city was situated between Philomelion and Synnada, and it struck numerous coins from Tiberius to Valerian. The distance from Philomelion is given in the Table as xxxv. miles, and from Synnada as xxxii.; one or other of these numbers must be wrong, as the total is too great.¹ Kiepert places Julia at Tehai, and this cannot be far wrong. I should however look for a site nearer Sakli, correcting the distance from Philomelion to xxiv., and reading the whole road *Philomelium* xxiv. *Julia* xii. *Lysias* xxiii. *Synnada* xxviii. *Metropolis* xxviii. *Apancia*. My reasons are: (1) some ancient city must have existed in the wide and fine plain between the lakes Eber Göl and Ak Sheber Göl; (2) Sakli is an important market town, and the seat of a *mudir*; (3) Sakli is on a road which was important both in modern times and under the Roman Empire; (4) the modern boundary between the vilayets of Konia and Brussa lies south of Sakli; it is probable that the boundary has descended from Byzantine time, and that it was the boundary between Salutaris and Pisidia;² (5) Sakli is in Paroreios, and Julia-Ipsos is one of the few cities which *may* have been in Paroreios; (6) Tehai is more difficult to reconcile with the Peutinger Table's numbers.

XLVI.—IPPOS was the scene of the decisive battle fought in 301 B.C. by Antigonus against Seleucus and Lysimachus. Antigonus had wintered at Synnada; in the spring he marched eastwards with the view of preventing a junction between the forces of his two antagonists. Seleucus, coming from Syria, and Lysimachus, coming from the Hellespont, naturally met in the plain that stretches between Sakli and Bolwadun.

¹ Synnada to Tehai 9 hrs., Tehai to Philomelion (Ak Sheber) 9 hrs.

² These provinces disappeared, politically speaking, long before the Turkish

power began; but ecclesiastically, they lived as long as the Church organization lived.

Ipsos is never mentioned under the Roman Empire, but is known under the Greek kings and as a Byzantine bishopric; Julia is mentioned only under the Roman Empire, and yet it was an important city with rich coinage. Ipsos and Julia were in the same district, and the conclusion is inevitable that the name Julia superseded Ipsos under the Romans, but that before Hierocles the old name had once more come into use.

XLVII.—PHILOMELION has been proved at Ak Sheher by Hamilton. It was in all probability a foundation of the Diadochi, otherwise it could hardly have been omitted by Xenophon. It was therefore an obscure town or village till some of the Syrian or Pergamenian kings took advantage of its fine situation to found there a great Greek city with a Greek name. It was the seat of a *conventus* (see XXVIII.).

XLVIII.—HADRIANOPOLIS was situated on the direct road from Philomelion to Ikonion, at or near Doghan Hissar (Cinnam. p. 42).

XLIX.—THYMBRION, according to the route of Xenophon, must have been near Doghan Hissar. It was still a city in the time of Pliny, but does not occur later. These facts show that it was the town which was refounded by Hadrian under the name Hadrianopolis.

L.—TYRIAION has been proved by Hamilton at Ilgin. I believe that the Tyriaion of Xenophon's time was situated between Ilgin and Khadyn Khan, and that huge lines of embankment and sculptures in Syro-Cappadocian (Hittite) hieroglyphics mark the site.

LI.—The city which Xenophon means when he speaks of *Καύστρον Πεδίον* must be Ipsos. His distances are, starting from Apameia:

	days' march.	parasangs.	miles.	hours.	
Peltaï	2	10	25	8	Yaka Keui.
Keramion Agora	2	12	30	9½	near Islam Keui.
Kayastron Pedion	3 ¹	30	75	24	Sakli.
Thymbrion	2	10	25	8	near Doghan Hissar.
Tyriaion	2	10	25	8	near Ilgin.
Ikonion	3	20	50	16	Konia.

¹ This must certainly be corrected to 5; no army could march 75 miles in three days, and it is clear that 12 to 15 miles was the day's march, and a very good march it is.

The fountain of Midas is, as Hamilton saw, unmistakable; it is about five miles north of Philomelion.

LII.—AUGUSTOPOLIS, as I proved in a former paper¹ from the passage of Anna Comnena already quoted (see XL.), was situated at Sürmene, nine miles E.S.E. from Afion Kara Hissar. It appears in all the *Notitiae*, and in several of the Councils from 553 onwards, under this name. Such a city must, though omitted in the list of Hierocles, be concealed in it under another name.

The very name Augustopolis, applied to a place not important enough to coin money, and not found before the fifth century, rouses the suspicion that it gained its name from being an imperial estate; this suspicion long haunted my mind, and at last I discovered, in the tale of Saint Eutychius,² a complete confirmation: he was born, A.D. 512, in Augustopolis, and the expression *Θεία Κώμη* (imperial estate) is used as another name for his birthplace.

LIII.—KLEROS OREINES. LIV.—KLEROS POLITIKES. The name *κλήρος* is often applied to an estate, and in these two cases it has probably that sense. There is only one kind of estate which could rank as a recognized separate and self-governing community—an imperial estate. In several other cases such estates appear in Hierocles' list, in Caria *χωρία πατριμόνια*, in Pamphylia *Κτήμα Μαξιμιανουπόλεως*. It is well known that imperial estates did exist in Phrygia,³ and we may therefore safely interpret these two *Kleroi* as two great imperial estates; one is 'the estate of the mountain land,' the other 'the estate of the city land.'⁴

Horses from the Phrygian estates were highly prized, and ranked with the Cappadocian as the finest known. The Cappadocian estates are known to have been at Andabalis, near Tyana, and the horses reared there were called *Palmatlani* from a

¹ I need hardly utter a warning against the error I made in the same paper, in identifying Augustopolis with Metropolis: the false belief that Metropolis struck numerous coins, together with Professor Hirschfeld's erroneous view about the position of the southern Metropolis, which I could only accept implicitly, were sufficient

to mislead me.

² *Act. Sanct.*, April 6th, p. 550.

³ Horses 'quos Phrygiae inatres sacris praesepibus edunt,' Claud. ('sacris' denotes imperial property): cp. *Cod. Theod.*, *passim*.

⁴ *Χώρα* being understood: in Sparta *πατρική χώρα* was the property of the Spartan community.

certain Palmatus. The Phrygian horses were named Hermogenianî¹ In rearing horses in Asia Minor it is of the first importance to take them to very lofty pastures in the heat of summer; these were on the Klêros Oreînes, and the two Kleroi were therefore both required for the one purpose, and were probably under one management. This fact makes it probable that the two κλήροι formed one estate, and were in the *Notitiae* grouped under the name Augustopolis.

In *Not. III.* both Augustopolis and Kleroi occur: I might quote a similar instance of double mention, and might show the exact year (879) when this error was introduced, but considerations of space forbid.

LV.—TROKONDA. The demos of the Trokondenoi was situated somewhere near Augustopolis: it is mentioned only in an inscription copied by me in 1884 at the same bridge where the Prymnessian milestone still lies: the upper part of the stone, on which was sculptured a bust (of Zeus?) has been broken off:

ΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΟΦΙ
ΛΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΙΠΠΙΟΥ ΟΥ ΓΑΜΡΟΣ, ΥΠΕΡ ΔΗΜΟΥ
ΤΡΟΚΟΝΔΗΝΩΝ
ΔΕΙ ΕΥΧΗΝ

Trokonda is related to the personal name Trokondas, as Kidramos to Kidramouas, as Kadoi to Kadouas. It is possible that Trokonda was the early name of Augustopolis.

LVI.—ANABOURA, LVII.—ALANDRI FONTES are placed on the direct road from Synnada to Pessinus, by which Manlius must have marched.

LVII.—LVIII.—BEUDOS VERUS is placed with definite certainty by the reference in *Livy xxxviii. 15*; it was five miles from Synnada on the march towards Galatia. This brings us into the

¹ Gothofredus, *ad Cod. Theodos.* vol. II. p. 56A., promises the proof that Hermogenianî and Phrygiaci or Phrygiaci were identical. I do not see that he has explicitly redeemed the promise; but the identification appears necessary.

I should consider the simplest explanations of the names to be that Palmatus and Hermogenes were the respective lessees or managers of the Cappadocian and Phrygian estates in the latter part of the fourth century.

hilly country between Synnada and Augustopolis, and the very considerable remains at the village of Aghzi Kara, "Black Mouth," must be assigned to Beudos Vetus. It is probable that BOUDEIA, which is mentioned by Nonnus and by Steph. Byz.¹ is another form of the name Beudos. This suggests the possibility that PHYTIA or PHYTEIA of the *Notitiae* may also be the same place. The variation in form is great, but names in their Byzantine dress have sometimes a strange appearance.

At *Concil. Chalcedon.*, A.D. 451, Μῖρος Εὐλάνδρων, or Eulandrae, or Eulandrorum, was present among the bishops of Phrygia Salutaris. He cannot be a bishop of Blaundos in Pacatianna, by mistake reckoned to Salutaris, for Blaundos was really in Lydia, and its bishop was present at the same Council. He must therefore be a bishop of some city of Salutaris whose name is corruptly written. The variant Mirus Bilandensis suggests the probability that Beudensis is the correct form.² The order in which the names occur supports this hypothesis—Synnada, Beudos or Eulandra, Ipsos, Lysias—though much stress cannot be laid on the order in the ecclesiastical lists.

Beudos is related to Synnada as the older Phrygian city on the hills to the new Greek city in the plain: hence the epithet Vetus.

Beudos, then, is a city coining money in the second century after Christ, a bishopric in A.D. 451, and again in the *Notitiae*; it cannot, therefore, fail in Hierocles. Being a city which coins money, it cannot be identified with Kleros Oreines, though its situation among the hills would readily lend itself to such an identification.

LIX.—DEBALAKIA. The name, which is unknown except in Hierocles, is obviously corrupt. The district in which it must lie is narrowed by the results of our inquiry to the neighbourhood of Synnada or of Augustopolis. In this district we have just found that Beudos or Boudeia must have been known to Hierocles, and I shall now go on to prove that Kinnaborion also must have been known to him. I therefore suppose Debalakia to be a corruption of these two names.

¹ Nonnus and Stephanus agree in Boudeia and Dolantos Pedion: probably Nonnus is Stephanus' authority.

² The unimportant name Beudos has

been assimilated by copyists to the well-known Eulandos or Blaundos: the letter *p* often crept into the last syllable of the latter name, Βλαυδῶνες for Βλδῶνες.

LX.—KINNABORION is mentioned first in the inscriptions of the *Ἐπίσκοποι Τεκμώριοι* in the third century; it is a bishopric in the Councils of 451 and 787, and in the earlier *Notitiae* VII., VIII., IX., and I. These references prove an unbroken existence of a town of some consequence from 200 to 800. Such a town cannot be unknown to Hierocles, and its apparent omission can be most easily explained by the supposition just advanced. A study of the Tekmorian inscriptions makes me place Kinnaborion in the south-western part of the Karamük Ova, perhaps near Geneli, which occupies a fine situation, with a splendid fountain supplying a river that flows into the *duden* (katabothron) of Karamük.¹ The bishopric of Kinnaborion must have included the adjoining Oinan Ova.

LXI.—EUPHORBIVM is mentioned in the Peutinger Table on the road between Apameia and Synnada. If this table be correct, Euphorbium must be identified with Metropolis, and we might suppose that the whole plain was called Euphorbium, the inhabitants Euphorbeni, and the town Metropolis.² This view is, however, irreconcilable with Pliny, v. 106, who mentions both Euphorbeni and Metropolitae in the *conventus* of Apameia. Hence it is more probable that Euphorbium is to be placed on the great eastern highway between Metropolis and Lysias, in the Oinan Ova; and the error, which this position presupposes in Tab. Peut., is due to the difficulty of representing the complicated roads in this district.³ The roads, then, are:

Apameia, XXVIII. Metropolis { XXVIII. Synnada, XXIII. Lysias } XII. Julia.
XII. Euphorbium, XXIV. Lysias }

LXII.—OINIA, or OINAIOS. The form is uncertain; the only authority is the ethnic *Oinaiotes* in the Tekmorian inscriptions. The name is still in use in the form Oinan, the name of a village and a small valley among the mountains of the Phrygo-Pisidian frontier. Remains of ancient life are abundant at Oinan. At

¹ I have visited Geneli (few remains), and inquired as to the course of the stream which rises there.

² The distances agree well with this view.

³ The possibility must however still be left open, either that Pliny is wrong in distinguishing Metropolis and

Euphorbium (a supposition which is most improbable, considering that Pliny is doubtless quoting from a list of the *conventus*), or that these two cities were both in the same valley, and that later Euphorbium was merged in Metropolis.

Aresli, two miles distant, I copied the following inscriptions in 1886.

(1) ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΚΚΛΑΔΟΣ
ΕΡΜΟΚΛΗΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥ
ΜΕΛΙΤΩΝ ΔΑΛΩΝΤΟΣ
ΙΜΑΝ ΕΙΣΙΝΟΥ

(2) complete at right and bottom, broken at top and left.

II
ΥΤΩΣ
ΝΔΙΩΡΘΩ διορθώ[σατο ?]
ΕΓΕΝΕΤΟΠΡΟ ἐγένετο προ [ἐξ Καλάνδων ?]
ΟΣΤΑΥΤΑΚΥΡΙΑΜΕ ταῦτα κύρια μέ[νειν ?]
δογ. Μ. ΑΣΥΝΚΑΗΤΟΥ
ΥΛΙΟΣ ΑΙΚΙΝΝΙΟΣ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ C. Iacinius P.[P]
ΙΟΠΕΡΙΤΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΣΟΥ
ΣΕΓΡΑΨΕΝ Η ΕΔΩΚΕΝ ΤΙΣΙΝ Η ΑΦΕΙ
ΕΔΩΡΗΣΑΤΟ ΕΙΣ ΕΣΧΑΤΗΝ ΗΜΕΡΑΝ
ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΑΙ ΕΙΣ ΑΣΙΑΝ ΔΙΑΒΑΝΤΕΣ

Euphorbium was perhaps the name of the whole plain, Omia of the town.

LXIII.—SIBIDOUNDA is not mentioned by Hierocles, yet it struck coins from Marcus Aurelius to Gordian, and is mentioned in all the *Notitiae* in forms more or less corrupt—Sibindos, Sinbindos, Sebindos, Sibildos, Sikenodos. Sibidounda then was certainly a city in the time of Hierocles. It does not however occur either at any Council or in Hierocles; and this fact rouses the suspicion that it may be concealed under one of the names which occur in Hierocles and the Councils, but not in the *Notitiae*, viz. Praipenisos and Amadassa. The former is impossible, and I therefore suggest the possibility that the people Amadasseis had in their country a city Sibidounda; at the same time I am fully conscious of the want of reasons to support this view (see LXIV.).

LXIV.—AMADASSA is mentioned *Council Chalcedon*, 451, *Council Constantinop.* 553, *Council Nicaea*, II. 787, and in Hierocles

under the corrupt form 'Αλαμαῖου.¹ No other reference to the place occurs, and evidence as to its situation is therefore practically non-existent. All that can be said is, first, that it was a place of some consequence, being mentioned in 451, 530, 553, and 787, and that it must therefore be mentioned in the *Notitiae* under some other name; while it cannot of course be identified with any name occurring in the same lists that mention it. These considerations appear to narrow us down to an identification with Sibidounda: we may suppose that the demos named Amadassa possessed a city named Sibidounda. The name Sibidounda occurs in the second century; then Amadassa takes its place from 451 to 787; finally corrupt forms of Sibidounda return in the *Notitiae*. Amadassa may be indicated by the corrupt Γαμμαρῶσα of Ptolemy.

LXV.—LYSIAS. About this city also hardly any evidence exists: if we could trust the conclusion of Droysen,² that it was founded by some of the Diadochi, we should have to look for it on the line of one of the great roads, and probably on the great eastern highway. Beyond this we have only the order of Hierocles to guide us; he appears, in the four names, the Kleroi, Debalakia, and Lysias, to be in the neighbourhood of Synnada and Prynnessos, and thereafter he passes to the eastern frontier, with Ipsos and Polybotos. We also know from Strabo (p. 577, cp. XLIII.) that it was not in Paroreios. On these presumptions I have placed the name Lysias³ at Bazar Agatch, on the road from Synnada to Julia. Remains of ancient life are found there and at the neighbouring villages of Akarrim and Karadja Euren, and the character of the country suggests that a city of some consequence, such as might coin money, existed here. There is a *duiden* here, through which the water of the whole valley from Geneli downwards disappears. The site conjectured by Kiepert, Khodzrev Pasha Khan, is inconsistent with the order in Hierocles, and moreover I shall show that Kakkabokome was situated there.

I argue that, if Lysias was founded by the Diadochi, it probably stood on the eastern highway, on the following grounds: The

¹ Implied a transposition, Adamas-
sow: cp. Kapatiann, Moma (= Romaia),
Καρχαδαμν (clavicularina), &c.

² *Gesch. d. Hellenismus*.

³ I saw several coins of Lysias at
Sandykli: this suggests a situation
within easy communication of Synnada
and the Pentapolis.

cities on this road are almost all founded or refounded during the Greek or Roman period—Antiocheia, Laodiceia, Apameia, Synnada, Julia, Philomelion (see XLVII.), Laodiceia Katake-kamene, Archelaia, Caesareia, the only important exception being Tyrision; on the other hand, there is not a single foundation of that period on the older Royal road of Herodotus.

LXVI.—MEROS is placed with confidence by the order in Hierocles on the road between Metropolis and Nakoleia at Kumbet. The situation is confirmed by Constantine Porphyry,¹ who mentions it as the boundary between the Anatolic and Opsikian Themes. It appears to have been a place of small consequence under the Roman Empire, but to us it is interesting, as the monuments of the old Phrygian kings round the tomb of Midas are close to it. The mountains in which these monuments are situated, and in which some of the upper waters of the main Sangarios stream rise, were called Ballenaion (from Ballen, "king": Pseud. Plut., *De Fluv.*).

I give here the text of a fragment of inscription at Kumbet: I copied it first in 1881, but the faintness of some letters troubled me. M. Waddington pointed out the word *μισθωτής*, and I have since re-examined the stone twice, verified the word *μισθωτής*, and recovered the general sense of the whole.

ΟΥΙΑΙ
ΜΑΝΙΚ
ΙΣΤΑΙΔΗ,
ΔΗΜΟΥΝΑΚ /
ΑΠΠΑΜΙΣ ΩΗ
ΟΥΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΤΕΛΥ
ΔΩΗΧΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΣ
ΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΑΞΕΘ
ΑΠΟΗCΕΤΑΙΤΟΥΔΙΟΥCΤΟ
ΙΟCΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΗΙΟΥΜΑΓ

ὑπὲρ Αὐτοκράτορος Γαλληηνού, &c., Γερ]μανικοῦ Καίσαρος
αἰδίου διαμον]ῆς, καὶ δή[μου Πρυμησσίων καὶ] δήμου Νακ[ο]-

¹ *De Thematisibus*, l. pp. 14 and 25; the correct inference as to the general, though not as to the special, site of

Meros has already been drawn by several authorities, e.g. Kiepert on Franz, *Panf. Inschr.*

λέων Ἑρμογένης ἢ Ἀππᾶ μισ[θ]ωτῆς χωρίων τοῦ Καίσαρος τῇ ἐαυ[τοῦ] γυναικὶ Ῥόδῳ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ναύσκου ἕκ τ[ῶν] ιδίων ἀνέθη[κεν]. Ἐπιμέλειαν ποιήσεται τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ . . . Νέαρχ[ος] Ἀλεξάνδρου [Κ]ώμαρχ[ος].¹ The names Ἑρμογένης, Νέαρχος are supplied *exempli gratia*: the name of the *possessio* of the emperor may have been given instead of the suggested χωρίων. I believe the restoration Πρυμνησσέων, though distant from Meros, is right. This monument was a tomb in the form of a (small temple?) of Zeus (See *J. H. S.*, 1884, "Sepulch. Customs").

There is every probability that (Hermogenes?) was lessee of the *saltus* mentioned above as Kleros Oreines. The dominion of Prymnessos probably extended over Konna and Metropolis, so that Prymnessos and Nakoleia were neighbours of Meros and Kleros Oreines.

LXVII.—NAKOLEIA was at Seidi Ghazi, as was first proved by the late Dr. Mordtmann. J. R. Stuart copied the inscriptions which prove this, and states that they do so, but as he did not print his inscriptions, his statement passed unheeded, and the false idea that Prymnessos was at Seidi Ghazi was universally accepted till Mordtmann's paper was published. Mordtmann however makes an error in concluding that Akroenos was a late name for Nakoleia. He does so because there is a great *tekke*² and the tomb of Seidi Ghazi here, and it is known that the historical Seidi Batal Ghazi was slain at Akroenos. But it is impossible to suppose that the Turkish dervishes who founded this *tekke* had any knowledge of an obscure historical fact of A.D. 739.³ Seidi Ghazi was one of the heroes of the Bektash dervishes—a sect which was once immensely powerful in Turkey because the Janissaries belonged to it, but which lost power when the Janissaries were exterminated by Sultan Mahmud. How he became their hero is unknown to me, but the connection between Nakoleia and Seidi Ghazi arises through the dervish *tekke*, and not from his death having occurred there. Seidi Ghazi is widely

¹ [Κ]ώμαρχ[ος] is also possible: the other letters, though incomplete, are certain.

² *Tekke*, establishment of dervishes.

³ In Sultan Ala-Eddin's time the place where Seid died was discovered by

a special revelation: a field near was called Shesh-enkutsch. The revelation was, as we now see, false: and no continuous tradition existed. For the story see Etha, *Faâreten der Saggiid Batthal*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 216.

known as a hero in Asia Minor, and a curious romance of his life exists in Turkish, and is accessible in a German translation: Akroenos was situated at Afion Kara Hissar. *Not. X.* clearly distinguishes Nakoleia and Akroenos, giving the former as an archbishopric, the latter as a bishopric.

Nakoleia increased in importance during the Byzantine period, and was at some time after 787 dissociated from the metropolis of Synnada, and made an independent metropolis.¹ In the year 862 Achilles was appointed archbishop of Nakoleia (*Acta Sanctorum*, Feb. 4, p. 549), but in *Not. I.*, dated A.D. 883, the list of Salutaris is still uncorrected, and Nakoleia is ranked under Synnada, whereas in the latest *Notitiae* (II., III., X., XI., XII., XIII.) it is an independent metropolis, though apparently without any subordinate bishoprics.

Nakoleia shared in the usual Phrygian reputation for heresy. Theodotus, the Iconoclast Patriarch of Constantinople, was a native of Nakoleia. Constantine, also an Iconoclast, was bishop of Nakoleia during his time.²

Nakoleia possessed under the Roman Empire a wide territory, extending on the east up to the river Sangarios. The Byzantine system was opposed to such wide-spread power, and the history of Nakoleia shows a steady diminution in territory. This diminution also is coincident with a steady growth in prosperity and importance of the northern parts of Phrygia, which may be clearly traced in Byzantine history. Southern Phrygia was far more important under the Roman Empire, lying as it did on the great eastern highway; but northern Phrygia grew steadily when roads led to Constantinople. The great Byzantine military road³ went by Dorylaion and across northern Phrygia. I cannot here do more than briefly indicate the line of this road. It was first regularly organized by Justinian, who formed a series of fortresses

¹ In the earlier *Notitiae* the intermediate class of ἀρχιεπισκοπαι εὐνοσιφόροι exists, but these archbishoprics are all converted into metropoleis in the latest *Notitiae*.

² ὁ πᾶσι ἀκαθαρσίας ἀνέπλεκε καὶ συντρόφῳ ἀκαθαρσίῃ συζῆν [Κωνσταντῖνῳ] ὁ Ναυκλίας ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, *Theophan.* I, 402.

³ ἐκτετατάκιον Ναυκλίας καὶ εἰ κατ'

αὐτὸς ἐμμεύσατο τοῖς παρατόμοις ἰσχυροῦ καὶ τοῖς ἀπειθεῖς Ἀραβας, καὶ ἐνέβρωσε τὰς ἐκκλησίας τοῦ θεοῦ. *Theophan. cont.*, 481.

³ It has to be distinguished from the direct road to Ankyra, the pilgrim's route, which I have described in an Appendix to the translation of the Bordeaux Itinerary published by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

along it—Justinianopolis Mela, Dorylaion, Justinianopolis Palias (Sivri Hissar), &c. A series of ἀπλῆματα, points where the armies of the different provinces assembled to join in any eastern campaign, were formed along the road—at Malagina, Dorylaion, Kaborkion, Colónia (Archelais), Caesarea (Mazaka), and Dazimon.¹

The following villages of the territory of Nakoleia are known: some of them afterwards became independent bishoprics:—

LXVIII.—KAKKABAS, or KAKKABOKOME, was a village in the territory of Nakoleia, known from an inscription found at Khozrev Pasha Khan (where I copied it in 1881 and 1883): Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀρχιλόχου Κακκαβοκομήτης ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων τῇ Θεῷ εὐχὴν. Kakkabas was therefore probably the small ancient town situated at Bassara, about a mile to the east of Khozrev Pasha Khan. The village is mentioned in the fifth century, when at the Council of Ephesus, in 431, Διομηδῆς, οἰκὼν ἐν κώμῃ Κακάβας,² ἐπιγνοὺς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν, καὶ παρακάλεσας τὸν ἁγιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον Θεοφάνιον, recants the Quatuordeciman heresy (*Act. Synod. Ephes., Mansi, IV., p. 1361*).

LXIX.—SANTABARIS is mentioned on the route of the Emperor Alexius Comnenus, between Dorylaion and Kedrea (now Bayat), and may therefore be identified confidently with the modern village Bardakchi, where there are numerous Byzantine remains. The account of Theodorus Santabarenius (Vit. Nicolai in *Act. Sanct.*, Feb. 4) also suggests that it was near Nakoleia.

LXX.—PETARA is known only from a dedication Διὶ Πεταραίῳ, copied at Baghlige, in 1883 (Sterrett-Ramsay):—

ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ
ΕΡΜΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΙΟΣ ΜΗΝΟ
ΦΙΛΟΥ ΝΑΚΟΛΕΥΣ ΔΙΗΠΕ
ΤΑΡΑΙΩΕΥΧΗΝ

Σωκράτης Νεικολάου
Ἑρμῆς, καὶ Γάιος Μηρο-
φίλου Νακολεὺς, Διὶ Πε-
ταραίῳ εὐχὴν.

This dedication by Gaios and Socrates Hermes leaves it doubtful whether Petara is actually part of the territory of Nakoleia or belongs to Amorion.

¹ Malagina is apparently a late name for Justinianopolis Mela, now Bilejik: Colonia Archelais is now Ak Surai: Dazimon is the Kaz Ova north of Tocat:

on Kaborkion see below.

² The Latin text has in vno Caccaba or Chaccaba.

LXXI.—SEREA. LXXII.—VEKPOKOME. (See *J. H. S.*, 1884, pp. 258-260).

LXXIII.—A surname of the native god of Nakoleia, probably derived from a place of his worship, occurs in the following inscription on a defaced stele at Seidi Ghazi (Ramsay, 1881; Sterrett-Ramsay, 1883).¹

KOPNHAIOC

Κορνήλιος

ANTΩNIOC

Ἀντωνίος

ΔΙ ΠΥΜΙΩ

Δι Πυμίου

EYXHN

εὐχῆν.

LXXIV.—KABORKION² was an ἀπληκτον, where the troops of the Anatolic Theme collected, and must therefore have been in a good camping position near the Byzantine military road which ran between Dorylaion and Justinianopolis Palias (Sivri Hissar). The one fine position in this district is at the fountains of the Sangarios; and here to the present day there is at Tchifteler a station for cavalry and an estate of the Sultan.

The position of Kaborkion is given (1) by the description of the ἀπληκτα in Constantine Porphy., *De Cerimon.* I., app., p. 444, and (2) by the fact that it was a bishopric of Salutaris. Now the discussion of the bishoprics of Galatia Salutaris will show that the country along the right bank of the Sangarios was inhabited by the Orkoi or Orkaorkoi, one of whose towns was called Orkistos; etymologically there must be a connection between the people Orkaorkoi and the town Kaborkion, which in earlier time would be spelt Καουόρκιον, and in later time Καβόρκιον. I have sometimes thought that the name ΟΡΚΑΟΡΚΟΙ, known only from Strabo, is corrupted from ΚΑΟΥΟΡΚΟΙ, and that Καουόρκιον is the centre of the Καουόρκοι.

The territory of Orkistos and of Kaborkion originally was subject to Nakoleia. Orkistos was made independent 331; Kaborkion was in all probability made independent by Justinian when he formed the great military road, and though it does not appear in any *Notitiae* except III., X., XIII., we observe that precisely

¹ Published by me incomplete, *J. H. S.*, 1882, p. 125. The restoration proposed by Prof. Gompertz, *Arch. Epigr. Mitt. Osterr.* vi., p. 52, is incorrect.

² In *Not.* X. and XIII. the name is given twice Kamarkos and Kabarkion: *Not.* III., which is a copy of the same list, gives the correct text.

these three *Notitiæ* alone preserve the name Justinianopolis, which was for a time given to Seiblia.¹

LXXV.—SANGIA. Its situation is mentioned by Strabo, the only author who gives the name. It was at the fountains of the Sangarios, 150 stadia from Pessinus—decidedly an understatement. Sangia was therefore one of the villages of the Kaborkoi.

LXXVI.—PAZON, another village in the same neighbourhood, is twice mentioned by Socrates as a seat of the Novatians. The same remarks apply to it as to Sangia. It was included in Phrygia when we hear of it (about 400), which is natural, as it was in the territory subject to Nakoleia.

LXXVII.—ORKISTOS was made independent in 381, and transferred between 386 and 395 to Galatia. It is impossible to gain a clear idea of the eastern border of Phrygia without discussing the western part of Galatia, the province which was called Galatia Secunda or Salutaris in Byzantine time. The whole of this district was originally Phrygia, and the boundary between the two provinces varied much at different times. Space prevents me from discussing the subject here, but I hope to prove elsewhere that Amorion, Klancos, Orkistos, and Trikomia were taken from Phrygia by Theodosius 386–395, and used to form the new province of Galatia Secunda.

LXXVIII.—DORYLAION. Its position at Eski Sheher, with its hot springs, has long been known. Lying where the important roads from Constantinople to the east and to the south fork, it was a place of the first importance, and is connected with many events in Byzantine history.

It is mentioned at *Council Chalcedon*. 451, in such a way as to show that it was then *αὐτοκέφαλος*, and not subject to the metropolitan of Synnada; but in all the *Notitiæ* it is an ordinary bishopric. It was a station of Scholarii (as was Kotinion) until Justinian's time (*Theophan.*, p. 236).

The ruins of Kara Sheher, three or four miles W.S.W. of Eski Sheher, probably mark the city built by Manuel Comnenus in his attempt to strengthen the empire against the Seljuk power (A.D. 1175). Dorylaion had then been in ruins for some time, and the new city was built on a different site. The Roman city stood round the mound now called Sheher Eynk, two miles

¹ This I have proved in my forthcoming 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia.'

north of Eski Sheher: the hot springs are at the northern outskirts of Eski Sheher.

The river Tembris, called Thyaris by Cinnamus, flows past Dorylaion, and receives a tributary called by the same historian Bathys. The Tembris in its upper course was called Tembrogius, as is recorded by Pliny and corroborated by an inscription which I copied in the district Praipenissos, at Uteh Eyuk, in 1884.

LXXIX.—MEZEA was a village in the territory of Dorylaion, mentioned in the following two inscriptions copied by me in 1883, at Eski Sheher:—

(1) On a stele, under a relief of bull's head; broken at bottom:

MEZCAN	M[ε]ζ[ε]av-
⏏IHPAKAH	α]ι 'Ηρακλῆ
NEIKHTΩ	'Α]νεικήτω
ΑΝΩ'ΚΕΚ	Μεζ]ανῶ κέ εκ

(2) On lower part of broken stele:

ΧΟΙΚΑΙ	. . . χοι καὶ
MEZEANOIMH	Μεζεανοὶ Μη-
ΤΡΙΕΥΧΗΝ	τρεὶ εὐχῆν.

LXXX.—MIDAION. Its position is determined (1) by its situation on the Tembris, which is mentioned on its coin; (2) by its distance—eighteen miles from Dorylaion, on the road to Tricomia and Pessinus. These conditions point to Karadja Euren, where important remains reveal the site.

LXXXI.—KRASSOS. This plain, mentioned once or twice in the Byzantine wars, was situated, as I have proved in Appendix I. to Part I., on the lower Tembris.

LXXXII.—GORDORINIA, or GORDOROUNIA, is mentioned only in *Not. III.*, X., where it occurs with Kaborkion at the end of the list. I have already shown that the north-eastern corner of Salutaris increased in importance during the fifth and sixth centuries, and that these bishoprics at the end of *Not. III.*, X. perhaps preserve to us the state of the province soon after the reorganization by Justinian. Hence this bishopric may be safely

placed in the north-eastern district of Phrygia. Now there remains little room except between the river Tembris and the middle course of the Sangarios, or on the Tembris below Midaion in the plain of Krassos, and no name has ever yet been placed in this utterly unknown plain. Another argument may be derived from the name, which is probably equivalent to "the Orounia of the country Gordos"; we have then to inquire about this country, Gordos, whose very name has hitherto escaped notice.

LXXXIII.—Gordos, as a district of Phrygia, is mentioned in a few rare cases. In the life of Theodore Sykeota,¹ we find that *in Buzacorum loco, sub Gratianopolim sito*, in the *regio Gordiana* and beyond the boundaries of the province Galatia, the people were making a bridge over a stream liable to be swollen by torrents. The very name Gratianopolis is unknown except in this passage; but the story shows that the place was not very far from Sykea, and on the south side (out of Galatia Prima). Again the town Justinianopolis Mela in Bithynia is often called Justinianopolis Gordi at the Council of 553, *i.e.* Justinianopolis of the country Gordos: the old name Juliopolis (west of Sykea twenty-four miles) was *Γόρδου Κάμη*, where also I understand the country Gordos: Gordorounia, which appears to be in the same country, and Gordoserba, which lies near Bilejik, probably contain the same name. These scanty traces point to a country Gordos extending from Bilejik eastward between the Sangarios and the Tembris. The mythical Gordos, father of the Phrygian historical king Midas, is probably the eponymous hero of this country.

The life of Theodore Sykeota contains some information about this obscure country, A.D. 550-600. There was a direct road from Lagania (Anastasiopolis) to Dorylaion (p. 58), by which Theodore went to Constantinople instead of taking the short road by Juliopolis and Tataion. The bad text and the utter want of exploration make it impossible at present to fit on the story to the country; only the conjecture may be made after the preceding remarks that Gratianopolis is perhaps Gordorounia, and if so, we have a proof of the period when this country began to come into importance.

¹ *Act. Sanct.*, April 22, p. 42.

LXXXIV.—KOTIAION still retains the old name as Kutaya, and is one of the great cities of the interior. I adopt the spelling favoured by coins, but *Korvaïon* is a common form, and the connection with the Phrygo-Thracian *Kérus* cannot be doubted. There is no doubt that Kotiaion was ranked in Salutaris, not in Pacatiana; numerous testimonies confirm *Not.* VIII., IX., which mention it first among the bishoprics subject to Synnada. We saw that Dorylaion aimed at independent rank in the fifth century: we have no express proof that Kotiaion also did so, but it can hardly be doubted that it would not be less attentive to its dignity than the smaller town of Dorylaion. I believe that it maintained its right to be *autokephalos* in the fifth and sixth centuries, and that this is the reason of its omission from Hierocles' list. We have a parallel case in Eukhaita of Pontus. It is omitted by Hierocles, and it is known to have been *autokephalos* at an early time: it is mentioned by the *Notitiae* as an archbishopric, and not as an ordinary bishopric subject to Amaseia. In both cases Hierocles, who is much influenced by the ecclesiastical lists, has been misled.¹

But it is clear that in 692 and 787 Kotiaion had not the position of *autokephalos*: it ranks among the ordinary bishops of Salutaris. So Dorylaion appears as of higher rank in 451, and as an ordinary bishop of Pacatiana in 553.

Kotiaion grew steadily in importance during the Byzantine period, and is placed by Const. Porphyr. second only to Nicæa in the Opsikian Theme, Dorylaion being third, and Midaion fourth. The list proves the importance of northern Phrygia in later time (see LXVII.). It ranks as a metropolis in *Not.* I., III., X., XIII. In *Not.* III. and X. three bishoprics of Salutaris are placed under its authority—those which lie on the important road to the south and east, passing from Constantinople, by Kotiaion and Akronios: this road is often mentioned, and was used as an alternative route to the Dorylaion road by the Byzantine emperors in going from Constantinople to the East.²

¹ At the same time, pending further investigation, I quite admit that Eudokios (as I was disposed some years ago to think) may be a temporary name of

Kotiaion, and that for some reason or from error Hierocles may have placed it in Pacatiana.

² See Ambrosius.

NOT. III.	NOT. X.
τῷ Κορυναίῳ Φρυγίας δ' Ἐπαρχίῃ δ' Εὐαγγέλιῳ δ' Ταύσεσσι	τῷ Κορυναίῳ τῆς Φρυγίας δ' Ἐπαρχίῃ δ' Κόρυς δ' Ταύσεσσι
NOT. L.—Ἐπαρχία Φρυγίας Σαλυνταρίας δ' Κορυναίου.	

Of these three subordinate bishoprics Kone has already been discussed and placed. The other two bishoprics must be placed on the roads (one now in use as a waggon road, the other as a horse road) which connect Kone with its metropolis, Kotiaion (see XCI, XCII).

At the end of his list Hierocles gives four *demoi*.¹ These seem to be classed together, not because they were near each other geographically, but because they are *demoi*, as distinguished from the preceding *poleis*.

LXXXV.—DEMOS LYKAONON. The Lycæones are a people rarely mentioned, and it is therefore difficult to localize them. Besides the Byzantine lists, Pliny and Ptolemy mention them. Pliny (v. 105) gives the Lycæones in the *conventus* of Synnada. Ptolemy mentions them in a passage which requires correction: I give the text as it ought to be read: § 27. καὶ δῆμοι παρὰ μὲν τὴν Λυκίαν Φυλακῆνσιοι (1) καὶ Θεμισώνιοι, παρὰ δὲ τὴν Βιθυνίαν Μακ(εδόνες) Καδοηνοὶ καὶ Κιδνησσεῖς, ὕψ' οὗς Πελτηνοὶ, εἰτα Μοξεῖται, εἰτα Λυκάονες, ὕψ' οὗς Ἱεροπολίται.² In this enumeration Ptolemy arranges the *demoi* in lines from east to west: Καδοηνοὶ and Κιδνησσεῖς along the north of Phrygia, then along a line further to the south Peltænoὶ, Moxæanoὶ, and Lycæones; south of the Lycæones lie the Hieropolitai. These

¹ Hierocles mentions them in the gentile, because he uses as authority lists of bishoprics.

² In this passage I have transposed Λυκάονες and Φυλακῆνσιοι: elsewhere I have proved that this change introduces geographical anarchy, in place of inconceivable inaccuracy. The error was produced by a would-be corrector, who thought that Λυκάονες must be παρὰ τὴν

Λυκίαν, where Phylakalon and Themisonian were adjoining cities on the Lycao-Caro-Phrygian frontier (see my paper on 'Antiquities of Southern Phrygia,' in the *Amer. J. Arch.* 1887). I have also corrected the form of Κιδνησσεῖς, Μοξεῖται, Ἱεροπολίται (see above) and Μοξανηνοὶ: Φυλακῆνσιοι seems to me a false form (perhaps Φυλακῆνοι ἢ Φυλακῆνσιοι.)

lines are approximately correct, if we understand that the Peltanoi include the population of the entire plain of Lahekli, which Strabo calls Πελτηνὸν Πεδίον. The Lykaones, then, are the people of the Catchuk Sitchanli Ova, which lies north of the Sandykli Ova; and this is one of the districts that we have hitherto left vacant in placing the names given by Hierocles.

The preceding passage of Ptolemy seems to me conclusive, unless we suppose that Ptolemy has attained in this description a degree of inaccuracy which he does not elsewhere succeed in reaching.¹ But I discovered the site from other reasons or presumptions, and after discovering it I observed the correction required in Ptolemy. My first reasoning was from the frequent references in Byzantine documents to a monastery of the Lykaones; now among the hills which separate Lykaones and Prymneseis there is still a monastery of considerable fame and sanctity,² and in a country which has been almost wholly Turkish for centuries such a monastery must be an old establishment. Again, among the unpublished lists of Ξενοὶ Τεκμώπειοι, who formed a religious union worshipping Artemis of the Limnai, a person entitled Λυκαονεὺς πρὸς ἔνδον twice occurs. The situation assigned to the Lykaones fills up the circle of districts round the Limnai, and this consideration, combined with the passage of Pliny and the fact that the Lykaones were a Phrygian people, constituted sufficient evidence of the situation, and gave me the clue to understand and correct Ptolemy.

The expression Λυκαονεὺς πρὸς ἔνδον, is used in distinction from the Lycanians proper, whose country is nearer the southern sea.

The monasteries of the Lycaones are frequently mentioned in *Council Constantinop.* A.D. 536. The following are the chief references:—

(1) Ζώσιμος ἐλέω Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς Λυκαόνων πλησίον τοῦ ἁγίου Λαυρεντίου ὑπογράψας ἐπέδωκα: Labbe, p. 133.

Ζώσιμος, δὲ. . . Λυκαόνων δεηθεὶς ὑπέγραψ.: Labbe, p. 112.

¹ Except in the Strategical of Cappadocia, but the geography of that country is very difficult even with modern maps, and was then little known, whereas this part of Phrygia was well known.

² Near Kalejik: I have not visited it. The permanence of religious institutions in Asia Minor is an interesting subject in many respects.

Ζωσίμος τῆς Εὐτυχίου τῶν Λυκαόνων: Labbe, p. 76.

Ζωσίμου τῆς Εὐτυχίου τῶν Λυκαόνων: Labbe, p. 53.

Ζωσίμος πρεσβ. κ. ἡγ. μονῆς Εὐτυχίου τῶν Λυκαόνων πλησίον τῶν Ματρώνης ὑπέγραψα: Labbe, p. 33.

(2) Μόδεστος ἐλὲρ Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἡγούμενος μονῆς τῶν Λυκαόνων ὑπογράφας διὰ Φλαβιανοῦ πρεσβυτέρου [καὶ δευτεταρίου¹] ἐπέδωκα: Labbe, p. 133.

Φλαβιανὸς πρεσβύτερος καὶ δευτεταρίου τῶν Λυκαόνων: *ib.* p. 76.

Φλαβιανὸς πρεσβ. κ. δευτ. τῆς Μοδέστου τῶν Λυκαόνων: *ib.* p. 53.

Φλαβιανὸς πρεσβ. κ. δευτ. Μοδέστου θεοφιλεστάτου πρεσβ. καὶ ἡγ. τῆς Μονῆς ἐπὶ κλην τῶν Λυκαόνων ἀξιώσας ὑπέγραψα: *ib.* p. 33.

The doubt is whether these monasteries are actually in the city of Constantinople, or merely subject to Constantinople; the former is the natural interpretation of the text, but seems impossible.

Παῦλος ἐλὲρ Θεοῦ πρεσβύτερος καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτης τῶν Λυκαόνων ὑπέγραψα (Labbe, p. 176) occurs only once, and is perhaps due to some mistake.

No bishop of the Lycaones was present at any Council.

LXXXVI.—AUOKRA, AUOKRA, AUOKLA, is mentioned by Hierocles in the form δῆμον Αὐράκλεια, which is either a false form or a corruption. The situation of this *demos* is fixed by the fountain and lake Aulokrene, which lie on a plateau behind Apameia to the east, and according to the unanimous belief of ancient and modern time supply the great fountains of the Maeander and Marsyas in the lower valley. I have little to add to the description of the fountain and its surroundings which I have given in my paper, "Metropolitanus Campus" (*J. H. S.*, 1883); the argument by which it was there shown that the fountain Aulokrene was the same which is mentioned by Livy on the march of Manlius, is confirmed by the observation which I subsequently made that the Rhotrinos Fontes in Livy (altered in almost all the editions, quite unjustifiably, to Obrimae Fontes) is only a slight corruption of Rhocrinos, the adjective derived from [Au]rocra. The name Aulokrene must have been originally

¹ Restored from the Latin version, and from the other signatures.

Αὐλοκρήνη or Αὐροκρήνη (πηγή), and the form Αὐλο-κρήνη, "flute-fountain," is a typical example of the influence exerted on Anatolian nomenclature by popular etymology seeking to give Greek meaning to non-Greek words. This name, combined with the importance of the flute in Phrygian music,¹ gave form to the Greek legend of Apollo, Marayas, and Athena.

LXXXVII.—METROPOLIS. In my older papers I have distinguished correctly between the two Phrygian Metropoleis, and have shown that all coins which read ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΦΡΥ must be referred to the Metropolis situated in the Tchal Ova, south of Synnada. This city was in the Byzantine province of Pisidia. In the Byzantine provincial division it is hard to understand why Apameia and Metropolis were assigned to Pisidia, while Aurocra, which lies on the road between them, was assigned to Phrygia Salutaris. The reason may lie in the history of Aurocra. There can be no doubt that in the great days of the prosperity of Apameia, the valley of Aurocra was part of its dominion; in later time, when Apameia ceased to be one of the great cities,² Aurocra became independent, and acquired the rights of a πόλις in accordance with the common Byzantine policy. To emphasize the separation, and completely destroy all sense of dependence, Aurocra was placed in a different province.

LXXXVIII.—PRAÏPENISSOS, PROPNIASA. The latter form is probably corrupt, while the former, which occurs in Ptolemy³ and at *Council, Chalcedon*, is a Grecised form. The variation of forms in -σσός and -σα is common in the Greek representation of Anatolian names. The true native form probably lies between Hierocles and Ptolemy.

Praïpenissos is placed by the following considerations: (1) it is within the bounds of Phrygia Salutaris; (2) it is given by Ptolemy as a midland city of Mysia. Only a city in the north-

¹ One who listens to the remarkable music of the flute and symbols at the dances of dervishes in Konia or Kara-Hissar of Phrygia can understand the intoxicating influence which it had over the devotees and populace of antiquity.

² This must be subsequent to the founding of Constantinople: the road

system was then revolutionised: all roads henceforward led not to Rome but to Constantinople, and Apameia, previously on the great eastern highway, was on a mere by-road, away from the main tracks of intercourse. Not X., XIII. confuse Abrokra and Kaborkien.

³ Praïpenissos in Mysia interior with Alondda and Trajanopolis.

western part of Salutaris fulfils these conditions, and only the Altıntaş district remains unoccupied. Now it was shown above (LXXXV.) that Ptolemy conceives the Kidyessais and the Μακ(εδόνες) Καδοηνοί as lying along the northern frontier of Phrygia towards Bithynia, and Propoiasa, which lies further north, cannot be reckoned by him as part of Phrygia; on the other hand, his language in the passage there quoted would suggest that Praipennisos should be assigned to Bithynia. If he assigns it to Mysia, and if, again, he places Kotiaion and Dorylaion in Phrygia, these, like many similar contradictions in his work, are to be attributed to his use of different authorities. The boundaries of Phrygia and Mysia were so uncertain as to be proverbial—*χωρίς τὰ Μυσίων καὶ Φρυγίων*.

The authority of Ptolemy may also serve to prove that Praipennisos lay south of Dorylaion and Kotiaion; if it had lain to the north of these towns, it would have been in the Roman province Bithynia-Pontus, and there would then have been much less danger of misplacing it. Ptolemy's lists are very fairly accurate as regards the Roman lines of division, where he had definite authority to trust to, but they are very loose as regards the historical and non-existent lines of division within the Roman provinces, in which his authorities contradicted each other in the most puzzling way.

LXXXIX.—BENNISOENOI are proved by published inscriptions to have been a demos inhabiting the plains around Altıntaş. The Bennisoenoi, not being mentioned in any Byzantine list, must have been included in a bishopric which bears another name, and the evidence has already forced us to place Prepenissos in this region.

In the following remarks I expose myself to the charge of overstraining the possibilities of language, but I think that a full statement of the actual corruption of native Anatolian names in giving them a Greek dress and appearance (which cannot be made here) would justify me. I believe that the second part of Pre-pennisos is a Grecised form of Bennisoa. There was a great tendency to the termination -σσος, which is a Grecism of an Anatolian -s or -sa; and I look on Pre- as a prefix. I compare the wide variety of forms given to the name of the city which struck coins with the legend ΤΡΕΒΕΝΝΑΤΩΝ, Prebena, Trebena, Trebenna, Perbaina, and Trebendai (Ptolemy). The Gallic,

Messapian, and Thraco-Illyrian word Benna (Deecke, *Et. Mus.* 37, p. 385) means 'waggon': Bennis-*oa*, 'having treasure of waggons' (Steph. Byz., s.v. *Souagela*): Zeus Bennis or Benneus (like Jupiter Stator according to Benfey), 'he who stands on a car.'¹

XC.—SKORDAPIA. We have still to compare the evidence of the *Notitiae*. The district where the Praipenissos of earlier time (Ptolemy, Hierocles, and *Concil. Chalced.*) was situated, must have been a bishopric still in late time. In *Notitiae* VII., VIII., IX., I., there remains only Skordapia, or Skordaspia, to be placed, and the unsatisfactory method of applying the one remaining name to the one remaining district is our only resort. In *Notitiae* III., X. XIII., we find no Skordapia, but instead of it we find two bishoprics, Spore and Gaiou Kome, which are definitely proved to belong to this district. Now, Skordapia is a suspicious form, and we shall see that a name Sgerca was perhaps equivalent to Spore, while it is known that Apia lay on the west of this district. These slight presumptions lead me to see in Skordapia a corruption of the name of one or other of the two bishoprics into which the rich and fertile district of Praipenissos was cut in the ninth century; these two bishoprics must be discussed next.

XCI.—SPORE is mentioned in *Notitiae* III., X., as subject to the metropolis Kotiaion. The reasons already given place it between Kotiaion and Konni, and an inscription, brought from Karagatch Euren to Kotiaion (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 259), perhaps mentions the same place under the name Isgerea. I should, in accordance with these slight indications place this bishopric in the plain between Doghan Arslan and Gerriz.

Isgerea was a village of the country which worshipped the god Benni (*J. H. S.*, 1884), and in the growing importance of this district it became at last a bishopric. The ruins of late date, but of considerable extent, near Gerriz satisfy all these conditions, and demand a name corresponding to their importance.

XCII.—GAIUO KOME is the third bishopric under Kotiaion, which remains to be placed between Kone and the metropolis. The important site of Altıntash ('Stone of Gold') on the horse-

¹ Cp. *ἑκονταπύριον*, where *π* is inorganic, as in *ἑκονταπύριον* for *ἑκονταπύριον* &c.

road remains without a name, and the remains show it to have been a place of real importance in late Roman and Byzantine time. Probably *Γαίου κώμη* is the Christian name of the village, whose church was dedicated to a saint Gaius; otherwise such a name is unintelligible, and must be considered as a corruption. An inscription in very worn letters which I copied there in 1881 and 1884, mentions *ΑΤΟΥΚΩΜΗ*; I have sometimes thought that the true name has to be found between *Gaiou* and *ΑΤΟΥ*.

XCIII.—*TOTTOIA*, the ancient name of the village Besh Karish Eyuk, is proved by the following inscription, in a cemetery one mile and a half north of the village, copied by me in 1884:

ΟΡΟΙΤΟ

ΤΤΟΗ

ΝΩΝ

ἄροι Το-

ττη-

νών.

The name occurs also in Bithynia in the forms *Τάταιον*, *Ταταούιον*,¹ *Τότταιον*; it is evidently formed from the personal name *Tatas* or *Tottes*, the stem of which must be *Tata* or *Tatu*, from which comes *Τατα*-*ιον*.

XCIV.—*TRIBANTA* is mentioned only by Ptolemy, whose indications point to a position a little west of Azanoi. It may occur in the following inscription, though there is no evidence of the restoration; I copied the inscription at Zemme in 1884. The stone measured fourteen inches in breadth, of which eight inches on the left are broken away:

ΝΤ ΩΝΟCΙΩ

ΚΟΝΕΥΞΑΜΕ

CEN

ὁ δῆμος ὁ [Τριβὰ?]ντ[ι]ων Ὀσίφ

Δικαίφ Ἐπη]κόφ εὐξάμε-
νος καθιέρω]σεν.

XCV.—*ΛΒΕΙΚΤΑ* occurs only in the following inscription (copied by me at Yaliniz Serai in 1885), which proves that it was one of three neighbouring villages united in a union or *Trikomia*:

¹ So Ptolemy's *Παταούιον* must be corrected.

ΜΗΝΑΣΜΗΝΑΔΟΣ	Μηνᾶς Μηνᾶδος
ΑΒΕΙΚΤΗΝΟΣΥΠΕ	Ἀβεικτηνὸς ὑπε-
ΡΤΗΤΡΙΚΩΜΙ	ρ τῆς Τρικωμί-
ΑCΩΤΗΡΙΑCΚΑ	ας σωτηρίας κα-
ΙΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΠΑΝ	ι τῶν ἰδίων πάν-
ΤΩΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ	των ἀνέθηκεν
ΔΕΙΒΕΝΝΙΩΕΥ	Δεὶ Βεννίφ εὐ-
ΧΗΝ	χῆν.

Abeikta, [Triba]nta, and a third village at Utch Eyuk, were perhaps the Tricomia.

The Latin dedication at Yaliniz Serai to an *Augusti dispensator* suggests the possibility that some imperial property existed here, and its boundary may be marked by another Latin inscription of the district (*Eph. Epigr.*, No. 1451).

XCVI.—ZINGOT. XCVII.—ISKOME. (*J. H. S.*, 1884, p. 261.) The name Zingot recalls a Scythian type, Skolot, &c., on which see Neumann, *Hellenen in Skythenlande*, p. 179. All these places (XC. to XCVII.) belong to the district Praipenissos.

After this discussion of Salutaris there remains now little to detain us in north-western Phrygia.

XCVIII.—APPIA. The name of Appia is still retained under the form Abia to designate a small village, where a Roman bridge and numerous remains reveal the ancient site. The territory of the city includes the country along the north-eastern side of Mount Dindymos (Murad Daglı), in which a very large number of villages exist, never yet visited by any traveller. With this name Appia the Phrygian personal names Appios, Appia, Appion, &c., are probably all connected, and all are derived from Appa, or Appas, a name of the god understood as the father: cp. Papas of Phrygia and Bithynia.

Appia was a station on the Roman road between Kotiaion and Akmonia. This road is defective in the Peutinger Table, and should probably be read as follows: Dorylaeum, Cotiaeum, Appia, Akmonia, Aludda, Clannudda, Philadelphia.

The course of the road is marked by the following milestones:

- (1) The eleventh milestone from Akmonia (see XXII.).
- (2) The sixth or seventh milestone north of Appia ἀπὸ

Ἀππίας *Mi(Ma)* ε or ζ (*C. I. G.* 3857e, Lebas-Wadd. 788), found at Genkcheler.

(3) The eighth milestone north of Appia, a few fragments at the end of lines, and at the foot the distance ΘH , copied by me in 1884 at Genkcheler. This may be the same inscription as Lebas-Wadd. 787, *C. I. G.*, 3857d, where the number is lost.

(4) The twelfth or thirteenth milestone from Appia was copied by me at Haidarlar in 1884; it gives the line of road between Appia and Kotiaion, which evidently follows the gorge of the Tembris, or Tembrogius¹ :—

Τῶν [κυρ]ίσων ἡμῶν Γαλ(ίῳ) Οὐαλ [ερίῳ Δε]σκλητιανῶ καὶ
Γαλ(ερίῳ) Οὐαλ(ερίῳ)² Μαξιμιανῶ Σεββ. [καὶ Φλ. Οὐ]αλ(ερίῳ)
[Κ]ορσταντίῳ καὶ [Οὐαλ(ερίῳ)] Μαξιμιανῶ [τοῖς
ἐπιφ]ανεστάτοις [Καίσ]αρι. Ἀπὸ Ἀ[π]πίας $\Theta\epsilon\lambda$!

XCIX.—EUDOKIAS is mentioned only by Hierocles, who places it between Apia and Aizani; this points to a situation on the north side of the Murad Dagb (M. Dindymos) in a country absolutely unknown, but which has been reported to me to contain many villages (see also KOTIAION, footnote).

C.—In the latest *Notitiae*, III., XI., XIII., five bishoprics, Aizanoi, Tiberiopolis, Kadoi, Ankyra, and Synaos, are disjoined from Laodikeia and placed under Hierapolis. The five form a group in the north-west corner of the province. The reason and the exact period of this change are unknown, but it had taken place before *Council, Nicæa*, II., A.D. 787,³ while it had not come into operation in the Councils 680 and 692. The other *Notitiae* take no notice of this arrangement, but mention all these bishoprics as subject to Laodikeia.

We have therefore here a clear proof that *Notitiae* VII., VIII., IX., and I., give an arrangement of Pacatiana which had already become antiquated in 787, although I. is dated 883, and the others all contain some traces of early ninth century institutions.

CL.—AIZANOL. The site at Tchavdir Hissar, with the striking ruins of the temple of the native god, who was identified with the Greek Zeus, has long been known.

¹ The course of this river is utterly false in Kiepert's map.

² *Sic.*

³ The evidence of Council. Constantin.

870 is doubtful, but rather tends to show that the original arrangement had been restored.

CII.—TIBERIOPOLIS is very rarely mentioned, and topographical evidence is wanting. The order of Hierocles demands a situation in the north of Phrygia, which is opposed to the far inferior authority of Ptolemy. *Notitiae* I., VIII., IX., also mention it with Aizanoi, Ankyra, and Synaos, and the authority of the arrangement in III., X., XIII., confirms this position. I see only two possibilities: either Tiberiopolis is to be placed where I have placed Eudokias, and Eudokias is to be identified with Kotiaion—a supposition which has been already rejected; or Tiberiopolis was the city whose remains exist about Amet, Hassanlar, and Egri Göz. M. Waddington (*Lebas-Wadd.*, 1011) places Ankyra there, but the inscription on which he relies, reading 'Α[ν]κυραίων, does not justify the restoration, as may be seen by comparing the epigraphic text. Ankyra was certainly not situated here (see CIII.). The published inscriptions mention *ἱερεὺς ὁμοβωμίων θεῶν Σεβαστῶν*, and perhaps *ἱερεὺς νεῶν [ὁμοβωμίων]*, and another which I copied in 1884 at Amet on a basis reads:

ΤΕΚΝΑΠΑΤΡΙ

τέκνα πατρί

ΚΑΙΘΕΩΤΙΜΗΝ

καὶ θεῷ τιμὴν.

These inscriptions prove that a cultus of the early emperors was a prominent feature in the city. M. Waddington interprets the *ὁμοβώμιοι θεοὶ* as Augustus and Livia; it is however possible that Tiberius and Livia are meant, or that Tiberius gave the city leave to adopt his name and institute a special worship of his parents.

The inscriptions of this valley prove that a city of early imperial civilization existed here. If it is not Tiberiopolis, it must be some city of Mysia, and I find none which could well be placed here. On these grounds I place Tiberiopolis at the head waters of the Amed Su, a tributary of the Rhyndakos. Its course is falsely given on Kiepert's map; I was assured by natives that it joins the Rhyndakos near Harmanjik.

CIII.—ANKYRA. CIV.—SYNAOS. These two cities, whose names are in some Byzantine authorities given as a single word Ancyro-synaos, have been proved by Hamilton at Simav and Kilisse Keni. I have visited both places, and have nothing to add to Hamilton. I have already referred to M. Waddington's

theory that Ankyra was situated at Hassanlar (see CII.). Ankyra bears the title *Ferreā* or *Sidera* in some Byzantine lists.

CV.—KADOI retains its ancient name as Gediz (*Kadoûs* in accus.¹). It is on the upper waters of the Hermus, which is on this account called Gediz Tchak. The adjective *Kadoûpôs*, i.e. *Kadoûpôs*, shows that *Kâdoi* is analogous to *Ὀτρεὺς* (*Ὀτρεφός*), and has the form *Kâdofai*; it is obviously connected with the name of the Lydo-Phrygian hero *Kadûs*, which in its turn may perhaps be a variety of the Phrygo-Thracian *Kotûs*.²

CVI.—THEODOSIA is called THEODOSIOUPOLIS in *Concil. Chalcedon*. If we may judge from its position in Hierocles between Kadoi and Ankyra, it was situated at the important mining centre Shap Khane, 'Alum House,' which is still the seat of a *mudir*. The original name of this place is unknown; the name Theodosiopolis, given to it doubtless when it was dignified with the rank of a *πόλις*, soon passed out of use again.

CVII.—TEMENOTHYRAL. The situation is determined by the situation (1) outside of the bounds of Lydia, (2) on the river Hyllos.³ The Hyllos is known from coins to be the tributary of the Hermus that flows past the Lydian *Saittæ*, and only its upper waters can lie across the frontier and within Phrygia. The name clearly means 'the Gates, or Passes, of M. Temnos,' and the allusions to this mountain suit and almost necessitate its identification with the great chain that extends east and west on the southern side of the valley in which lie Synaos, Ankyra, and the river Makestos. Of the many villages which doubtless existed in the territory of the Temenothyreis, we know the name only of one, Koloe (see CX.).

CVIII.—TRAJANOPOLIS has been proved by M. Waddington to be a name given to the central town of the people Grimenothyreis. It corresponds to the important modern city Ushak, but the view of M. Waddington that it was situated there is not strictly accurate. The actual site was at Gıncour Euren, six miles east of Ushak, near Orta Keui; the rock-tombs near the site have been described by Texier. The actual date of the foundation is perhaps given in the following inscription in the outer wall of the mosque at Tcharik Keui; it was copied first

¹ *Kâdoi* nom. for *Kâdofai*, but *Kadoûs* accus. for *Kâdofai*.

² The variation of vowel as in *Atrous*

and *Otrous*, *Attalos* and *Ottalos*, *Tataion* and *Tottaion*.

³ *Pausan.* i. 35, 8.

by Hamilton (who could not decipher the date), and afterwards by me in 1883 and again in 1887: Ἀγα[θὴ Τύχη]. Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα] θεοῦ [Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ] υἱὸν θεοῦ Νερούα υἱανὸν Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ἀδριανὸν δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας ἡ Τραιανοπολεῖτον πόλιν τὸν εὐεργέτην καὶ κτίστην ἐπιμεληθέντων ἔτους σδ', μη(νὸς) Δεῖου β'.

The date is end of September, A.D. 119, which proves that the inscription was not connected with a visit of Hadrian.

CIX.—PULCHERIANOPOLIS. The order of Hierocles shows that this city was situated on the Lydo-Phrygian frontier, south of Trajanopolis. I formerly thought that it might be a temporary name of Blaundos, but Blaundos is always placed in Lydya by the ecclesiastical documents, and there seems therefore no alternative except to identify Hierocles' Pulcherianopolis with the Metellopolis of the *Notitiae*. The situation of Metellopolis is certain. It was one of the first set of bishoprics attached to the metropolis of Hierapolis, and is therefore in the south-western part of Pacatianna. It is identical with the Motella of numerous inscriptions, and the situation of Motella is given by these inscriptions and by the preservation of the name as Modele.¹ The district of Motella is at present united with Dionysopolis and Hyrgalean Plain in a single district called Tehal. This modern unity existed in ancient time also, as is shown by the close religious connection which is seen in the inscriptions; and the name Pulcherianopolis reveals a stage in the gradual breaking up of these greater districts into smaller πόλεις. Dionysopolis was separated by the Pergamene kings; Motella by Pulcheria in the fifth century.

CX.—The LYDO-PHRYGIAN frontier is determined approximately by the preceding investigation. To fix it still more closely requires a discussion of the Lydian cities, which is at present too obscure a subject. The site of the Lydian Blaundos is well known since Hamilton; the Lydian Tralla was perhaps at the ancient site reported by Hamilton near Geune; Chanoüda is determined by the course of the Roman road from Philadelphia to Akmonia. This road must go either by Takmak or by Ine; on each of these routes, about 45 miles from Philadelphia

¹ In Part I. I failed to observe the identity of Motella and Metellopolis, and was obliged by the course of my

Investigation to put them side by side. I detected the identity just too late to change the text of my paper.

there is an ancient site, one at Bei Sheher,¹ the other at Ine. On the whole, considering that the latter road is much the easier, I incline to place Clannoudda at Ine, and to explain its apparent disappearance from history through its being at an early time absorbed in the territory of Blaundos. Bei Sheher then awaits a name. Bagis, Tabala, Maeonia, Saittae, and Silandos have all been determined by older travellers. To these I have to add Satala, a bishopric, which still retains its name as Sandal, near Koula. This situation is confirmed by the legend of Saint Therapon, who was led from Synaos towards Lydia through Satala, a city on the Maeander (*Act. Sanct.*, May 27, p. 680).

The idea which has hitherto been generally accepted is that Koula preserves the ancient name of ἡ κατοικία Κολομηῶν, mentioned in an inscription² now at Koula. I have seen this inscription, and have ascertained that it was brought to Koula from the district of Kara Tash, on the head-waters of the Hyllös, and that it was found there by workmen digging up madder-root.³ Koloe therefore was a village in the territory of the Temenothyreia. Moreover this town of Koula is mentioned by the Byzantine writers, who explain the name as a term used by the Turks in the sense 'castle'; it is the Arabic *Kafa*.

I have now traversed the entire extent and bounds of Phrygia, except the southern frontier, which forms the subject of a special paper in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, 1887 and 1888, where I have corrected the site assigned in the first part of the present paper, according to the old idea, to Keretapa.⁴

W. M. RAMSAY.

¹ Called by Arundel Besh Sheher.

² Wagener, *Inscr. Græc. Recensitio in Asia Min.* No. 1. (read A for A, in day of month).

³ Koula was once a great centre for the madder-root trade, though in recent years madder-root has been superseded by bad cheap European dyes, and Kara Tash district, once rich, is now impoverished.

⁴ I must correct the statement made by Mr. A. H. Smith in this *Journal*, p. 220, that 'the chief topographical

results of our journey have been already published by Prof. Ramsay.' I purposely left the whole subject to Mr. Smith; but as his report was delayed, I published a very few topographical results, which were likely to have been discovered by more recent travellers. Those which I published made about a tenth part of the results of our journey: the rest may be found in the *American Journal*.

Note to LXXXVI. Anrokra is omitted Not.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

(A).—ART AND MANUFACTURE.

La Nécropole de Myrina. By E. POTTIER and S. REINACH.
Paris, 1886. Vol. I. (With Plates).

THE first part of an exhaustive and thorough account of the excavations conducted by MM. Pottier and Reinach at Myrina. The introduction sketches the history of the excavations. The necropolis at Kalabassary, the ancient Myrina, was discovered by some peasants in 1870. Various terra-cotta statuettes and beads were found from time to time, but no systematic exploration was undertaken till July 1880, when Pottier and Reinach began their work, which was much facilitated by M. Aristides Baltazai, the owner of the land excavated. The excavations were continued in 1881 and 1882, and some subsequent explorations have been made, though not by the French archaeologists. Many of the terra-cottas, &c., discovered have been placed in the Louvre.

Chapter I.—"Topography and History of Myrina."

Chapter II.—"Les Tombeaux." The various kinds of graves are :

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Fosse quadrangulaire | } taillées dans le tuf. |
| 2. Fosse ronde | |
| 3. Chambre funéraire | |
| 4. Tombeau en pierres taillées | |
| 5. Sarcophage en pierre | } posés dans la terre. |
| 6. Sarcophage en terre cuite | |

Nos. 1, 2, 3 occur most frequently at Myrina. Our authors noted the orientation of more than a thousand graves, and are convinced that there was no fixed rule in the matter. The skeletons were found more or less completely preserved. The skulls were often intact, and the teeth also were remarkably well preserved. Cremation and interment were both practised during the same period at

Myrina. Interment was the most frequent practice. The position of the corpses in the graves is not uniform. In several instances the bodies were found mutilated—the head or the feet being cut off. Pottier and Reinach recognize in this a religious usage of which there are analogies in early Roman sepulture (pp. 75–77). In a few cases the bones of dogs, horses, and sheep were found beside the human remains.

Lists of objects found in the tombs are given on pp. 78–100, with remarks (p. 101 ff.). The objects, as a rule, lie near the bones, and have evidently been deposited at the same time as the corpse. They appear to have been thrown into any vacant space, especially on each side of the head and the feet. Many of the statuettes found in the graves had been mutilated in antiquity, intentionally, and probably to render them worthless spoil to any plunderer of the tombs. In modern Greece the grave-clothes are purposely torn with a similar object. Of ninety-four graves opened in a certain week of the excavations, only fifteen contained terra-cotta statuettes, most of them yielding nothing. Rich tombs were scattered among the poorer ones without any external mark of difference. The objects found are of four classes: 1. the earthly belongings of the deceased, such as strigils, mirrors, aryballi, &c.; 2. objects for the reception of food for the dead (drinking-vessels, &c.); 3. coins; 4. terra-cottas. The earliest coins found are of Alexander and his successors, the latest specimen is of Germanicus. Many of the late copper coins of Myrina occurred, but none of its tetradrachms. The coins (which did not occur in all the graves) were placed near the head as Charon's fee. The specimens found serve to show that the contents of the Myrina necropolis belong to the two centuries preceding the Christian era. There is reason to believe that this necropolis had been used *before* circ. B.C. 200, but that, on its becoming overcrowded, the remains were removed to another spot, and deposited in large common graves. With regard to the statuettes the authors noted that female figures (Aphrodite, Demeter, Nike, &c.) occurred chiefly in the graves of women, male figures (Dionyzos, Herakles, Atys, &c.) in the graves of men. Eros was found in the graves of children.

The authors collected sixty-three sepulchral stelae from Myrina. As they estimate the graves discovered (by themselves and others) at between four and five thousand in number, it is probable that many of the stelae have been destroyed, or removed for building purposes. The stelae are not interesting. The inscription generally gives simply the name of the deceased and his father's name. The

name of a married woman's husband is often recorded. These inscriptions are printed on pp. 113-124.

Chapter III.—"Les Figurines de Terra cuite." The Myrina terra-cottas are characterized by "la teinte bistre, plus claire que celle de Smyrne, moins grise que celle de Pergame, beaucoup moins rouge que celle d'Aegae." At least nine different pastes or fabrics may be distinguished among them. Few of the statuettes were made by hand, the majority being produced from moulds. Certain parts of the body—wings of Eros, for instance—have however been separately made by hand. Several figures have been touched up with a tool after being withdrawn from the mould and while the clay was still wet. The processes of manufacture are the same as those employed at Tanagra and elsewhere in Greece. All the statuettes appear to have been painted, as all show traces of the white ground-mixture upon which (and not directly upon the clay) the colours were laid. The colours do not seem to have been burnt in, or, if so, very slightly. Those employed are red, rose, blue, black, yellow, brown, and green. Red and blue are the favourite colours. Gilding is sparingly employed. With regard to *subjects*, more than half of the statuettes represent divinities, clearly marked as such by their attributes. Aphrodite, Eros, Dionysos, and Nike are found, but the great gods Zeus, Poseidon, and even Apollo rarely occur. Some fantastic gods are doubtless due to the creative fancy of the potter. Such is a Dionysos with the lyre of Apollo and the wings of Eros. Other subjects are taken from ordinary life—dancers, children, comic actors, animals, &c. The figures of males are generally comic or caricatures. The draped female figures and the groups of mother and daughter which often occur are believed by the authors to have been originally religious in intention—the group representing Demeter and Kore. In course of time and through the realistic tendencies of later art such figures became mere human beings, their sacred origin being probably forgotten. In style some of the Myrina terra-cottas are conventional and preserve archaic types. But on the whole the influences of Hellenistic art are distinctly visible. Notice especially the small head placed on a long body, and the fondness for copying or imitating celebrated works of statuary, such as the Chidias Aphrodite of Praxiteles. Many of the statuettes are inscribed (generally on the back) with a name, probably that of the maker, in the genitive case. The name Diphilos occurs most frequently. The best statuettes are unsigned.

Chapter IV.—"Le Mobilier funéraire: bronzes, verreries, poteries, objets divers." Objects in the precious metals were rare,

though fragments of gold sepulchral diadems were discovered. Among the bronze objects were one hundred mirrors, all unengraved, and a number of strigils, one of which was ornamented with a figure of *Hermes*. In a good many graves small bronze tablets, bearing the name of the deceased in incised, dotted letters, were discovered. Of the pottery found, our authors give a full description under the headings "Common Ware" and "Poterie de Luxe." Among the amphora handles found, twelve were of *Rhodes*, eleven of *Onclus*, and nine of *Thasos*. The decorated vases belong chiefly to a late period of Greek ceramic art. Among them are small black-glazed amphoræ with floral ornaments in yellow, &c. Various miscellaneous objects in terra-cotta were found, including the small pyramids and cones that have been so often discovered elsewhere.

W. W.

Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna descritti ed illustrati dall' Ingegnere architetto capo municipale, ANTONIO ZANNONI. Bologna. Regia Tipografia 1876—1884.

Ueber die Ausgrabungen der Certosa von Bologna zugleich als Fortsetzung der Problemen in der Geschichte der Vasenmalerei. H. BAUMS (aus den Abhandlungen der k. bay. Akad. der Wissenschaften, 1887.)

THE excavations conducted by Zannoni at the Certosa of Bologna have raised the Museo Civico of that town to the front rank among the museums of Italy. The Museo Civico is a model of orderly arrangement; the contents of each of the four separate sets of tombs—however various—have been carefully kept together, and the same excellent system is observed in Zannoni's work: whether he goes to the Museo or opens the book, the archaeologist is so far as possible present at the actual scene of excavation; he knows what each tomb contained and the exact 'lie' of each object; no link is missing that might suggest a date or correct a hypothesis. The author justly says it is rather his province adequately to present the material than to discuss the questions arising therefrom. Some general conclusions he however sets forth. In his preface he gives the history of the beginning of the excavations (1869), and the reasons for the identification of the site with the ancient Felsina 'principis Hetruriae.' Here we are bound to note that Sig. Zannoni is lamentably inadequate in his citation of ancient texts: Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii., Silius Italicus, *De Bello Punico*, Lib. 8, Livy, Lib. 52, might surely be amplified. The first part of the book is devoted

to the detailed description of the excavations under the head of the four groups of tombs, the second to the discussion of the furniture of the tombs, the evidence given of the funeral rites observed and consequent deductions as to the degree of civilization obtained by Felsina (a) before the Etruscan invasion, (b) during the Etruscan epoch. Briefly, Sig. Zannoni concludes, from a conspectus of the Certosa excavations and others undertaken in consequence.

1. That the territory round Felsina was peopled before the coming of the Etruscans by a succession of races, among whom a Lithuanian stock can clearly be distinguished.

2. To these succeeded the Umbrians. So far the earliest stages of their art have not been discovered. We come upon them first at the stage of a 'brilliant arcaismo,' e.g. at the excavations of Benacci: this develops step by step to the stage found at Arnaldo, at Stadello della Certosa, and at the Arsenal excavations: the highest development here attained sinks into a decadence, the first stage of which may be studied in the Sepolcreto Arnaldo and at Stadello.

3. That the Etruscans invaded the district at a period when they were themselves considerably Hellenized, and developed there a civilization markedly different from that of their kinsmen on the other side of the Apennines.

4. Next, traces of Gallic influence are found—notably in the Sepolcreto Benacci and De Luci.

5. Finally, the impress of Roman supremacy is clearly observable.

Dr. Bruun avowedly approaches the subject of the Certosa excavations with a special object, the support of his theory long ago published in the *Problema*. From an examination of the other contents of the Certosa tombs, notably the bronzes and the famous stelai, he comes to the conclusion that they must be dated low down in the third century. Unless therefore we hold that the inhabitants of Felsina, so far as pottery was concerned, only buried with their dead what we might call 'ancestral plate,' i.e. such pieces as were consecrated by long family usage and had become heirlooms, or that there was a special manufacture of trade in archaic black ware for funeral purposes, we must conclude, Dr. Bruun says, that the black-figured ware found in these tombs was made during the latter half of the third century—i.e. we must accept the main contention of the *Problema*, which is that a large quantity of the black-figured ware which we are accustomed to regard as genuine fifth century B.C. work is in fact archaistic. The painting of black or red figures

on vases was, according to Dr. Brunn, not a matter of strict chronological sequence, but rather a question of convention with respect to certain vase-shapes and varied much with the fashion of the day. Perhaps some of Dr. Brunn's incidental criticism will be valued by some more than his main contention, notably his careful analysis of the development of style in the funeral stelai and of their decorative motives: also his very pertinent remarks on the development of Umbrian art. Art, he says, in the outlying districts (*Peripherie*) of Greek and Italian culture cannot be measured by the same standards as those that may be applied in the great native centres. Umbrian art is a neighbour growth which starting from the same root had to a certain extent a separate life, but was never able to attain for itself full and distinct development. Nor had it even the advantage of consecutive *pari passu* influence from Greece. By a rough analogy it may be compared to Byzantine art which, while Italy and all Western Europe has gone through whole cycles of development since the days of Giotto, remains still trammelled in the mountains of the Balkan; if we can suppose it suddenly released from hierarchic fetters and brought into vital contact with the west, it would be constrained to a non-natural development, overstepping many intermediate stages and catching up the west where it would find it at the present. By some such supposition we must fill up the *lacunae* in Umbrian development.—J. E. H.

Mykenische Vasen: Vorhellenische Thongefässe aus dem Gebiete des Mittelmeeres im Auftrage des k. d. Arch. Inst. in Athen: gesammelt u. herausgegeben von ADOLF FUHRWÄNGLER u. GEORG LÖSCHNER; mit einem Atlas von 44 Tafeln. Berlin: Verlag von A. Asher & Co. 1886.

THE earliest history of Hellenic life and art has received a special share of attention within the past twenty years, mainly for the reason that since the excavations at Ialysos in 1864, and Mykenae and other sites more recently, it is now possible to test former conjectures with independent scientific deductions. Among the mass of material provided by these finds bearing on this question, the decorated pottery is by far the most important, as it is the largest, class. Whenever presumably primitive Hellenic graves have been opened, vases analogous to one or other of the Mykenae groups have been brought to light; and what has been most needed in recent years was that some one should collect and connect these

loose ends of information as a preliminary basis for future investigation.

This laborious task has been admirably fulfilled in the work before us: *Mykenische Vasen* is practically a Corpus, complete up to date, of all the information on the subject, with an atlas of illustrations (besides the six plates and numerous wood-cuts in the text), which for fulness and exactness of rendering leave nothing to be desired. The vases are catalogued under the localities in which they were found, with a statement of all possible information that can throw light upon them: and they are grouped, under these heads, either according to the objects found with them in the tombs or according to peculiarities of style. To this catalogue is prefixed a statement of the authors' method of classification of the different fabrics, and the deductions which they draw from them. The numerous important questions involved would demand a fuller treatment than our limited space allows: I can only give here a bare uncritical outline of the scope and direction of this work.

This classification of fabrics will be best understood from a reference to the coloured plates of *Mykenische Thongefässe* (a *Festschrift* published by the same authors in 1879 as a preliminary to the present undertaking): it depends primarily upon the fragments of pottery found at Mykenae, and is borne out by a comparison with other finds: it takes its stand upon a detailed examination of the technique, style, and motive of the decoration. This gives us two main classes, viz. (1) 'Mattmalerei,' that is, where the decoration is painted in a dull colour directly onto the clay: (2) 'Firnisfarbe,' where a shiny varnish either for the clay, or for the decoration, or for both, is employed.

Class 1 is found at Mykenae, Thera, and Tiryns, and in point of date clearly lies between the earliest fabrics of Hissarlik, Cyprus, and the so-called Karian island graves on the one hand, and the later 'Mycenaean' vases of Sparta and Ialysos on the other.

Class 2 with its shiny glaze—the exclusive property of Hellenic fabrics and of those dependent on them—and also in the schemes of decoration, shows us the basis on which all subsequent Hellenic pottery is founded. The whole of this class has so homogeneous a character, that the authors think it must be referred to a single place of manufacture; and this for various considerations they hold to have been Mykenae. It divides naturally into four chronological groups, with marked differences of detail, representing centuries of development, of which Mykenae alone gives us an unbroken series: the third of these groups, which we may here call *c.*, embraces the

great majority of the vases of this type wherever found; it probably immediately precedes in point of date the so-called 'Dipylon' style, with which the fourth group of Mykenae varnished vases, *d*, is contemporary.

This Dipylon style, of which the original centre was possibly Krete, was the outcome of a people who must recently have raised themselves above the level of the Bronze Period of mid-Europe: a people accustomed to the arts of graving on bone and metal, and of weaving in conventional patterns: a graft upon Hellenic civilization which is represented in history by the Dorian immigration. If we put the Dorian immigration at the tenth century B.C. it follows that the manufacture of Mykenae vases ceased about 800 B.C.

How far back may we put them? Köhler had remarked (*Mittheil.* vii. 240) that the decoration at Orchomenos and that of the Mykenae swords was analogous to the period of the first Ramesside kings of Egypt: and lately a sword of precisely similar character and decorations has been found in an Egyptian tomb of the sixteenth century. Again, on the wall-paintings of the tomb of Ramesses III. is depicted a clay Bügelkanne, a form which is not found until class 2 group *c*, at Mykenae: the authors therefore put the earlier tombs of Mykenae at the fourteenth or fifteenth century B.C.

The majority of the other objects in gold, glass, ivory, &c. which are found with Mykenae vases are probably from the Peloponnesos and of Argive-Sikyonic workmanship. Some archaeologists have gone so far as to call this art of Mykenae 'barbaric,' but it has in germ the undoubted elements of all Greek art: 'Like Greek history, so Greek art has its commencement in the Peloponnesus, and Mykenae is its first chapter.'—J. S.

Elftes Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm. Jason in Kolchis. Von HEINRICH HEYDEMANN, mit einer Doppeltafel. Halle, Niemeyer 1886.

JASON, Dr. Heydemann observes, does not take the prominent place in art we should expect from his mythological fame. It must be borne in mind however that only at Colchis is he protagonist among the Argonauts; there his *Apoteia* are two—(1) the taming of the fire-breathing bulls, (2) the slaying of the dragon who guards the fleece. Art deals with a third and preliminary scene—his first meeting with Medea. Of these three events Dr. Heydemann collects all the known representations in art, laying special stress on vase-painting,

He has nothing actually novel in theory to offer, but he gives some important additions to and corrections of previous lists. Passing over the meeting scene which has little of interest, we may note some points with respect to the two ἀόλα, and first the taming of the bull. The much disputed Hermitage vase (Eccomitago 2012) we are glad to find Dr. Heydemann assigns, in agreement with Michaelis, and in opposition to Purgold, to Theseus, not Jason. Much difficulty about this and similar cases would be avoided if it were clearly recognized that the type form for all three myths, Herakles and the Cretan bull, Theseus and the Marathonian bull, Jason and the fire-breathing bull are the same, with the further difficulty that in two cases out of the three the figure of Medea is at least, if not necessary, permissible. In the case of the Hermitage vase, rough though the drawing is, the gesture of excited departure of Medea must, it seems to Dr. Heydemann, decide for the Theseus myth. Only in one vase are two bulls, the necessary number for a yoke, present; Dr. Heydemann explains this by the borrowed origin of the type. As regards the second ἀόλος, the fight with the giant, it has three type forms—in the first Medea is a mere spectator, in the second an assistant, in the third the combat becomes a general one between the whole company of the Argonauts and the dragon. To these four must be added as ἀραξ εἰρημίων the Vatican cylix in which Jason swallowed by the dragon is returned to earth alive; as explanation of this curious and problematic representation, Dr. Heydemann only suggests the free fancy of the vase-painters. Finally the combat with the dragon appears in parodied form; a satyr replaces Jason attended by Dionysos. Dr. Heydemann in the accompanying plate publishes three new vases; we would implore of him to give the shape of vases in his plates as well as in his text.—J. E. H.

Robert; archæologische Märchen (Part X. of Kiessling and Wilamowitz-Möllendorf, *Philologische Untersuchungen*).

The intention of this work is to trace to their origin various popular theories, or to show their error.

I. *Die Daedaliden*. Daedalus and his school are discussed, and the stories about him are traced to their sources, which seem to flow from no early authorities.

II. *Die Kunsturtheile des Plinius*. These are derived from Varro, Varro's from Xenocrates; hence the Lysippean prejudices that appear in the sections on the bronze-workers. In Quintilian and others we find the influence of the Pergamene tradition and

Antigonos, but little used here by Pliny. In the sections on painting he draws on it far more extensively, only some of the criticisms betraying Xenocrates by their style.

III. *Aristeides und Euphranor*. The two sources of Pliny's information are distinguished from their inconsistency in statements about these two painters.

IV. *Hagelaidas der Lehrer des Polykleitos*. A discussion of the dates of the two proves the connexion impossible; Polyclitus' activity begins when that of Phidias ends.

V. *Dontas oder Medon*. Medon is right; Dontas an error when it occurs in the MSS., certainly not to be introduced elsewhere.

VI. *Die Bildhauersfamilie in Chios*. Stories about this family not to be traced beyond Pergamene tradition; the caricature story only arose from ignorant criticism of an archaic work.

VII. *Die Anfänge der Malerei*. The various stories and confusions are due to a purely conjectural treatise of the same period as the Daedalus legend.

VIII. *Timomachus von Byzanz*. There is no reason for rejecting Pliny's statement that he was a contemporary of Caesar, as some, from preconceived notions, have done.

IX. *Die Cultbilder der Brauronischen Artemis*. Legends as to the origin of the image &c. are post-Euripidean fictions. A discussion follows of the statues of Artemis on the Acropolis, one by the elder Praxiteles.

X. *Der Eros von Thespiai*. Benndorf's theory, that we see a copy of this statue on the Ephesian column, as part of a judgment of Paris, is disputed, and the writer's view is confirmed; the figures are Thanatos and Alceestis.

XI. *Die Rückkehr der Kore*. Vase scenes are sometimes wrongly referred to this story, in which a female is emerging from the ground. She is really a water nymph, sometimes Dirce, holding up the babe Dionysus in a nebris.—E. A. G.

Urlichs: *Ueber griechische Kunstschriftsteller*. Würzburg. 1887.

This treatise contains a brief discussion of the ancient writers on art, treated historically, and in their chronological sequence. Of Polyclitus' work we have much of the main principles preserved, and also individual sentences. His successor is the painter Pamphilus, who stated that art was impossible without arithmetic and geometry. Many others follow, especially architects; but the

names of many of the best-known artists are in the lists, and quotations from their works can be identified. Duris of Samos was a pupil of Theophrastus; he wrote of artists rather than of art: thus to the *Peripatetics* are to be traced many of the anecdotes preserved about early masters. Xenocrates was his contemporary: after these comes a gap—the same observed by Pliny in the history of art, after 300 B.C. Then came the Pergamene tradition, represented by Antigonus. To him and to Polemon are to be traced the inconsistent accounts often found in Pliny, Pausanias, and others.

Note I. on Cic. de Juvent. II. i. 1. a reference is detected to a Greek epigram on Zeuxis at Croton.

Note II. Hephaestus is to be struck out of the list of the works of Enphranor, who has been confused with Alcamenes.—E. A. G.

Descriptive Catalogue of the Casts from Greek and Roman Sculpture: Boston Museum of Fine Arts. By EDWARD ROBINSON, Curator of Classical Antiquities. Boston, 1887.

In this catalogue Mr. Robinson's aim is to combine 'both a guide for general visitors and a useful handbook for students.' These purposes are to a certain extent contradictory, and those who have tried can understand the difficulty of combining them: our concern is with the second purpose only. The account of the 252 Greek works, and 64 Roman, of which casts are exhibited in the Boston Museum, shows wide and accurate reading, independence of view, and a careful loving study of the works themselves for their own sake. Thorough acquaintance with the best that has been done in Germany is a special feature in this book. One may consult it with almost the certainty of finding the most important German ideas alluded to. Few references are permitted by the plan of the book, but several times in every page one observes in the turn of a phrase, or in words *φωραῖρα ἐκτετακται*, proof that the writer had in his mind some recondite treatise on the subject in hand. But while the German training of the writer is obvious everywhere, he has not become a German: he retains his own standpoint, and a distinct individuality characterises almost every description of the more important works.

The descriptions, while by no means complete in detail (a complete description would require ten times the space), are well selected, and touch the points which are least obvious, e.g. no. 30 finds room to notice the mark of a spur on one foot and to add

the note that this is characteristic of the Amazon: the spectator, seeing that the right foot is a restoration, could not gather this for himself. The style of the descriptions is removed both from sculptor's technicalities and from aesthetic twaddle. The brief summaries of characteristics in certain works are often admirable, and sometimes perfect in feeling and tone: take some of the tritest cases, the contrast between the Laocoon and the Dying Gaul, the concluding sentences on the Parthenon Frieze, and the three lines summing up the Hermes of Praxiteles. I quote the latter, chiefly because I have found myself always unable to agree with the last point in it: 'the soft elastic texture of the skin, the infinite modulations of the surface, the exquisite outline of the figure from every point of view, and the extreme sensitiveness of the face'; but it would not be easy to analyze better in so few words the qualities of the surface.

In 16 we might have expected some slight indication of a difference in style between the two Aeginetan pediments, and I should have liked an acknowledgment of the skill shown in some details, *e.g.* the ears. That 'Greek artists regarded the body not the face as the chief vehicle of expression' is true, but the two lines which follow press it too hard.

In choosing a set of casts individual tastes are sure to differ. I should have thought that more specimens of the Olympian metopes might judiciously have been added: Mr. Robinson's remarks too about them seem to me to miss the poetry which place some of them, in spite of their technical defects, among the most charming works of Greek art.

I observe the misprint 'Melan' on p. 23, and occasional inaccuracies of expression, where the words do not convey exactly the sense which the writer intended, *e.g.* no. 73 'found on its original site.'—W. M. R.

Au Parthénon. Par L. de RONCHAUD. Paris. Leroux, 1886.

THIS little book is one of the *Petite Bibliothèque d'Art et d'Archéologie*, and contains two essays. The first, and shorter, is a suggestion somewhat sketchily worked out, of new names for two of the so-called "Fates" in the east pediment of the Parthenon.

M. Ronchaud starts from Pausanias x. 29, where describing the paintings of Polygnotus in the Lesché at Delphi he says: *ἐστὶν ἀνδρες δύο καὶ Χλῆρις ἐπὶ τοῖς Θέαις γένεσθαι*, a description which obviously applies to two of the figures. Pausanias does not give us

much information about the goddesses, except that they were friends, and that Thyia was beloved of Poseidon and Chloris of his son Neleus.

With this we join the fact that Codrus was one of the Neleidae, and this with their being grouped between Phaedra and Procris shows that they belonged to Attic legend.

Thyia, we learn elsewhere, was mother of Delphos, and we may also connect with her name the Thyades, Attic women who worshipped Dionysos yearly on Parnassus.

Thus we can see that Thyia, and Chloris her friend the mother of the Neleidae might well be present in the pediment to symbolise the old connection between Athens and Delphi. The names would fit in with the theory of Beulé, who like Brunn starts from the Homeric Hymn. M. Ronchaud postpones the task of proving the claims of these goddesses against the others set forward, and refuses to name the third figure, which he holds is not necessarily closely connected with the pair. On the whole then the essay, which is quite short, is rather the statement of a "happy thought" than a serious solution of a difficult problem.

The second essay is much of the same character but longer and more discursive. It is on the inside decoration of the cella of the Parthenon. M. Ronchaud propounds the idea that the decoration of the cella, apart from painting, consisted of draperies and that these draperies were reproductions of the *peplos*. His theory is that the Panathenaic *peplos* was made for the Athena Polias of the Erechtheion, and not the Parthenos of the Parthenon, and that as the latter in her raiment of gold had no need of such a garment the *peplos* was applied to the decoration of her cella. He quotes Euripides, *Ion*, lines 1132—1165, and assumes that Euripides there describes in terms which are borrowed from the cella, a tent erected for the Athenians at Delphi.

He points out that the cella with its columns all round lent itself to decoration by hangings, while the open roof called for an awning to protect from the weather the chryselephantine statue, and the treasures near it.

For this he finds the *πέρικτα τέκλα* of the *Ion*, embroidered as it was with all the heavenly bodies, particularly appropriate.

The spoils of the Amazons, an offering of Herakles, is plainly suited for an Attic temple, and would do well for one of the sides. The other sides might well be decorated with the barbarian tapestry with the sea-fight against the Greeks on it, and with the gift of the Athenian, which represented Cecrops with his snake's

tail and his daughters. To these subjects we might add that of the war with the giants which passages in the *Hezuba* and *Euthyphro* suggest to us.

The theory is supported by Plutarch's mention of *τεσσελραι* among the workmen of Pheidias, nor is it at all improbable that an all round artist like Pheidias should have employed tapestry as a means of decoration.

This is the gist of the essay, but it is interspersed with discussions on the use of colour in architecture, the plan of the Parthenon and the foreign origin of the Athena cult, not to speak of the relations of ancient and modern art; in fact it is eminently "chatty."—W. C. F. A.

Phidias. Par Maxime Collignon. Paris. Rouam.

THIS is a popular account of all that is known about Phidias, and professes to give the latest results of archaeological criticism.

M. Collignon does not pretend to be original, or to do anything more than state results, otherwise he could hardly have brought his work into 124 pages. However he gives most abundant references on every point, so that apart from the text the book ought to be of considerable use in serious work. It contains a number of illustrations.—W. C. F. A.

(B.)—INSCRIPTIONS.

Kirchhoff. Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets. Ed. IV.

A NEW edition of a book familiar to all students of epigraphy calls for no detailed description, but only for a brief notice of the nature and scope of the modifications introduced. Professor Kirchhoff still believes that the time is not yet come for writing a history of the alphabet, and accordingly allows no new theories to interfere with the old arrangement of his facts. It is in details then, not in general principles or classifications, that we find alterations: almost all of these consist in assigning the cardinal monuments of epigraphy to an earlier date than before. Thus the earliest Milesian inscriptions are now supposed to be as early as the end of the seventh century; a most important change, as regards the earliest history

of the Ionic alphabet; the Abu Simbel inscriptions are still considered of the same age as before, the end of the reign of Psammetichus I. or Ol. 40 (620 B.C.). The Naucratic inscriptions are assigned to the second half of the sixth century. An important addition is a sketch of the Phrygian alphabet, from recent discoveries.

Among other branches of the alphabet the changes are not so great. The Theraean inscriptions remain at the same date as before—earlier, probably, than those of Abu Simbel. The series of Attic inscriptions also now goes back to the seventh century, but this is more from the discovery of new material than from shifting of the old.

In the Western alphabet, we may notice the addition to the abecedaria of the Formello alphabet, which certainly represents the mother-alphabet of Italy.—E. A. G.

An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy. Part I. The Archaic Inscriptions and the Greek Alphabet. By E. S. ROBERTS. Cambridge, 1887.

The subject of Greek Epigraphy, which thirty years ago advanced with slow and cautious steps under the auspices of the Berlin Academy, is now moving on, not pedetentously (to borrow a word coined by Sydney Smith), but by leaps and bounds; and yet there is nothing rash and immature in its recent progress. The labours of the illustrious Böckh and his immediate successors in editing the original Corpus of Greek Inscriptions are now beginning to yield manifold fruit, gathered in from the co-operation of many scholars taking up different branches of Epigraphy. Kirchhoff has given us the history of the Greek Alphabet and arranged its several varieties geographically and according to periods; Hicks and Dittenberger have both published a valuable selection of historical texts; Roehl has edited for the Academy of Berlin the most ancient Greek Inscriptions exclusive of those from Attica. In the works of Cauer and Collits specimens of all or nearly all the known Greek dialects are published with a short commentary.

The *Traité d'Épigraphie* of Reinach shows the immense development of the subject since Franz published his *Elementa Epigraphicæ Græcæ*. These works have followed each other in rapid succession, but still there was ample room for the long expected work of Mr. Roberts, who has at present the great advantage of having said the last word on several important questions in dispute, and being

able to notice the very latest discoveries. It is true that in such a progressive science as Epigraphy the ultimate view of to-day soon becomes the penultimate as new discoveries are made, but one of the great merits of Mr. Roberts's work is that it furnishes the student with references throughout to the sources, foreign or English, where he can get the latest and soundest information without being obliged to search for it in endless periodicals and memoirs, a task which only those who have gone through such ungrateful labours in days before Handbooks can appreciate.

It will be seen that in the work before us the inscriptions are arranged in three groups. The Eastern group comprises the islands of the Aegean Sea, Attica, Corinth and its colonies, Argos, Megara, Aegina, and the inscriptions in the Ionic dialect from Abou Symbel, Naukratis, Miletus, from Ephesus, Halicarnassus, and other cities on the West coast of Asia Minor and elsewhere.

In the Western group are placed the towns of Euboea, the Eretrian and Chalcidean colonies, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Thessaly, Lakonia, Arkadia, Tarentum, Elis, Achaea, &c. Lastly we have the Hellenizing Alphabets of Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Caria, Hispania.

Not the least valuable part of the work are the supplementary commentaries in the Appendix, classed as *Addenda* and *Addenda Nova*. The many intricate problems which present themselves in tracing the history of the alphabet and in interpreting the text of the earliest Greek inscriptions are handled throughout with a sobriety of judgment and a clearness and terseness of expression which are worthy of the previous reputation of the author and of the University which reared him.

The book, which has been printed at the University Press, is an admirable specimen of typography. I regret that time does not permit me to give a fuller and more critical notice of this work, to which I hope to return in a future number of the journal.

C. T. N.

(C).—HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES.

Studniczka—*Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht.* (Part VI. 1. of the *Abhandlungen des arch. epigr. Seminars der Univ. Wien*).

A HISTORY of the development of dress in the earliest times only. First the literary authorities are discussed; they show that the early simple garments, fastened with brooches, were superseded by Asiatic or 'Ionic' linen garments, sewn: these again partly gave place through a national reaction to the original or 'Doric' dress.

The monuments are then considered. In pre-Homeric times, at Mycenae, we find drawers on the men; but the women's dress was not of this form; what we see is an attempt to render the forms beneath the drapery in the skirt; nor is the breast meant to be bare. Or, if this view be not correct, then the dress is an oriental importation.

The greater part of the book is taken up with the discussion of the dress used in Homeric times, and its representation on extant monuments. The materials and colour are discussed; also inwoven designs, and the various articles of male dress receive detailed consideration, both under-garments and over-garments, especially the *diphlos* and its analogies, the linen *φάρος* and the woollen *χλαῖνα*. The women's chief garment is the *peplos* or *heanos*; the use of brooches is discussed, and it is maintained, in opposition to Helbig, that the dress is of the 'Doric' type, and not slit down the breast; girdles, head-dresses, &c. receive due attention. The name *peplos* in Athens, though used generally in a vague sense, is especially applied to the simple garment of the goddess, dating originally from a time before Ionic innovations; it is also worn by the goddess in her best-known statues.

The usefulness of this interesting work is greatly impaired by the absence of any index or table of contents.—F. A. G.

Das Homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert.
Archäologische Untersuchungen, von W. HELBIG. Zweite verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig. Teubner. 1887.

It is no disparagement of the first edition of this notable work to say that it is necessarily superseded by the second. The mere

increase in bulk is considerable—from 353 to 470 pages; though this is partly due to somewhat more liberal “leading” on the printer’s part. But the discoveries of the three years elapsed since the appearance of the book have considerably added to the material to be employed, and have of course found their place in Dr. Helbig’s exhaustive synopsis of his subject.

The portion which has had to undergo the most extensive remodelling is that which treats of female dress. An entirely new light was thrown upon this by Studniczka’s *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht*, and many of Helbig’s conclusions have had to be reconsidered. In particular, his argument for a breach in continuity of development between the Homeric and classical ages has lost some portion of its force, since Studniczka has convincingly shown that the costume of Homeric women was identical—at least in principle—with the “Doric garb” of classical days, and bears every mark of remote antiquity.

The discoveries at Tiryns have necessitated a rewriting of a great deal of the chapter (viii.) on dwelling-houses. The use of stucco for lining the walls has naturally altered many views; among other points, attention may be called to Helbig’s proposed explanation of *πλαίφαρ* as “a fine white shining stucco” in the description of stone seats as *λίμναί, ἀροστράβους πλαίφαρος* (γ 406). This chapter also includes a new investigation of the Homeric chair, but we miss a discussion of that thorny question, the plan of Odysseus’ house.

Among the more important additions in other places may be mentioned the introductory pages recognising the differences in culture which must belong to the widely different periods of the strata composing the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*—a difference taken by Helbig as at least 400 years, from the 10th to the 6th century. He here follows Wilamowitz—by no means a safe guide, though these limits are probably not far from the truth; but I do not find that the recognition of this element, important though it is, has materially influenced the treatment of individual points. The chapter on *Die Wagen* has an addition of eight pages accepting with a modification (and I think improvement) my suggestions as to the harnessing of the horses made in an earlier number of the *Journal*. In pp. 259–266 is an interesting discussion of the Epic language and manners as showing in many respects a conventionalism similar to that which the author traces in Homeric art.

The last half of the book is not materially altered, though additions of more or less importance will be found on pp. 375, 388, 376, 383–8, 391–4, 408, 424. With some of the author’s

(no. 27, Pl. vii. 7) to Phlius should certainly be transferred to Gortyna in Crete (see Wroth, *Catal. of the Coins of Crete, &c.*, Pl. xl. 13 and the description there given on p. 46, no. 69).—*Elis*: The author has in some cases assigned less narrow limits of date for the various coin-issuing periods than those first proposed by him in his monograph on the "Coins of Elis" (see *Numismatic Chronicle* for 1879).—*Laconia*: No extant coins of Sparta can be assigned to the period before Alexander. The famous iron money is not known to exist, though Peloponnesian iron coins, probably of the fifth century B.C., have been published by U. Köhler with the types of Heraea, Argos, and Tegea.—*Argolis*: The copper coins of Tiryns (silver coins have by some been attributed to it in error) are here assigned to the periods B.C. 421—370 and B.C. 370—300. Tiryns was captured by the Argives circ. B.C. 468. The issue of these coins may (Dr. Gardner suggests) indicate that the city regained its autonomy, being perhaps played off by the Spartans against the Argives in the war of B.C. 394. Or it is possible that the Argives "themselves colonized Tiryns and allowed the colonists to issue a few local coins in copper for their own use."—W. W.

Topographical Model of Syracuse. By F. HAVERFIELD and J. B. JORDAN. 1887.

WE notice this model, the accuracy of which is allowed by those who have a close acquaintance with the topography of Syracuse, not for the purpose of criticising, but merely to direct attention to a fresh proof—Rome and Athens have been previously executed in relief—of the spreading feeling that history must be studied not in books only, but with appeal whenever possible to external fact. It is to be hoped that Mr. Haverfield will proceed with other districts.—P.G.

We are compelled by want of space to omit notices of periodicals.

INDEX
TO
VOLUMES I-VIII.

views as to armour I must still venture to disagree. He does not notice the brief section in Gemoll's *Homericche Blätter* bearing on this point.

It is a pleasure to congratulate Dr. Helbig on the speedy appearance of a second edition; in the interests of science we must unselfishly hope that it will soon be superseded by a third.

W. L.

Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Peloponnesus. By PERCY GARDNER, Litt. D. Edited by REGINALD STUART POOLE, LL.D. London. 1887.

A VALUABLE contribution by Professor Gardner to the "Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum," published by the Trustees under the editorship of the Keeper of Coins. The volume deals with the entire Peloponnesus, Corinth excluded. The description of the coins occupies 203 pages and there are 37 plates of autotype reproductions of the specimens. The usual full Indexes of Types, Inscriptions, &c. accompany the book. Brief but interesting foot-notes are added to many of the descriptions of the types, and numerous references are given to Pausanias, whose *Periægesis* so often illustrates and is illustrated by the coinages of Peloponnesus (Compare the *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias* by Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner). The introduction (pp. i.-lxii.) gives a masterly sketch of Peloponnesian numismatics. The first section of this deals chiefly with the monetary standards employed in the Peninsula and some of its chief results may be summarized as follows. The earliest regular issue of money in the Peloponnese cannot be placed before B.C. 500. During the two centuries preceding this date the want of a native currency was no doubt supplied by the tortoise coins of Aegina. Aegae, Sicyon, Elis, Cephallenia, Zacynthus, Argos, and the Arcadian towns Heraea, Cleitor and Psophis begin to strike coins before B.C. 471, and "towards the end of the fifth century all towns of any importance in the Peninsula have mints." Bronze coins first appear about B.C. 400. Gold coins are extremely rare and are considered by Professor Gardner to be "in no case of quite unimpeachable authenticity."

The Aeginetan coinage came to an end towards the close of the fifth century and after that time the *general* currency—as distinct from the local issues—of Peloponnese seems to have consisted of the abundant money of Sicyon and Elis. Later on, about B.C. 300,

the tetradrachms of Alexander and imitations of them circulated freely in the Peloponnesus. The coins of Athens and Corinth never seem to have been a medium of exchange in southern Greece. After the foundation of the Achaean League, circ. B.C. 280, a federal coinage in silver and copper began to spread gradually in the Peninsula. The silver coins are hemi-drachms of reduced Aeginetan weight, interchangeable with the Corinthian drachms and Attic tetradrachms of the period. It is curious to note that "some of the chief cities of the League issued municipal coins concurrently with those of the League," and that local magistrates (probably monetary officers) inscribe their names on the Federal coins. Dr. Gardner remarks that these facts demonstrate the rhetorical exaggeration of Polybius's statement that the cities of the League "used the same laws, weights, measures and coins, and . . . the same magistrates." After the destruction of Corinth in B.C. 146 the issue of silver in Peloponnesus appears to have ceased, but there are some limited issues of bronze coins assignable to the period B.C. 146-31. In most of the cities coinage is not resumed "until the days of the philhellene emperor Hadrian, or even until the time of Septimius Severus and his sons."

In the pre-Macedonian period the usual weight standard is the Aeginetan, with didrachms and drachms of the maximum weight of 192 and 96 grains. Exceptionally, Troezen coins on the Attic standard, doubtless for convenience of trade with Attica. Zacynthus employs a combination of the Aeginetan and Attic systems, issuing Aeginetan didrachms for its commerce with Corcyra. "A custom prevailed in many cities of Peloponnesus during the latter part of the fifth and the earlier part of the fourth century of placing on small silver coins a mark of value [consisting] of the first letter or letters of the denomination to which they belong." The denomination is also indicated in other ways: thus, at Argos the wolf, the half-wolf and the wolf's head are the respective types of the drachm, the hemi-drachm and the obol.

The remaining sections of the Introduction deal more in detail with the coinages of the several districts of Peloponnesus. Only a few notes can here be offered.—*Acadina*: Of the twelve Achaean cities enumerated by Herodotus only five are known to have issued coins before the time of the League. Aegae first issues coins (with Dionysiac types) in the fifth century B.C.—The series of Sicyon is an extensive one though, as the author remarks, "its beauty is marred by its unfortunate choice of that most unsatisfactory compound the Chimæra, for type."—The coin attributed on p. 35

INDEX TO VOLUMES I.—VIII.

EDITED BY A. H. SMITH.

	PAGE
I. INDEX OF AUTHORS	543
II. INDEX OF SUBJECTS	545
III. INDEX OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS	572
IV. EPICRAPHIC INDEX.	
(A) <i>Geographical Index</i>	573
(B) <i>Index of Published Inscriptions corrected in the Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>	575

NOTE.—Greek words, occurring in the INDEX OF SUBJECTS, are placed according to the order of the English Alphabet.

In the INDEX OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS, only those passages are inserted of which the interpretation is discussed, or in which a new reading is proposed. Passages merely cited in illustration are omitted.

Subjects connected with the Homeric Poems are collected under the heading 'Homer.'

Places whose coin-types are discussed, are collected under the heading 'Coins.'

INDEX.

I.—INDEX OF AUTHORS.

- Anderson, J. Roddie.
Autelaxes from Tarentum, iv. 117
- Bent, J. Theodora.
Researches among the Cyclades, v. 42
On the Gold and Silver Mines of Siphnos, vi. 195
Telos and Karpathos, vi. 233
An Archaeological Visit to Samos, xv. 143
Inscriptions from Thasos, viii. 431
- Brown, G. Baldwin.
Sepulchral Relief from Attica, at Winton Castle, vi. 16
- Bury, J. R.
Notes on the Trilogy, vi. 167
Notes on Certain Formal Artifices of Aeschylus, vi. 172
'Ivry' in Greek Magic, vii. 157
The Lombards and Venetians in Euboea, Part I., vi. 309; Part II., viii. 194
- Bynater, L.
Bernays' Lucian and the Cynics, i. 301
A bio-bibliographical note on Coray, i. 305
- Campbell, L.
The Aeschylean Treatment of Myth and Legend, vi. 153
- Cobbena, C. D.
Introduction to 'A Pre-Historic Building at Salamis,' iv. 111
- Colvin, Sidney.
On Representations of Centaurs in Greek Vase-painting, i. 197
A New Diadumenes Gem, ii. 332
Paintings on the Amazon Sarcophagus of Corneto, iv. 354
An undecorated Athenian Funeral Monument, v. 205
- Comparetti, D.
On two Inscriptions from Olympia, ii. 385
The Petalio Gold Tablet, iii. 111
- Dominis, G.
Two Archaic Greek Sarcophagi, iv. 1
- Edwards, Amelia B.
On an Archaic Earring, ii. 324
- Evans, A. J.
Recent Discoveries of Terracotte Terra-Cottas, vii. 1
- Farnell, L. R.
The Pergamene Frieze: its Relation to Literature and Tradition, Part I., iii. 391; Part II., iv. 122; Part III., vi. 102
On some Works of the School of Scopas, vii. 114
The Works of Pergamon and their Influence, vii. 251
- Ferguson, J.
Stairs to Pandionium at Athens, ii. 83
The Tomb of Perseus, vi. 297
- Freeman, E. A.
Some Points in Later Greek, iii. 301
- Gantner, E. A.
Athens in the West Pediment of the Parthenon, iii. 244
Ornaments and Armour from Kertch in the new Museum at Oxford, v. 69
A Statuette representing a Boy and a Goose, vi. 1
Inscriptions copied by Cockerell in Greece, I., vi. 143; II., vi. 349
Inscriptions from Osa, &c., vi. 248
An Inscription from Chalcidoea, vii. 154
The Early Ionic Alphabet, vii. 229
Two Naucratis Vases, viii. 119

Gardner, E. A. (*continued*)—

Recently discovered Archaic Sculptures, vii. 159

An Inscription from Boeae, viii. 214
Sculpture and Epigraphy, 1886-87, vii. 273

Gardner, Percy.

Stephanos on the Tombs at Mycenae, i. 94

The Pentathlen of the Greeks, i. 310

Note on Terra-cotta Helmeted Head, ii. 82

Foot-races among the Greeks, ii. 80;
at Athens, ii. 315

Statuette of Pallas from Cyprus, ii. 226

Horses on Coins of Tarentum, iii. 239

The Palaces of Homer, iii. 264

Clay Disks from Tarentum, iv. 156

Votive Coins in Delian Inscriptions, iv. 243

A Statuette of Eros, iv. 263

A Sepulchral Relief from Tarentum, v. 105

Amphora Handles from Antipatra, vi. 192

Inscriptions from Samos, vii. 147

Gardner, Percy (and F. Imhoof-Blumer).

Nomenclatic Commentary on Panathenaea,

Part I. Megaris, Corinth, vi. 59

Part II. Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaea, Arcadia, vii. 57

Part III. Boeotia, Phocis, Athens, Supplement, viii. 6

Garnon, J. G.

Notes on an ancient Grecian Skull obtained by Mr. Theodore Bent from Antiquares, v. 58

Greenwell, W.

Votive Armour and Arms, ii. 65

Harrison, J. J. E.

Monuments relating to the Odyssey, iv. 248

Odysseus and the Sirens, Dionysian Boat-Races; A Cylix by Nikosthenes, vi. 19

The Judgment of Paris: Two Unpublished Vases in the Græco-Etruscan Museum at Florence, vii. 396

Vase representing the Judgment of Paris (note), vii. 269

Irys and Andon: a Panathenæa Cylix, viii. 439

Hicks, E. L.

An Inscription at Cambridge (*C. I. G.* 106), ii. 99

On the Characters of Theophrastus, iii. 128

Hicks, E. L. (*continued*)—

An Inscription from Priene, iv. 237

Note on an Inscription from Priene, v. 69

Judith and Holofernes, vi. 261

Isos, viii. 53

A Thasian Decree, viii. 401

Inscriptions from Thasos, viii. 409

Hirschfeld, G.

Notes of Travel in Paphlagonia and Galatia, iv. 275

C. Julius Theopompus of Caldas, vii. 286

Hogarth, D. G.

Inscriptions from Salamina, viii. 359

Apollo Larnensis, viii. 374

Imhoof-Blumer, F. (and P. Gardner).

Nomenclatic Commentary on Panathenaea.

Part I. Megaris, Corinth, vi. 59

Part II. Laconia, Messenia, Elis, Achaea, Arcadia, vii. 57

Part III. Boeotia, Phocis, Athens, Supplement, viii. 6

Jebb, E. C.

Delos, i. 7

Homeric and Hellenic Ilion, ii. 7

Iliad, iii. 144

The Ruins at Hisarlik and their relation to the Iliad, iii. 183

Note on 'The Ruins of Hisarlik,' iv. 147

The Homeric House in relation to the Remains at Tiryas, vii. 179

Jerons, F. B.

The Rhapsodizing of the Iliad, vii. 291

Leaf, Walter.

Some Questions concerning the Armour of Homeric Heroes, iv. 73

Notes on Homeric Armour, iv. 281

The Homeric Chariot, v. 135

The Trial Scene in Iliad XVIII., viii. 122

Liessly, Bishop of (C. Woodworth).

Where was Ithaca? ii. 228

Lloyd, W. W.

The Battle of Marathon, ii. 320

Sophoclean Trilogy, v. 283

Mahaffy, J. P.

On the Authenticity of the Olympian Register, ii. 163

The Site and Antiquity of the Hellenic Ilion, iii. 69

Michaelis, A.

Marble Head of a Horse, iii. 234

The Metrological Relief at Oxford, iv. 335

Ancient Marbles in Great Britain: Supplement I., v. 143

- Michaelis, A. (*continued*)—
 Ancient Marbles in Great Britain :
 Supplement II., vi. 30
 Sarcophagus standing on 4. Xanthian
 Marble in the British Museum, vi.
 287
 The Onkian Aphrodite of Praxiteles,
 viii. 318
 Middleton, J. H.
 A suggested Restoration of the Great
 Hall in the Palace of Tiryns, vii.
 161
 Monto, D. H.
 On the Fragment of Proclus'
 Abstract of the Epic Cycle con-
 tained in the Codex Venetus of the
Iliad, iv. 305
 The Poems of the Epic Cycle, v. 1
 Murray, A. S.
 The Erechtheion, i. 224
 Bust of Perseus, ii. 75
 The Rain in Aeginaean Sculpture, ii.
 227
 Perspective as applied in Early Greek
 Art, ii. 315
 Herakles Epitaphios, iii. 240
 A Terra-cotta Diademenos, vi. 242
 Antiquities from the Island of Ligeia,
 vii. 51
 On a Bronze Leg from Italy, vii. 189
 A Rhyton in form of a Sphinx, viii. 1
 Two Vases from Cyprus, viii. 318
 Myers, E.
 The Pentathlon, ii. 217
 Newton, C. T.
 Hellenic Studies : An Introductory
 Address, i. 1
 Statuette of Athena Parthenos, ii. 1
 On an undated Rhodian Inscription,
 ii. 351
 Inscription from Kalymnos, ii. 362
 Statue of an Emperor in the British
 Museum, vi. 318
 Paley, F. A.
 Remarks on *Acachylus Apem*, 1172,
 in emendation of Mr. Bury's read-
 ing, vi. 381
 Paton, W. R.
 Excavations in Caria, viii. 64
 Vases from Olympos and Carpa-
 thos, viii. 440
 Penrose, F. C.
 Excavations in Greece, 1880—1887,
 viii. 229
 Petrie, W. M. Flinders.
 The Discovery of Naukratis, vi. 302
 Poynter, E. J.
 On a Bronze Leg from Italy, vii. 189
 Ramsay, W. M.
 Newly discovered Sites near Smyrna,
 i. 60
 Ramsay, W. M. (*continued*)—
 On some Pamphylian Inscriptions,
 i. 242
 Notes and Rectification : Pamphylian
 Inscription, ii. 222
 A Roman Ballad, i. 293
 Contributions to the History of
 Southern Asia, Part I., ii. 44 ;
 Part II., ii. 271
 Studies in Asia Minor : I. The Rock
 Necropoleis of Phrygia, iii. 1 ;
 II. Sipylos and Gybeis, iii. 33
 Inscriptions from Saeleia, iii. 119
 Some Phrygian Monuments, iii. 256
 The Tale of Saint Abetimus, iii. 289
 The Graeco-Roman Civilization in
 Pisidia, iv. 23
 Metropolitanus Campus, iv. 53
 The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia,
 iv. 370 ; Part II., viii. 493
 Sepulchral Customs in Ancient
 Phrygia, v. 241
 Note on a Phrygian Inscription,
 viii. 399
 Richter, M. O.
 A Pre-Historic Building at Salamis,
 iv. 111
 On a Phoenician Vase found in
 Cyprus, v. 102
 Ridgway, W.
 The Homeric Land-System, vi. 319
 The Homeric Talent, its Origin,
 Value, and Affinities, viii. 132
 Roberts, K. S.
 The Oracle Inscriptions discovered at
 Dodona, i. 228 ; Part II. Inscrup-
 tions from Dodona, ii. 102
 Sayce, A. H.
 Notes from Journeys in the Troad and
 Lygia, i. 75
 Explorations in Aroia, iii. 218
 The Ruins of Hissarlik, iv. 142
 Schliemann, H.
 Exploration of the Boeotian Orchom-
 enos, ii. 122
 Six, J.
 Archais Gorgons in the British
 Museum, vi. 275
 Smith, A. H.
 On the Hermes of Praxiteles, iii. 81
 Athene and Enkeladus : a Bronze in
 the Museo Kircheriano, iv. 90
 Notes on a Tour in Asia Minor, viii.
 216
 Smith, Cecil.
 An Archais Vase with Representation
 of a Marriage Procession, i. 202
 Kylix, with Exploits of Theseus, ii.
 57
 Corrigenda : Inscriptions on two
 Vases, ii. 225

Smith, Cecil (*continued*).—

Actors with Bird-Masks on Vases, ii.
390

The Petelia Gold Tablet, iii. 121

Vase with Representation of Herakles
and Geryon, iv. 26

Inscriptions from Rhodes, iv. 436,
437

Amphora-stopping from Alexandria,
iv. 158

Pyxis: Herakles and Geryon, v. 178

Early Paintings of Asia Minor, vi.
180

Vases from Rhodes with Incised
Inscriptions, vi. 371

Nike sacrificing a Bull, vii. 275

Toner, H. F.

Medieval Rhodian Love-poems, i.
308

Branthine Satire, ii. 232

Vlyta and Cargese, iii. 254

The Franks in the Peloponnese, iv.
165

A Branthine Reformer (Demetrius
Phlethou), vii. 352

Vernall, A. W.

On some Ionic elements in Attic
Tragedy, Part I., i. 260; Part II.,
ii. 179

The Bell and the Trumpet, v. 74

The Trumpet of the Arsenapote, v.
162

The Libation-ritual of the Emme-
nides, v. 196

On the Syrinx in the Ancient Chariot,
vi. 264

Waldstein, Charles.

Pythagoras of Rhegium and the Early
Athletic Statues, Part I., i. 168;
Part II., ii. 332

Waldstein, Charles (*continued*).—

A Hermes in Ephesian Silver-work on
a Patena from Bernay in France,
iii. 96

Hermes with the Infant Dionysos:
Bronze Statuette in the Louvre,
iii. 107

Notice of a Lapid-head in the
Louvre, from the Metopes of the
Parthenon, iii. 228

Views of Athens in the year 1687,
iv. 86

A Ring with the Inscription
'Attalus,' iv. 162

The Hesperide of the Olympian
Metope, and a Marble Head at
Madrid, v. 471

The Eastern Pediment of the Temple
of Zeus at Olympia, and the
Western Pediment of the Parthe-
non, v. 185

Notes on a Collection of Ancient
Marbles in the possession of Sir
Charles Nicholson, vii. 249

Warre, F.

On the Raft of Ulysses, v. 269

Wordsworth, G., see Lincoln, Bishop of
Wroth, W. W.

Telephoros, iii. 258

A Statue of the Youthful Asklepios,
iv. 46

Telephoros at Dionysopolis, iv.
164

Hygieia, v. 82

A Torso of Hadrian in the British
Museum, vi. 199

Imperial Coiffure Ornamentation and
a Torso of Hadrian in the British
Museum, vii. 126

II.—INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

A.

Alekta, viii. 513

Alerquina, life, iii. 229; date, iii. 242,
viii. 473

Alu-Simbel, colossi, i. 80; inscriptions,
vii. 222, 230

Achaia (?), on coin of Corinth, vi. 76;
viii. 68; personified, vii. 60

Achilles and Briseis, vase in Vatican,
i. pl. vi. p. 175

Armonia, iv. 415; viii. 487

Acorn on coins of Martiniana, vii. 97

Acrocorinthian, successive remains, iii.
361

Acerence, viii. 487

Aegipolis of Athens, see Athens

Actium, scene of boat-races, ii.
p. xxxvii, 93

Actors with birdmasks, ii., pl. xiv. B.,
p. 309

Adas, ii. 275; iii. 218, 220

Adonis on coin of Aegina, vi. 94

Aedon, viii. 439

Argos, site, ii. 284, 295; architectural re-
mains, ii. 292; history, ii. 296, iii. 220

- Aegialas, iii. 147
 Aegialous, viii. 50
 Aegina, school of sculpture, ii. 227 ;
 viii. 57, 191, 231 : in relation to
 Pindar, iii. 177
 Argos (giant), iii. 307
 Aegis, as weapon of Zeus, iii. 322
 Aeneas, legends of, iii. 71, 205 ; v. 92 ;
 at death of Sphinx, viii. 322
 Aesolia (Southern), map, ii. 274 ; topo-
 graphy, ii. 275 ; history of early
 settlements, iii. 271, 301 ; earliest
 inhabitants, ii. 276 ; prehistoric Ne-
 crolepis, ii. 298 ; early pottery, ii.
 303 ; masonry, ii. 306 ; explorations,
 iii. 218
 'Aeschines,' letter on Ilum, ii. 29
 Aeschylus, influenced by his age, vi.
 154, 165 ; formal arrangement of
 dramas, vi. 172 ; Seven against
 Thebes, vi. 124 ; Orestes, vi. 155,
 171 ; Perseus, vi. 158 ; Prometheus,
 vi. 158, 172 ; Suppliants, vi. 162 ;
 Agamemnon, vi. 164
 Asthiopia (Epic), plan, and relation to
 Homer, v. 11
 Agathos Daimon, representations of,
 vi. 307
 Ageladas, Zeus, vii. 71, 89
 Agonistic inscriptions, iv. 58 ; vii.
 148
 Agoraeus, Nemesis, viii. 47
 Aiantes, ii. 316
 Aigaeætes at Chalcedon, viii. 154
 Aithon in Homeric house, iii. 267 ;
 vii. 171
 Aitanoi, viii. 515
 Akropolis, iii. 285, 299
 Akhi-kiei, elms to represent Troy, ii.
 14, iii. 195
 Alabanda, iii. 283
 Alandri Pontes, viii. 493
 Alcmanes, Asclepius at Mantinea, vii.
 97 ; Dionysus, viii. 28 ; Hecate, vi.
 111, 114
 Alcyonides, iii. 304
 Alcus on coin of Tegea, vii. 112
 Alexander at Ilum, ii. 20, 30 ; iii. 78,
 79, 208 ; patron of racing, ii. 22 ;
 portraits : Alexander (so called) in
 Hamilton Collection, vi. 21 ; 'Dying,'
 iii. 335, 337
 Alexandria Troas, remains at, i. 81
 Ala, viii. 454, 465
 Alai (Thasos), temple at, viii. 484
 Aloudes, iii. 213
 Aloula, iv. 414 ; viii. 464
 Alphabet, early Ionic, i. 59 ; iii. 261 ;
 vii. 222 ; of Naxos, vii. 224 ; of
 Naxos, i. 50 ; of Pamphylia, i. 245,
 249 ; of Phrygia, iii. 261 ; of Phoe-
 nicia, v. 44 ; vii. 223, 232 ; mutual
 relations of Greek alphabets, vii. 235 ;
 viii. 359
 Alphabet of Love, i. 308
 Alpheius, on coins of Elis, vii. 75 ; of
 Heræa, vii. 196
 'Araëis,' month, ii. 364
 Alyattes, tomb of, vi. 220 ; viii. 454
 Amadassa, viii. 490
 Amalthæa, vii. 89
 Amasis, potter, vii. 168
 Anastasia in Paphlagonia, iv. 277
 Amazon, in Asia Minor, iii. 222 ; in
 Gigantomachy, iii. 315 ; on Cornus
 scrophagus, iv. 257 ; represented in
 Greek art, iv. 359
 Ambacou, viii. 486
 Amblada, iv. 37, 42
 Amorgos, island of and inscriptions at,
 v. 42, 44
 Amphiaræus, at Oropus, viii. 49
 Amphictyones, coins at Delphi, vii.
 18
 Amphitrite on Pergamene frieze, vii.
 260
 Amphora-handles, iv. 159 ; vi. 122 ;
 places of origin, vi. 192
 Argos, viii. 486
 Amyclæ, throne of Apollo, i. 113, 129
 Anonymos and Pausanias, on coins of
 Argos, vi. 191 ; viii. 58, 59
 Anabour, viii. 493
 Anastasiopolis in Phrygia, iv. 280
 Amestor worship, v. 118, 121
 Ancyra, viii. 516
 Andraida in the Peloponnese, iv. 213
 Angelion, Apollo and Charites, viii. 49
 Anica, son of Apollo, i. 12
 Anna Cernanea, vocabulary, iii. 377,
 390
 Antefixes from Tarentum, iv., pl. xxxii.,
 p. 117
 Anthous of Mantinea, vii. 99
 Antiparos, remains at, v. 47 ; amphora-
 handles, vi. 122 ; archaic female
 figures, v. 49, figs. 1—9
 Antiochia, iii. 194
 Apatia, Mt., vi. 82
 Aphai at Aegina, vi. 94
 Aphrodite, armed, ii. 329 ; of Cnidus,
 see Praxiteles ; on Pergamene frieze,
 vi. 132 ; statuettes, ii. 328 ; Tan-
 tina terra-cotta, vii. 56, 43 ; mosaic
 at Castle Howard, vi. 49
 On Coins and Mosaics.—Aegina,
 vi. 94 ; Aegium, vii. 21 ; Argos,
 vi. 91 ; Athens, viii. 34 ; of
 Euclidæa, Bura, vii. 92 ; Colo-
 nides, vii. 72 ; Corinth, vi. 66,
 67, 68, 74, 75, viii. 61, 62, 63 ;
 Cythæum, vii. 66 ; Hermione, vi.

- 99; Megalopolis, vii. 100; Methana, vi. 99; Naxos, vi. 100; (Pandion of Scopas) Olympia, vii. 76; Patras, vii. 56; Phigaleia, vii. 111; Philia, viii. 55; Sicyon, vi. 79; Theopias, viii. 12; Troezen, vi. 97
- Aphrodite Phile*, temple, ii. 123
- Apollo*, of Delos, i. 13; at judgment of Paris, vii. 219; at death of Sphrax, viii. 321; A. Lermenus, iv. 382; viii. 378; A. as God of Medicine, iv. 51; A. Myles, in Rhodes, iv. 352; A. of Perminodeis, viii. 227
- In Works of Art*—A. of Canachus, i. 170; of Chaimoul-Gouffier, L. pl. iv., p. 178; ii. 339, fig. 1, 340, fig. 3; = *epheuros pankratist* (Euthyros), i. 178, ii. 334; compared with coins, ii. 345; with head at Naples, ii. 351; A. "on the Omphalos," i. 179, ii. 332, viii. 41; head of A. (?) from Pergamon, vii. 288; A. on Pergamene frieze, vi. 119, 124, 125, fig. 2; A. Pronus, viii. 188; A. of Lord Strausford = Theagenes of Glauklia (?), i. 159; A. and statues of athletes, i. 169
- On Coins and Monuments*—Aegina, vi. 94; viii. 57; Amyclae, vii. 62; Argos, vi. 84; vii. 55; (Pythia) Asine, vi. 100; Athens, viii. 49; (and Charites) Athens, viii. 40; Caphysa, vii. 104; Corinth, vi. 72; viii. 52; Cyparissia, vii. 74; Delium, viii. 11; Delphi, viii. 15—18; (Citharoedus) Epidaurum, vi. 93; Gytheium, vii. 64; Lacedaemon, vii. 59; Mantinea, vii. 98; Megalopolis, vii. 108; Megara, vi. 55, viii. 50; (with Artemis and Leto) Megara, vi. 56; Orchomenus, vii. 100; Patras, vii. 84; Pellene, vii. 96; Philia, viii. 55; Sicyon, vii. 78; Tanagra, viii. 11; Thebes, vii. 7; Thegias, viii. 12; Thuria, vii. 69; Troezen, vi. 96, 97; viii. 57
- Temples*—at Calymna, ii. 363; at Delphi, viii. 15, 16; in Delos, i. 41; of A. Pronus, viii. 185, 188, 232; of Thymbra, i. 78, 93; niche on Siphos, iii. 37, 38, fig. 8, 58
- Ἀπόλλων* (at Thasos), viii. 419
- Apoxyomenus* of Igeusippus, iv. 346
- Appia*, viii. 514
- Aqueduct* near Myrina, iii. 222
- Aquillius* (M'), ii. 45
- Arbela*, battle, ii. 324
- Aradon* (?), on coins of Orchomenus, vii. 100
- Arca*, on coins of Mantinea, vii. 98; Methydrium, vii. 109; Phanous, vii. 101
- Arceilas* of Cyrene, iii. 165
- Arceiliana*, Venus Genetrix, vii. p. lxiii.
- Archaitic sculpture*, ii. 344
- Archermus*, viii. 232
- Argos* (Thasos), viii. 419
- Arethusa*, date of, v. 17; characteristics, v. 32; Ilupersia, iv. 305
- Areopagus*, trumpet of, v. 162
- Ares*, on Pergamene frieze, vi. 121
- On Coins and Monuments*—Argos, vi. 91; viii. 55; Corinth, vi. 76; Patras, vii. 86
- Arion* at Thelpusa, vii. 106
- Aristaena*, as represented in art, iv. 47
- Aristides* Rhetor, iii. 234
- Aristides* (Aelius), Journey, ii. 44, 45
- Aristion*, on coins of Athens, viii. 46
- Aristion* in Phrygia, vii. 467
- Aristomacha*, relief, vi. 10
- Aristomachus* and Socrates, iii. 179
- Ariston*, vii. 168
- Aristonophus*, vase of, viii. 450
- Aristophanes*—
- Birds*—represented on vase (?) ii. 312
- Propus*—represented on vase, ii. 313
- Aristotle*, on unhistorical character of Homer, ii. 37; on the Cypria, v. 5; on the Little Iliad, v. 23; on Olympian Register, ii. 194
- Armour*, from Kertsch, v. 63; scale armour, v. 65; votive inscriptions, ii. 65
- Arachlion*, statue, i. 169
- Arrhephori*, ii. 325
- Arrian* Kaya (Phrygia), remains at, v. 243, fig.; date of, v. 247
- Artemis* and Cybele, iii. 55; at Delos, i. 16; Oëro, vii. 159; worship in Piccola, iv. 43, 64
- In Works of Art*—A. of Strongylus, vi. 116, vii. 81; from Delos, i. 51; dedication of Nikandro, i. 52, 59; on Pergamene frieze, vi. 115; A. (?) from Pergamon, vii. 271; Ephesian, on Phrygian relief, iv. 378; on Gigantomachia vase, vi. 110
- On Coins and Monuments*—Aegina, vii. 93; Aegium, vii. 91; Aegira, vii. 59; Ales, vii. 103; Anticyra (of Praxiteles), viii. 20; Argos, viii. 57; Asopus, vii. 67, 81; Attica, viii. 34; Bona, vii. 67; Brauron, vii. 69; viii. 35; Caphysa, vii. 104; Cheneac, vi.

81; viii. 55; Corinth, vi. 62, 67, 68, 72; Delphi, viii. 19; Gythium, vii. 67; Helica, vii. 107; Iacodæmon, vii. 53; viii. 52; Laodicea, vii. 61; Laa, vii. 69; Mantinea, vii. 93; Magnesia, viii. 35; Megalopolis, vii. 108; Megara, vi. 53, 56; viii. 51; Messene, vii. 61, 71; Methana, vi. 99; Methone, vi. 99; vii. 73; Orchomenus, vii. 100; Pagæ (by Strongylioti), vi. 57; Patras, vii. 71, 79, 80, 81, 91; Pellene, vii. 96; Phenæa, vii. 101; Phigaleia, vii. 110; Philia; vi. 81, viii. 54; Psophis, vii. 105; Sicyon, vi. 79, 80, viii. 54; Stymphalos, vii. 103; Tanagra, viii. 9; Thelpusa, vii. 104; Thuria, vii. 69; Troezen, vi. 96

Artemidea, vii. 247

Asopides, iii. 273

Ascanius, iii. 127

Ascanius portus, ii. 279

Asclepeion (at Athens), v. 85, 88, 115

Asclepius, Hygieia, and Telcephorus, iii. 293; children of A., v. 85; A. in Byzantine satire, ii. 262, 264; votive offerings, iii. 138; v. 116, 129; A. as represented in art, iv. 47, 50; on Pergamene frieze, vii. 262; statue at Edinburgh, v. 167
On Coins and Monuments—Aegium, vii. 83; Aegina, vii. 94; Argos, vi. 86, 89; viii. 56; Astus, vi. 100; Athens, viii. 46; Boeae, vii. 68; Caphyae, vii. 104; Clitor, vii. 102; Cleonae, vi. 81, viii. 53; Colonides, vii. 72; Corinth, vi. 74; Cyprissia, vii. 74; Epidaurus, vi. 92, 93; viii. 64, 67; Gythium, vii. 65; Laa, vii. 68; Mantinea, vii. 97; Megara, vi. 54; Messene, vii. 70; Methone, vii. 73; Orchomenus, vii. 100; Pagæ, viii. 50; Patras, vii. 85; Pellene, vii. 96; Phigaleia, vii. 111; Philia, iv. 49; vi. 61; Pylos, vii. 73; Sicyon, vi. 79; viii. 54; Thuria, vii. 69; Troezen, vi. 96; viii. 53

Asia Minor, languages, iv. 32; (Caria, Phrygia, Pisidia) discovered in, viii. 217; map, viii. 297; see Acolia, Caria, Phrygia, &c.

Asopus, on coin of Tanagra, viii. 10; of Philia, viii. 54

Asmarkeni, ii. 235

Assarika (Caria), remains, viii. 60, fig. 2, 51; tombs, viii. 67, fig. 3 and prof.; pottery, viii. 69, 454; gold ornaments, viii. 434

Associations (religious) in Rhodæa, ii. 357

Astarte, ii. 329

Asterie, on Pergamene frieze, vi. 119

Atalanta at Tegea, vii. 112

Attæa, ii. 110

Athens in Works of Art:

Sculpture—at Castle Howard, vi. 54, 56; at Dresden, iii. 334; at Madrid (Pateal), iii. 333; from Pergamon, viii. 263, 271; on Pergamene frieze, iii. 331; iv. 99

Terra-cottas—from Cyprus, ii. pl. xvi, p. 326; from Tarentum, vii. 23

Bronzes—at Athens, viii. 281; at Rome (Mus. Kircheriano), iv. 90, pl.

On Coins and Monuments—Aegina, vi. 93; vii. 94; Aegium, vii. 91; Aia, vii. 103; Argo, vi. 85, viii. 56; Asopus, vii. 67; Athens, Athens armed, viii. 30; fighting, viii. 31; with Marryas, viii. 28; Nikephoros, viii. 29; with olive branch, viii. 31; with olive tree, viii. 27; with owl, viii. 29; A. Parthenos, and from pediments of Parthenon, see &c.; with patera, viii. 30; Polia, i. 203; with Poseidon, iii. 250, viii. 26; Pramnachos, viii. 24; springing from Zeus, iii. 251; Boeae, vii. 68; Clitor, vii. 102; Cleonae, vi. 81; Colonides, vii. 72; Corinth, vi. 76, 74; viii. 50, 52; Corone, vii. 72; Coroneia, viii. 14; Cyprissia, vii. 74; Delphi, viii. 13, 19; Dyme, vii. 78; Elateia, viii. 20; Gythium, vii. 60; Harae, vii. 107; Laa, vii. 68; Iacodæmon, vii. 62; Mantinea, vii. 99; Megara, vi. 56; viii. 50; Melos, vii. 62; Messene, vii. 72; Methana, vi. 99; Methone, vii. 72; Patras, vii. 82; (by Phidias) Pellene, vii. 95; Phigaleia, vii. 111; Pylos, vii. 73, viii. 60; Sicyon, vi. 80; Tegea, vii. 112; Thelus, viii. 9; Thuria, vii. 69; Troezen, vi. 90

Athens, besieged by Morosini, iv. 87; views of, in 1687, iv. 88, pl.

Acropolis on coins, viii. 24; excavations, viii. 269, 280; remains, vii. 269, 280; relief, v. 89; statues, viii. 159, 250

Central Museum arrangement, viii. 278; Apollo on the Omphalos, i., pl. v., p. 179; Apollo Ptoos, sculptures from temple of, viii. 184, 185; Athens Parthenos, copy of, ii. 3, fig.

- Althous (continued)* —
 Olympieion, excavations, viii. 372
 Theatre of Dionysus, viii. 39, 278
Athletes, head-dress before Persian wars, l. 171; head-dress in early art, ii. 336; on coins of Corinth, vi. 64; of Cyprus, vii. 74
Atlantes, iii. 320
Attalus, Apollo at Argos, vi. 84; viii. 55
Attaneas in Phrygia, iv. 394
Attila, supposed ring of, iv. 162
Attunda in Phrygia, iv. 403; viii. 223
Atyochion in Phrygia, iv. 382
Atys confounded with Telephorus, iii. 297; and Zens, iii. 56
Angustopolis, viii. 492
Augustus in Hamilton Collection, vi. 36; at Castle Howard, vi. 35
Aulera, viii. 509
Auleneus in Phrygia, iv. 71; viii. 509
Aurelius, Marcus (so called), at Castle Howard, vi. 35
Avireus, iii. 350
Axe, Homeric, v. 313
Ayazmen, necropolis, iii. 17; Hon tomb, iii. pls. xvii. xxi. p. 19
- B.
- Babes*, iii. 136
Bacchanalia, Senatus consultum de B., iii. 118
Bacchante at Castle Howard, vi. 39; in Sicily, vi. 78; on Pergamene frieze, vii. 265
Bacchylides, iii. 162
Boëpales, month, ii. 364
Balsam, galls of, vii. 166
Ballads, Romais, date, iii. 359
Bandos, iii. 332
Basilas applied to Zeus, ii. 78
Baubo, iii. 126
Bausa and Philemon, iii. 53
Bellerophon on coins of Corinth, vi. 62, 78
Bells, v. 74; on armour, v. 76
Beloch, Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt, reviewed, viii. 315
Bentley on use of λέγεται, ii. 10
Bennison, viii. 511
Berlin Museum —
 Pergamene Frieze, see Pergamene
 Vase, ii., pl. xiv. A, p. 309
Bernay, Treasury, iii. 96; Hermes on patera, iii. 98
Bernay's Lucian and the Cynics, l. 301
Bendish Vetus, viii. 493
Bird masks, ii., pl. xiv. B, p. 306
Boat, model from Tarentum, vii. 34
Boat-races among the Greeks, ii. 99; Dionysiac, ii. 315; vi. 24; of Attika Ephebi, ii. 315; on vases, vi. 24, 28; boats employed, ii. 317
Boethus, Asclepius, iv. 48; Boy and Goose, vi. 2, 12
Boreas, iii. 304; on Pergamene frieze, vi. 103; on vases, vi. 103; on chest of Cyprus, vi. 103
Bois = τάλαρος, viii. 184
Boxers on coins of Corinth, vi. 64
Boy drawing thorn, vi. 12, 14
Boy and Goose, statuette (British Museum), vi. pl. A, p. 1, 8, fig.; date, vi. 9; school, vi. 12; instances of subject, vi. 3
Boy on Goat at Castle Howard, vi. 35
Boy (Roman) in Hamilton Collection, vi. 32
Bris, in Phrygia, iv. 400
Bricks at Tyrus, vii. p. liii.
British Museum —
Scripture — Aphrodite, viii. 327, 328; Apollo (of Chios-Gouffier), i., pl. iv., p. 178; ii. 339, figs. 1, 2; Apollo (Strangford), l. 189; Asclepius (Cyrene), iv. 46, pl.; Bull (Hillingdon Court), vi. 32, pl. c.; Diadumeneus (Farnes), ii. 354; Diadumeneus (Vatican), ii. 354, vi. 244, fig.; Euphorus, torso, vi. 378; Giant, head, vii. 279, fig.; Hadrian, torso (Cyrene), vi. 109; Harpy-tomb, v. 141; Hercules (Koufoudjik), iii., pl. xxv., p. 240; horse's head (Tarentum), iii., pl. xiv., p. 234; Parthenon marble, see Parthenon; Perseus, head, ii., pl. ix., p. 55; Sappho (Xanthos), vi., pl. lviii. p. 287; Sepulchral relief (Tarentum), v. 105 (pl. in text)
Silver — Sarapis, vi. 304, fig.; Boy and Goose, vi., pl. A, p. 1
Bronzes — Carterus, vi. 293; grævæ (Iluro), vi. 283; handle (decorated), vi., pl. c, p. 284; head from Armenia, vii. 355; leg (Piot), vii., pl. lxxx., p. 189; Nike and Bull, vii., pl. facing p. 278; stamp (inscribed), iv. 161
Vases — from Assakia, viii. 60; Capua, v. 179; Chios, ii. 226; Nancras, viii., pl. lxxx., p. 119; Rhodes, vi., pl. lxx., p. 278, 372, fig.; 374, fig.; 375, fig.; Volsi, ii. 226; vases with actors, ii., pl. xiv. B, p. 309; Amasis' signature, iv. 82; athletes, l., pl. viii., p. 212; ii. 219, fig.; Hercules and Gera, iv., pl.

- xxx., p. 96; Hercules and Gorgon, v. 176, fig.; Marriage procession, l. pl. vii., p. 292; Olyssaes and Polyphemus, iv. 263, fig. 6; Odipus and Sphinx, viii., pl. lxxxi., p. 320; Pausanias alabaster, viii., pl. lxxxii., p. 317; Pelene and Cheiron, l. pl. ii., p. 122; perspective, examples of, ii., pl. xv., p. 318; Sphinx-shaped rhyton, viii., pls. lxxii., lxxiii., p. 1; Amphomstopping, iv. 158.
- Terra-cottas*—Athene (Cyprus), ii., pl. xvi., p. 325; Nike, vii., pl. x., p. 280; sarcophagi, iv. 19, figs. 14, 15, pl. xxi.
- Genes*—Centaur, l. 130, figs. 2, 3; Gorgonia, vi. 235, fig.; Hermes and Soul, iii. 90, fig. 6; Hygieia, v. 98, fig.; Nike, vii., pl. x., p. 279; Satyr, l. 146, fig. 5.
- Bronze, when superseded by iron, i. 104; plates at Thyra, vii. 163.
- Broom Hall, ancient marbles at, v., pl. xlviii., p. 144.
- Brouses, viii. 480.
- Bryaxis (artist), v. 90; vi. 34.
- Bull, Attic, vi. 32, pl. v; head near Myrina, iii. 223; on coins of Argos, vi. 83; of Philus, vi. 80, 81.
- Bumabashli, alaba to represent Troy, iii. 195.
- Bunsell, *Grächiache Geschichte*, reviewed, viii. 302.
- Bonaparte, alleged Greek origin, iii. 328.
- Bupalus, Tyche, vi. 56.
- Burial customs, v. 128 f.
- Butades, iii. 182.
- Butcher, S. H., on Homeric Homer, vii. p. xlv.
- Byzantine Satire, ii. 223.
- C.
- Cabiri (?) on Pergamene frieze, vi. 136.
- Caena, myth of, iv. 101.
- Calanus, E. and M. (Asia), sites of, viii. 223.
- Caellus on enfram, vii. 134.
- Caesar, C. Julius, bust at Edinburgh, v. 158.
- Cakes, sacred, vii. 44, 49.
- Calamis, style, l. 188; viii. 168; C. and Pindar, iii. 178.
- Works*—Analeptas at Sicron, iv. 49; vi. 79; Dionysus at Tanagra, viii. 15; Hermes Criophorus, vi. 95; viii. 12.
- Calendar, ii. 363; vii. 153; viii. 106.
- Callate on coin of Methydrion, vii. 109; at Orchomenus, vii. 100.
- Callon, Atham Siboulos at Troezen, vi. 96.
- Calymna, temple of Apollo, ii. 363; calendar, ii. 363; pottery, viii. 446.
- Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum: bronze lecythus, ii. 69, fig.; 70, fig.; ring (Attic), iv. 182.
- Camel in Greek art, v. 67.
- Camosa, Kertch, v. 69.
- Canachus, Aphroditas at Sicron, vi. 79; Apollo, l. 170; vi. 97.
- Canephoroi, ii. 224.
- Cappadocia, art. iii. 29, 287; C. and Assyria, iii. 45.
- Captives on citharases, vii. 133.
- Carages, Greek colony at, iii. 355.
- Caria, excavations, viii. 65; discoveries, viii. 217; C. and Mycenae, viii. 450; pottery, viii. 450.
- Carians in Dulos, l. 14.
- Carlarabs, Kulebs (Odysseus and Ram), iv. 248, figs. 1, 2.
- Carnuntum, relief, Hermes and Dionysus, iii. 91, fig. 7.
- Carpathus, island of, vi. 235.
- Carts on monuments, l. 207.
- Cassandra, descendants of, ii. 103.
- Cashland Collection, Cylix (Odysseus and Ram), iv. 250, figs. 3, 4.
- Castle Howard Collection of Marbles, vi. 33.
- Catahans in Greece, iv. 166.
- Caerops on vases, viii. 1.
- Cenchrea and Lechaurea on coins of Corinth, vi. 64, 66.
- Centaur, etymologies, l. 148; etymologies of individual names, l. 159; = personified torments, l. 155; genesis of type, l. 127; in Homer, l. 167, 133; battle with Lapithas, l. 167, 164; encounter with Hercules on Mount Pholoe, l. pl. l., p. 111, 124; Nessos and Hercules, l. 116, 120, fig. 1; Cheiron and Pelous, l. pl. ii., p. 118, 131, 138, fig. 4; C. and Dionysus, l. 142; C. and Satyr, l. 145, 165; C. and Iris, l. pl. iii., p. 139; C. as hunters, l. 124; C. of Zenia, l. 123; C. and Glanis, iii. 314; C. on sarcophagus, iv. 20, fig. 15.
- Cen, remains at, v. 44.
- Cepheus on coins of Tegea, vii. 113.
- Cephalodorus, Artemis at Anticyra, viii. 21; Artemis and Zeus at Megalopolis, vii. 167; Erene and Plutus, iii. 93; viii. 43.
- Carberus, representations of, vi. 293; on coins of Phenaea, vii. 102; of Sicron, vi. 80.

- Cotetapa in Phrygia, iv. 403
 Chalcædon inscription, vii. 154
 Chalkona, iv. 41
 Chariot, Homeric, v. 185; on sarcophagus, iv. 3, 4; *σάργη*, vi. 394
 Charites and Harpies, vii. 214; C. of Pindar, iii. 174; C. and Apollo of Tactæus, viii. 40; early statues, ii. 133; C. in Heraeum at Argos, vi. 83; C. of Socrates, viii. 46; temple at Orchomenus, ii. 133
 Charmides vase, iv. 97
 Cheloni, i. 125, 133, 158; C. and Pelona, i. 118, 131; C. and Achilles, i. 121; C. in comedy, i. 141
 Chesson, vii. 169
 Child suckled by Goat at Agrostheia, vi. 54
 Chimæra on cuirass, vii. 135; on coin of Corinth, vi. 62, 73; viii. 50
 Chionis, stele, ii. 172
 Choerilus, vi. 169
 Christian inscriptions: Boeotia, vi. 149; Phrygia, iii. 350; iv. 399, 435; curing in, iv. 400, 404
 Cimon of Eleonæ, painter, ix. 253
 Cithæron, ii. 126
 Clarus, oracle of Apollo, viii. 52
 Clazomenæ, iv. 14, 21
 Cleobis and Biton at Argos, vi. 36
 Cleomenes, 'Germanicus,' vii. 344
 Cockerell, inscriptions copied in Greece, vi. 143, 350
 Coins: the Homeric talent, and its affinities, viii. 133; origin of the Greek standards, viii. 137, 338; sexagesimal system, viii. 147; Greek, dedicated in temples, iv. 346; reproducing statues, vi. 51
 Coins (*see also* iii. 255):—
 Acmontia, viii. 481
 Aegina, vi. 93, 94; vii. 93; viii. 57
 Aeginum, vii. 87, 92
 Aegostheia, vi. 53
 Alca, vii. 105
 Anticyra, viii. 20
 Apanoia, iii. 342; iv. 69
 Aradia, vii. 97
 Argos, vi. 82, 84, 100; viii. 55
 Asine, vi. 100; vii. 113; viii. 59
 Asopus, vii. 67
 Athens, viii. 21
 Biaza, v. 117, fig.
 Boeæ, vii. 67
 Brouza, viii. 431
 Bura, vii. 92
 Caphyæ, vii. 164
 Chelton, vii. 102
 Cleonæ, vi. 81; viii. 55
 Cnidus, viii. 340, fig.
 Colionides, vii. 72; viii. 50
 Coins (*continued*):—
 Corcyra, ii. 50; iv. 427
 Corinth, vi. 39; viii. 50, 51
 Corone, vii. 72
 Coronæa, viii. 13
 Crete, v. 87
 Croton, vii. 64
 Cyparissæa, vii. 74
 Cyprus, viii. 47
 Delphi, viii. 14, 15
 Diocleia, iv. 422
 Dionysopolis, iv. 161
 Dyme, vii. 78
 Elatsis, viii. 19
 Elonidia, viii. 48
 Eliæ, vii. 74
 Epidaurus, v. 21; vi. 91; viii. 57
 Gythium, vii. 54; viii. 59
 Hallartus, viii. 12
 Haliæ, vii. 92
 Heraea, vii. 106
 Hermione, vi. 99; viii. 58
 Hierapolis, iv. 376; v. 88
 Hieropolis, iv. 432; viii. 477
 Hieroclarax, viii. 466
 Iacæ, viii. 93
 Lacilæum, vii. 58; viii. 59
 Ias, vii. 68
 Lycoura, vii. 106
 Magnesia, iii. 53, 59
 Martinea, vii. 97
 Megastopolis, vii. 107
 Megara, vi. 53; viii. 50
 Messene, vii. 70
 Metapontum, ii. 348
 Methana, vi. 68
 Methydrium, vii. 109
 Metropolis, iv. 60, 63; viii. 510
 Methona, vii. 72
 Neonteichos, ii. 283
 Nieupolia, ii. 96
 Orchomenus, vii. 99
 Orophernes, vi. 269
 Oropus, viii. 49
 Otrona, viii. 479
 Pagæ, vi. 57; viii. 50
 Pamloia, ii. 348, fig. 4, 349
 Parium, iv. 263, pl.
 Patrae, vii. 69, 73, 85; viii. 40
 Pellene, vii. 95
 Peloponnesus, viii. 538
 Peræa, i. 246
 Pergamon, iii. 286
 Phœneia, vii. 101
 Phigaleia, vii. 110
 Philis, iv. 49; vi. 80; viii. 54
 Phocis, viii. 14
 Platæa, viii. 6
 Priænus, v. 87
 Prymnessus, viii. 487
 Psophis, vii. 104

Cilix (continued)—

- Pylas, vii. 73; viii. 60
 Rhegium, v. 91
 Salamis, viii. 49
 Segusiar, iii. 287
 Sellus, ii. 345, fig. 5; v. 87
 Sicyon, iv. 246; vi. 77; viii. 54, 559
 Sillyon, i. 243
 Stymphalus, vii. 103
 Tanagra, viii. 9
 Tarentum, vii. 3, 6, 13, 23, 37
 Tegea, vii. 112
 Teumes, ii. 291
 Tinea, viii. 24
 Thales, viii. 7
 Thelpusa, vii. 106
 Theopias, viii. 12
 Thuria, vii. 69
 Tirbenna, viii. 211
 Troezen, vi. 95; viii. 57
 Collignon, Phidias, reviewed, viii. 533
 Collitz, Dialekt-Inschriften, reviewed, viii. 302
 Colophon (city), unknown to Homer, v. 39
 Colotes (artist), v. 85
 Colucci Museum, vii. 32
 Column in Phrygian tomb, iii. 24, pl. xix.
 Colvin, S., on statuettes of river-god, vii. p. lxi.
 Comedy, scenes on vases, vii. 54
 Comenl, period of, ii. 241
 Constantine Porphyrogenetus, vocabulary, iii. 375, 380
 Constantinople Museum: Hadrian from Hierapytna, vi. 190
 Copae, ii. 160
 Copais, Lake, ii. 162
 Corasias, Hellenic remains, vii. 143
 Cotty, edition of Hippocrates, i. 305; notes on Xenocrates, i. 306
 Corcyra, scene of boat-race, ii. p. xxxvii.
 Corinth, excavations, viii. 274; early art, iii. 182; art at, after a.c. 146, vi. 59; temple of Poseidon, vi. 66; mole at Cenchreae, vi. 66; statue of Aphrodite in Acropolis, vi. 75; C. personified, viii. 53; Corinthian Puteal, vi. 48, pl. facing p. 48.
 Cornucopia, symbol of gods, vi. 307
 Corobas, victor at Olympia, ii. 173
 Coronae, ii. 128
 Corsica, modern Greeks in, iii. 335
 Corycian cave, viii. 19
 Craana in Phrygia, iv. 433
 Creta, laws, viii. 284; intercourse with Cyrene, vi. 201; Cretan inscriptions at Dulos, i. 54
 Crinosa, Greek art in, v. 72
 Critias, Tynnaioides, ii. 61; v. 146; viii. 44
 Cronmyon, row of, ii. 60, 61
 Cuirasses on Imperial statues, vii. 128; types of ornamentation, vii. 128; patterns of *pteryges*, vii. 138
 Cupids (two) in Hamilton Collection, vi. 32
 Cybele, worship at Magnesia and Sipylos, iii. 52; C. and Hermaphrodite, iii. 54; C. and Artemis, iii. 55; C. of Brotons, iii. 62; Hieron, near Smyrna, i. 68
In Works of Art—at Enyuk, iii. 41; near Magnesia, iii. 35, 45; near Midas Tomb, iii. 41, 42, fig. 9; on frieze of Pergamon, vi. 140, vii. 255; on frieze of Priene, vii. 256; on Sipylos ('Niobe'), i. 83, iii. 40
On Coins and Monuments—Amphipolis, vii. 256; Corinth, vi. 74; Cyzicus, vii. 256; Hermione, vi. 100; Paphos, vi. 68; Patras, vii. 83; Stratonicea, vii. 256; Thessalonica, vii. 256
 Cyclades, prehistoric remains, v. 42, 43; races and languages, v. 45
 'Cycle,' meaning of term, iv. 321
 Cyclopean walls in Aegle, ii. 306; in Lydia, i. 91; near Myrina, iii. 221, 224; near Smyrna, i. 64, fig. 76; in Troas, i. 83
 Cyllene, ii. 279
 Cyme, ii. 272, 276; iii. 218; C. and Larissa, ii. 232
 Cynics, i. 301
 Cyprus (Epie), iv. 306; plan, structure, v. 3; relation to Homer, v. 4; on Judgment of Paris, vii. 212, 219
 Cypriote syllabary, i. 78; vii. 233; inscriptions from Thymbra, i. 78
 Cyprus, excavations, viii. 285
 Cypselus, chest of, i. 113, 119, 126, 127, 129; iii. 304; vi. 103
 Cyrene, worship of Asclepius at, iv. 51; torso of Imperial statue from, vii. 138

D.

- Dactyl, iii. 181
 Dacelates, iii. 182; Hercules at Thales, viii. 7
 Daemon Agathos in Corinth, vi. 69
 Damophon (artist), v. 90; vii. 70, 71; Asclepius and Hygieia, vii. 88; Tyche, vi. 57
 Damos on coin of Argos, vi. 69
 Damiid in Argos, vi. 69
 Dancing girls on encaustics, vii. 133, 137

- Daphne, *il.* 123
 Dend, worship of, *v.* 124
 Delphakia, *viii.* 494
 Delphi, history, *i.* 7; topography, *i.* 39; plan, *i.* 40; excavations, *viii.* 276; epigraphy, *i.* 58; grotto of Apollo, *i.* 42, fig. 1; temple of Apollo, *i.* 44, fig. 2; sculpture, *i.* 51; female head, *vii.* 123; statue of C. Odellina, *vii.* 215
 Delphi, buildings, &c., *vi.* *viii.* 14; excavations, *viii.* 278, 285
 Demeter and Gaia, *vi.* 107; D. of Praxiteles, *vi.* 108; on Pergamene frieze (*l.* *vi.* 105; on vase in Gigantomachia, *vi.* 107; in statuette, *ii.* 328; temple in the Troad, *i.* 80
On Coins and Monuments—Argos, *vi.* 95; Argium, *vii.* 90; Argos, *vi.* 87, 90; *viii.* 56; Athens, *vii.* 96; Bura, *vii.* 92; Caphysa, *vii.* 104; Cleitor, *vii.* 102; Delphi, *viii.* 18; Dyme, *vii.* 78; Eleusa, *viii.* 48; Gythium, *vii.* 66; Hermione, *vi.* 100; Megara, *vi.* 56; Mismia, *vii.* 79; Panachia, *vii.* 99; Pheneus, *vii.* 102; Phigaleia, *vii.* 111; Salamis, *viii.* 49; Sicyon, *vi.* 80; Thebes, *viii.* 8; Thelpna, *vii.* 106
 Demetrios Nikator, *vi.* 262
 Demetrios of Scepsis, character, *ii.* 34; *iii.* 70, 73, 79, 204, 215; the *Troades Sclavopoi*, *ii.* 31; *iii.* 215; on condition of Ilium, *ii.* 26; *iii.* 77, 216; on site of Troy, *ii.* 34; *iii.* 69, 72
 Des Tombes, M., Attic sepulchral relief, *v.* pl. xxxix, p. 205
 Diadema, etymology, *iii.* 349
 Diadumenus, *see* Polykleitos
 Diaperia, *ii.* 319
 Dioclea in Phrygia, *iv.* 422; *viii.* 467
 Diogenes (sculptor) of Athens, *iii.* 240; author of *Hirantes* in British Museum, *iii.* 240
 Dionedae and Palladium on coin of Argos, *vi.* 88, 89
 Diana, goddess of Dodona, *i.* 221; on Pergamene frieze, *vi.* 132; on coins, *vi.* 132
 Dionysiac procession at Castle Howard, *vi.* 39
 Dionysius (sculptor), *v.* 84, 83; *vii.* 245
 Dionysopolis in Phrygia, *iv.* 379
 Dionysus and best-reces, *ii.* 315; *vi.* 24; D. and centaurs, *i.* 142; Chthonian character of, *iv.* 122; worship at Pergamum, *iv.* 334; tauro-morphia type of, *iv.* 129
 Dionysus (*satyram*)—
In Works of Art—of Aloumenus, *vii.* 38; at Castle Howard, *vi.* 38, 37; at Edinburgh, *v.* 156; terracotta in Hamilton Collection, *vi.* 32; on Pergamene frieze, *iv.* 123, *vi.* 141; *vii.* 272; head from Pergamum, *vii.* 308; Dionysus and Hermes of Praxiteles, *see* Praxiteles; on vase, *iv.* 253, fig. 3; on Tarentine terra-cotta, *vii.* 10, 49; votive terra-cottas from Hallar-menon, *vii.* 12
On Coins and Monuments—Argos, *vi.* 89; Asopos, *vii.* 67; Athens, *viii.* 32; Corinth, *vi.* 68, 69; Cyprissia, *vii.* 74; Gythium, *vii.* 65; Hermia, *vii.* 107; Hermione, *vi.* 99, *viii.* 58; Lacedaemon, *vii.* 59; Megara, *vi.* 54 (of Praxiteles); Olympia, *vii.* 77; Orchomenus, *vii.* 100; Pagas, *vi.* 58; Patrae, *vii.* 79, 80; Pellene, *vii.* 66; Pheneus, *vii.* 102; Phigaleia, *vii.* 110; Philias, *vi.* 81; Psophis, *vi.* 105; Pyles, *vii.* 73; Sicyon, *vi.* 77; Tanagra, *viii.* 10; Tegea, *viii.* 53; Thebes, *viii.* 8; Thelpna, *vii.* 106
 Dionysus, theatre at Athens, *viii.* 39
 Dioscuri on Pergamene frieze (*l.* *vi.* 137; on Gigantomachia vase, *vi.* 137
On Coins and Monuments—Argos, *vi.* 87; *viii.* 56; Athens, *vii.* 45; Cleitor, *vii.* 102; Gythium, *vii.* 66; Lacedaemon, *vii.* 60; Mantinea, *vi.* 98; Tarentum, *vii.* 13, 22; Troezen, *vi.* 97
 Dioscurus (so-called) at Castle Howard, *vi.* 38
 Dios Kome, *iv.* 474
 Diotrophes in Thessaly, *viii.* 463
 Dipocum and Scylla, Pallas at Cleonae, *vi.* 81, 96
 Diobolus (bronze) at Vienna, *i.* pl. vi, 1, 2; p. 176
 Discos (throwing), *i.* 213
 Disks (clay) from Tarentum, *iv.* 156; *vii.* 41
 Dodonion, *viii.* 482
 Dodona, inscriptions, *i.* 223; *ii.* 102; *ette.* *ii.* 238
 Doerpfeld, on strata of Iliaclik, *iii.* 183; *iv.* 144, 151, 436; on remains at Thyrea, *vii.* p. *iv.* 12
 Dogs, epitaphs on, *iii.* 329
 Doryleion, *viii.* 303
 Doryphorus, *see* Polykleitos
 Drachma, meaning of the term, *iv.* 244

Iranians, site of Dedona, li. 228
 Dresden, archaic in Athens at, lii. 323
 Duallism in design, li. 316
 Dumont, on pottery of Hissarlik, lii. 191; iv. 142, 145, 149
 Dunsen, History of Greece, reviewed, viii. 209

E.

E in Ionic inscriptions, vii. 224
 Eagle in Gigantomachia, lii. 324; on Pergamene frieze, vi. 135; on coin of Cleonae, vi. 81
 Earring, archaic, li. 324, fig.; from Kertab, v. 87
 Ecclesia, arrangements at Iason, viii. 106; attendance at, viii. 108
 Eekelhus, li. 389
 Edinburgh Museum, ancient marbles, v. 156; vi. 16
 Eileithuia on Coins and Monuments—Aegium, vi. 54; vii. 87; Argos, vi. 83; viii. 56; Iliac, vii. 92; Tegea, vii. 113
 Eirene and Plutus, viii. 43
 Eirene in composition, li. 266
 Elms, li. 279
 Elataia, excavations, viii. 276
 Elmore, li. 125; viii. 213
 Eleutherus, li. 126
 Elms, iv. 414; viii. 464
 Emblemata, lii. 192
 Emotion as expressed in sculpture, lii. 230
 Eupros (Roman) in Hamilton Collection, vi. 32
 Eubia, i. 135
 Euboica, Athens Alex at Tegea, vii. 112
 Eufraates, deeds of, li. 363
 English language, history of, compared with that of later Greek, lii. 374, 377
 Enyo on Pergamene frieze, vi. 131; on coins, vi. 131
 Eos on Pergamene frieze, iv. 131; on coins, vii. 126
 Epaios, Hermes at Argos, vi. 56
 Epidaurus, I., pl. vi., fig., p. 182, 219; li. 347
 Epheia, temple of Artemis; Hermes on drum, lii. 100; altars, lii. 103; inscription, lii. 104
 Epheia on Olympian Festival, li. 189
 Epheia, iv. 313; v. 1
 Epheia, discovery at, v. 85, viii. 253
 Epheia at Epidaurus, vi. 93; on Per-

gamene frieze (I.), vii. 262, 263, fig. 1
 Epina, history, li. 109
 Epistates, lii. 128
 Eponymous magistrates, iv. 34, 137
 Equestrian figure in Hamilton Collection, vi. 31
 Epura, i. 354
 Ersechium, ground plan, i. 224, li., p. xxv., 83; elevation of w. wall, li. 86, fig.
 Eris, lii. 315
 Eros present at Judgment of Paris, vii. 308
 In Works of Art—Eros at Castle Howard, vi. 34; of Praxiteles at Parium, iv. 265; statuette (Princess of Wales), iv. 266, pl.; statuette from Smyrna, iv. 272, fig.; Tarentine terra-cotta, vii. 36, 37, 40, 41, 44
 On Coins and Monuments—Argos, vii. 95; Boeae, vii. 68; Corinth, vi. 74; Parium, iv. 271; Sicily, vi. 80
 Erymanthus, at Paphos, vii. 105; Erymanthian bear, vii. 105
 Erychthon, in Delos, i. 10
 Erythrae, relief, vii. 249
 Ergas in Homeric house, lii. 271
 Erichon, li. 153
 Etruscans, Lydian origin of, iv. 4; E. art, iv. 368; E. sepulchral reliefs, v. 118
 Euastorides, victor at Olympia, li. 171
 Eumachos, Promethia, vii. 270
 Euboea, 1323—1340 A.D., viii. 195
 Eucarpia, viii. 476
 Eucher, lii. 182; Hermes at Phoenia, vii. 101
 Eucleides of Megara on coin, vi. 53
 Eucleides (sculptor), vii. 92, 94
 Eufekia, viii. 515
 Eukolios, stela, vi. 43
 Eumachia, iv. 309; viii. 464
 Eumolpus, Heron, li. 124
 Euphorion, viii. 495
 Euphrontes, vase, viii. 292
 Euxine, viii. 414
 Eurytelos (giant), lii. 510
 Euryptilos, vii. 79
 Eurytion, i. 159
 Eutalides, statue at Olympia, li. 173
 Euthalides, li. 356
 Euthymus, statue by Pythagoras, i. 109
 Euyok, sculptures at, li. 305; lii. 41
 Euxetor of Naxos, lii. 121
 Euxias, amphora, vi. 28
 Euxine, li. 99
 Eye, (evil) protection from, vi. 313; treatment of, in art, v. 175

F.

- Fagus, papyri from, vii. p. II
 Ferrara, Council of, vii. 336
 Fibula, from Assarlik (Caria), viii. 74, fig.
 Fidi, at Paphia, vii. 105; preserved in jars, iv. 180
 Fish-dealer, on vase of Lipara, vii. 53
 Fisherman, on coins of Mantinea, vii. 98
 Florentine Archaeological Museum; sarcophagus from Corneto, I., pla. xxxviii. p. 354; vases, I., pl. III., p. 139; iv. 261, fig. 5; vii., pl. lxx., p. 191, fig. 1; 198, fig. 2
 Flute players, accompanying dramas, ii. 310
 Fortuna, C. Drury, terra-cotta head of boy, vii. 123, pl.
 Fortuna, at Castle Howard, vi. 33; on coin of Asia, vi. 190
 Fountains in Corinth, vi. 73
 François vasa, I. 119, 120, 129, 137, 140, 161
 Franks in the Peloponnese, iv. 165; F. tower at Athens, iii. 362
 Frogs, how represented in comedy, ii. 311
 Funeral feast, on terra-cottas, vii. 8, 16
 Furtwängler, A., Beschreibung der Vasensammlung, im Antiquarium, reviewed, viii. 289; Mykenische Vasen, reviewed, viii. 323
 Fury, at Castle Howard, vi. 40
 Future life, Greek ideas of, v. 127, 133

G.

- Gaes and Demeter, vi. 107; G. on Pergamene frieze, iii. 335; vii. 272; on cuirass, vii. 134
 Gaion Rome, viii. 513
 Gallipoli, relief of Hermes and Nymphs, vii. 215, fig. 8
 Games in Asia Minor, iv. 58
 γαλαξίας, name of month, ii. 114
 γάμος, use of term, I. 206
 Ganymede and eagle, Nicholson Collection, vii. 250
 Gardner, H. A., Excavations at Nancratia, 1885-6, vii., p. II.
 Gardner, P., houses at Thyra, vii. p. xvi.; Catalogue of the Greek coins of Peloponnesus, reviewed, viii. 534
 Gauls in Ilion, ii. 23; iii. 78; in Asia Minor, iv. 241
 Geldert, E. M., on γὰρος, γάρβος, ii. p. xxvii.

- Gemistius, see Platon
 Genestylides (?), on Pergamene frieze, vi. 106
 Genius, male, in Corinth, vi. 75; G. of Patras, vii. 79, 85
 Genoese in Icaria, I. 203
 Genre sculpture, vi. 10
 Geometrical decoration, at Assarlik, vii. 67, 75, fig.; on Phrygian tomb, iii., pl. xxi. A, p. 26
 Geras, personified, iv. 99, 101
 Geryon in art, v. 181; on vase, vi. 119
 Gots, crased on coins, iv. 247
 Giants, primitive conception of, iii. 301; development of types, iii. 302, 311; serpent feet, iii. 303, 319; wings, iii. 303, 319; pre-Hellenic deities (?), iii. 306; kindred conceptions, iii. 312; euhemeristic theories, iii. 317
In Works of Art—Acragas, iii. 329; from Acropolis, viii. 280; at Aphrodisias, iii. 324, 327; on Athens at Dresden, iii. 333; head in British Museum, vii. 273; on Parthenon, iii. 315; at Pergamon, see Pergamon; at Pelena, iii. 328, 339; on vases, iii. 307, 315, 325, 328, 332; vi. 187, 188, fig.; Vatican relief, iii. 329, 327; at Wilton House, iii. 327
 Gipsies, vii. 365
 Girl, statuette at Edinburgh, v. 159
 Gitiadas, Athens, vii. 62
 Gladiatorial reliefs (I) from Cos, vi. 259
 Glaukias, Thagenea, I. 199
 Glycon, Hercules, viii. 44
 Gnostic poets, quoted in Attic tragedy, ii. 159
 Goat at Castle Howard, vi. 37
 Gold ornaments, from Assarlik (Caria), viii. 67, 70; in Crimea, v. 68
 Goodwin, on strata of Ilissus, iii. 191; iv. 142, 149, 151
 Goose in antiquity, vi. 11
 Goose and Dog, vi. 1
 Gorderinia, viii. 504
 Gordos, viii. 505
 Gorgon, origin of myth, vi. 276
 Gorgoneion, types of, iv. 118; vi. 273; on Phrygian tomb, iii. 14; on coins of Coroneia, viii. 14
 Gothic art at Mycenae (?), I. 109; Gothic at Orchomenus, ii. 149
 Greek Collection, Kos, iv. 279, fig.
 Graves of mortal, vii. 194
 Greeks, in medieval times, iv. 185; see Euboea

Greek language, in Eastern Empire, ii. 265, iii. 272; in late inscriptions of Orchomenus, ii. 158; literary and colloquial dialects, iii. 264
 Griffin on cuirasses, vii. 128, 136
 Gryphon in Phrygian art, v. 247
 Guilford, Lord, Collection, vi. 40
 Gygean Lake, i. 87

H.

Hades, as conceived by the Greeks, iv. 107; represented on vases, iv. 107; statue in Villa Borghese, vi. 294; on coin of Phlius, vii. 102
 Hadrian, at Athens, viii. 46; bridge of H. over Cephissus, ii. 124; statue of H. from Cyrene, vi. 199; vii. 138; from Hierapytna, vi. 199; vii. 138, 140; from Olympia, vii. 139
 Hadrianopolis, viii. 491
 Hair, how worn by the Greeks, i. 170; on archaic statues, viii. 169
 Hallstatt, ii. 127
 Haliarnaesus, abscissa of, ii. 99; figure of Artemis in, vii. 247
 Halys, river, iv. 276
 Hamilton Palace Collection of ancient marbles, vi. 30
 Harpies on sarcophagus, iv. 4, fig. 4
 Haverfield, Syracuse, reviewed, viii. 541
 Head, Historia Numorum, reviewed, viii. 313
 Hæbe on coins of Argos, vi. 83; of Phlius, vi. 80
 Hecate, mythological character, vi. 112; H. of Alcman, vi. 111; H. on Pergamene frieze, vi. 170, 141
On Coins and Monuments—Aegina, vi. 94; Argos, vi. 88; Phene, vi. 58, 80
 Hegira, Diocesi, viii. 45
 Helbig, Das Homerische Epos, reviewed, viii. 533
 Heliodorus, iii. 181
 Helios, worship of, iv. 134; Lermionus, iv. 332
In Works of Art—on entrance, vii. 130, 124; on Pergamene frieze, iv. 181, 132
On Coins and Monuments—Cleitor, vii. 103; Corinth, vi. 63, 71
 Helladicus on Hittit, ii. 20; character as a writer, ii. 40, iii. 74, 213
 Helios, Greek, iv. 12, 16; native, of Hiero, ii. 68; from Kertch, v. 65; property of late Bishop of Lincoln, ii. 68; from Olympia, ii. 67; fictile models, ii. 69, 82

Hephaestus on Pergamene frieze, vii. 239
On Coins—Corinth, vi. 76; Mothone, vi. 98; Mothone, vii. 73
 Hera in Gigantomachia, iii. 307, vi. 130; Lakonia, vii. 10
On Coins and Monuments—Argos, vi. 83; Elis, vii. 76; at Heraca, vii. 107; Patras, vii. 83; Plataea, viii. 7; Tegea, vii. 113
 Heracles, ii. 297
 Heracles, and Centaurs, i. 111, 124; and Gera, iv. 96; in Gigantomachia, iii. 325; and Hades, iv. 107; and Nereus, iv. 106; at Naclolia, iii. 124; Temple near Orchomenus, ii. 133
In Works of Art—H. Epitrapezus of Diogenes, iii. pl. xxv, p. 240; of Lyaiippos, iii. 241; Head (Nicholson Collection), vii. 250; Terra-cottas of Tarentum, iv., pl. xxiii, p. 119; vii. 48
On Coins and Monuments—Argos, vi. 82, 83, 91; Athens, vii. 43; Burn, vii. 93; Corinth, vi. 72, 75; viii. 52; Gytheum, vii. 64; viii. 69; Lacadaemon, vii. 60; Laa, vii. 68; Megalopolis, vii. 109, 113; Megara, vi. 57; Messene, vii. 70; Pagae, vi. 58; Patras, vii. 86; Trophes, vii. 105; Sicyon, vi. 79; Stymphalia, vii. 103; Tegea, vii. 113; Thebes, viii. 7, 8
 Heraca, games at Samos, vii. 147
 Heraeus, Argive, coins relating to, vi. 83
 Hermaphrodite, and cultus of Cybele, iii. 54
 Hermes, and Charites, vii. 214
In Works of Art—Hermes of Andron, vii. 243; on patera of Bernay, iii., pl. xxii, p. 68; on drum of Ephesus, iii. 100; vii. 101; in Nicholson Collection, vii., pl. lxxi, p. 241; on Phrygian relief, iii. 7; H. and Dionysus of Praxiteles, see Praxiteles; from Tarentum, vii. 33, 40
On Coins and Monuments—Aegina, vi. 95; Argos, vi. 86; Aegina, vi. 100, viii. 60; Athens, viii. 44; Corinth, vi. 69, 72, 73; viii. 53; Gytheum, vii. 66; Hermlone, vi. 100; Lacadaemon, vii. 59; Patras, vii. 86; Phanaea, vii. 161; Phigaleia, vii. 110; Tanagra, vi. 95; viii. 11; Thelussa, vii. 106; Troezen, viii. 58
 Hermogenes, sculptor, vi. 68
 Hermon, Diocesi, vi. 97
 Herodotus on the Battle of Marathon, ii. 333

- Heroes, aspidochelal reliefs to, v. 116, 262
 Heruli in Peloponnese, i. 162
 Hesiod, statue at Theopias, viii. 13
 Hestiae, on the Trojan plain, ii. 38
 Heydemann, Jason in Kolchis, reviewed, viii. 527
 Hierapolis, iii. 340; iv. 375
 Hierapytna, statue of Hadrian, vii. 138, 140
 Hiera, votive helmet, ii. 60
 Hieruchurax, viii. 466
 Hierocles, Synoecismus, iv. 372; viii. 491
 Hierapolis, iii. 340; hot springs, iii. 351; viii. 476
 Hillington Court, Ball, vi. 32, pl. c.
 Hippata, and the Olympian register, ii. 169, 174, 176
 Hippocrates, edited by Corny, i. 306
 Hippocrates, statue, vi. 42
 Hippolytus on coin of Trezen, vi. 27; viii. 55
 Hippothoon, tomb, ii. 124
 Hissarlik (see also Ilium, Troy), claim to represent Troy, iii. 193, 198; the sequence of cities, iii. 185, 212; iv. 134, 147, 436; pottery, iii. 191; iv. 142, 149
 Hittites in Asia Minor, i. 84, 89; iii. 225; inscription on Sipylos, iii. 229
 Huhn, Griechische Geschichte, reviewed, viii. 309
 Homer—
 Aeolic elements in Iliad, vii. 302
 Agriculture, vi. 338
 Armour, iv. 73, 281; thorax, iv. 78; shield, iv. 284; helmet, iv. 291; greaves, iv. 299; spear, 299; sword, iv. 302
 Art, Hamaic subjects in, iv. 248; v. 34
 Axe, v. 213
 Blood feud, viii. 124, and pref.
 Bronze decoration, ii. 145
 Chariot, v. 185—194, fig.
 Charlemagne Cycle compared, iii. p. xlviii.
 Cyprian elements in Iliad, vii. 300
 Date of fall of Troy, ii. 104
 Date of Odyssey XXIV., v. 15 n.
 Date of Homer, ii. 168
 Fick's theory of structure of Iliad, vii. 302
 Games, ii. 167
 Geography of the Iliad, eclectic, iii. 198; iv. 155. See Ilium, Hissarlik, Troad, Troy
 Horse, iii. 234; plan, contrasted with Scandinavian horse, 245; H. of Alcinous, 279; of Chreë, 279;
 Homer (words explained)—
 historic reality, 280; compared with Tityus, vii. p. liii., 166, 170; plan deduced from Odyssey, vii. 173; compared with historical Greek horse, vii. 188
 Horse-communities in Homer, vi. 331
 Iliad—
 Rhapsodizing of, vii. 291—308;
 Fick's theory, vii. 295; Cyprian elements, vii. 300; Ionic and Aeolic, vii. 302; original shape of Iliad, vii. 308
 Inconsistencies in Homer, vii. 302
 Judgment of arms, legends of, v. 34
 Land system, vi. 319—329; vii. p. xliii.
 Odyssey, society more advanced than in Iliad, vi. 324; date of Book XXIV., v. 15 n.
 Palace, see House
 Plough, vi. 324
 Pottery of Ilium, iii. 191; iv. 142, 149
 Property, vi. 323
 Racing, ii. 90
 Raft of Odysseus, v. 209
 Rhapsodizing of Iliad, vii. 291—308
 Scholia, passages in, iv. 78, 81, 297; vi. 321, 329
 Society, more advanced in Odyssey than Iliad, vi. 324
 Talent, viii. 133 and pref.
 Weapons, see Armour
 Homer (words explained)—
 αἰῶνα, iii. 267; vii. 164
 ἀκλῆρες, vi. 332
 ἀλῆτορ, vi. 326
 ἀμφιπνοῦν, iii. 279
 ἀμφιπλάσι, iv. 298
 ἀντίοχος, viii. 124
 αὐδῶν, iii. 157
 ἐπιπλοῦσσαντι, vi. 323
 ἐπιδυῖναι, iii. 273
 ἐπὶ τῇ ἀμφιπνοῇ, iv. 251
 ἐπὶ τῇ, iii. 267; viii. 171
 εἰλάς, iv. 300
 γῆνι, vi. 324
 ἵδου, iv. 309
 ἵδου, iii. 267
 ἐοχθῆναι, iii. 271
 Φάε, vii. 300
 ὕψος, v. 159
 ὕψος, iv. 73, 80
 βόλας, iii. 268, 273, 278
 βόλοι, iii. 267
 ὄβρις ἐκλῆτορ, iii. 267
 ὄβρις, iv. 80
 ἱππῶν, v. 218
 ἀλῆτορ, vi. 330

Homer (words explained)—

- ελπίς, vii. 167
 ἐτάρασε, ἐτάραξε, κτῆμα, κτέραι, vi. 826
 κτεαρίζω, vi. 333
 κῆνος, vii. 168
 λαϊσθήναι, iv. 285
 λαίρη, iii. 270; vii. 167, 181
 ληΐς, vi. 328
 μέγαρον, iii. 269; vii. 164
 μεσάλας, iii. 270
 μέτρα, iv. 78
 μυχός, iii. 279
 ἴδιος, iv. 302
 ορροθήρα, iii. 274; vii. p. 217, 167, 181
 οἶδα, iii. 269
 οἶον, vi. 329
 πάλαιον, vi. 325
 πολυαλγίας, vi. 328
 πόρτης, iv. 301
 πρόβατος, iii. 268
 προβέβηκαί, iv. 284
 ράβδον, iv. 287
 ῥέγου, iii. 277; vii. 168, 182
 σαυρωτήρ, iv. 301
 σταδία, iii. 269
 ταλαμῶν, iv. 289
 τίσιν, vi. 335
 τερμίστις, iv. 287
 τετραφάλος τετραδάκτυλος, iv. 293
 τριετήριον, iii. 269
 φίλαρα, iv. 297
 φίλοι, iv. 12, 17, 293
 χιτῶν, iv. 81

Homesteads, Modern Greek, vi. 216

Hoplitæ dromæi, vii. 189

Hottus (H) on Pergamene frieze, vi. 122

- Horse, head from Tarentum, iii. pl. xiv. p. 234; in Greek sculpture, iii. 235; of St. Mark's, Venice, iii. 235; on funeral reliefs, v. 106, 114; vii. 14; on coins of Tarentum, iii. 239; on terra-cottas of Tarentum, vii. 13
 Horse ridden by human head on coins of Cleonæ, vi. 81; of Sicyon, viii. 64

- Horseman on relief at Edinburgh, v. 159; on relief from Moxyra, iv. 378; on sarcophagus, iv. 8, fig. 6; iv. 18, fig. 14

Hydra, Cape, iii. 229

- Hygieia, v. 82; in 4th cent., v. 55, 88; of Dionysius, v. 84; relief from Argolis, v. 82; at Castle Howard, vi. 34; on Parthenon, v. 86; on Pergamene frieze, vii. 252; at Titane, v. 84; on vase, v. 94; on coins, v. 87; see also Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias, *passim*; Athens II., v. 96; Roman goddess, v. 97

Hypæpyle, on coin of Argos, viii. 55

Hyrgaleum Plain (Phrygia), iv. 386

I.

Iacchus on Tarentine terra-cottas, vii. 10, 21

Iasos, history, viii. 85

Icaria, topography, i. 296; occupied by Genoese, i. 298; vocabulary, i. 298

Ἰάκωv κῶνον, iii. 195

- Ilium (*see also* Hissarlik, Troy), visited by Xerxes, ii. 22; iii. 73, 211; under Pharnabazus, ii. 22; visited by Alexander, ii. 23; iii. 295, 211; under Lysimachus, ii. 24; iii. 78; visited by Mithridates, iii. 78, 211; in third century B.C., ii. 24; visited by Gauls, ii. 25; iii. 78, 216; by Antiochus, ii. 26; by L. Scipio, ii. 26; favoured by Augustus, ii. 27; visited by Caracalla, ii. 27; by Julian, ii. 27; letter of 'Aeschines,' ii. 29; identified with Troy by Alexander and the Romans, ii. 30; iii. 76, 211; by inhabitants, ii. 8, 33; by Hellenists, ii. 39; identification rejected by the learned, viz. by Strabo, ii. 33, 37; by Demetrius of Scepsis, ii. 36; iii. 70; Asolic Ilium, ii. 21; Ilium placed at Hissarlik in time of Croesus, ii. 29, 33; iv. 145

- Iliupersis (Epic) plan, relation to Homer, v. 27; relation to Little Iliad, v. 23; on vase, viii. 293

Inachus (I) at Argos, viii. 57

Ince-Rundell Collection of Marbles, vi. 41

Ino and Melicertes at Corinth, vi. 81, 63

Invocatory formulae, i. 230

Io, myth, vii. 159; at Castle Howard, vi. 38; from Tarentum, vii. 33

Ionic elements in Attic tragedy, i. 260; ii. 179; festival at Delos, i. 17

Ioucharatax, iv. 417; viii. 466

Iphigonia, legends of, v. 8

Iphitus, ii. 165, 177

Ipsos, viii. 490, 491

Iris and Centaurs, i. 139; and Satyræ, i. 141; on Pergamene frieze, vii. 266

- On Coins and Monuments—Aegina, viii. 57; Argos, vi. 91; Athens, viii. 47; Boeæ, vii. 66; Cleonæ, vi. 81; Corinth, vi. 66, 74; Methana, vi. 99; Mothone, vi. 99; vii. 73; Pagæ, vi. 58; viii. 50; Sicyon, viii. 34; Thelpusa, viii. 106

Iron substituted for bronze, ii., p. xxxvi.,
74; at Onkhunus, ii. 137, 155
Jagers, viii. 512
Jars in composition, ii. 199
Jathuns of Corinth personified, vi. 63;
viii. 59
Jassy, viii. 126
Jhama, early remains, iii. 264
Jys, viii. 449
Jyð in Greek magic, vii. 157

J.

Jason in Colchis, viii. 527
Judith and Holofernes, vi. 241
Julia gens, temple at Corinth, vi. 77
Julia, in Phrygia, viii. 490
"Julian," letter on Illum, ii. 27
Juno Lanuvina of Argos, vi. 99; see
Hera

K.

Keborklon, viii. 502
Kebul, viii. 317
Kakalau, viii. 501
Karubel Pass, i. 83; ii. 53
Keramei Agora, viii. 465
Kerkyon and Theosia, ii. 62
Kertsch ornaments and armour, v. pl.
xlv., xlvii., p. 63; vase, v. 95
Key of temple in Argos, vi. 91
κεῖρα, game, ii. 64
Kyparisi on epitaphs, iii. 141
Kidnarus, viii. 467
Kinnaborton, iv. 89; viii. 495
Kinkelhoff on the alphabet, vii. 227;
viii. 533
κκδδδδ, iii. 131
Klejo, Vaseu mit Mekkersignaturen, re-
viewed, viii. 290; Euphronios, re-
viewed, viii. 292; K. on Chalcidian
vase, v. 232
Klono Orkino, viii. 492; K. Politikos,
viii. 492
Knights of St. John in Rhodes, i. 205
κνθια, v. 81
κνθια, v. 74
κκκκκκ, v. 169, 180a
Kolos, viii. 519
Kona, viii. 486
Kopais, i. 253; ii. 187, 207
Korymbos, club, ii. 63
Kollaton, viii. 506
Konjounjik, Hermias front, iii. 240

Kronos, iv. 433; viii. 504
Kronos in Corinth, vi. 76

L.

Lado, ancient remains, vii. 144
Lais (?), on coin of Corinth, viii. 51;
tomb, vi. 65
Lakes personified in Lydia, iii. 57
Lambert Collection—vase (Panoratiasta)
i., pl. vi., p. 183
Lampadephoros, vii. 150, 162
Land system in Homer, vii., p. xlii.
Laocon, and Pergamene sculpture, iii.
334, 335
Lapithas, i. 164; Lapith head from
Parthenon metope, iii., pl. xxii.,
p. 225
Larion (Aeolis), i. 91; ii. 276, 279;
L. and Cynos, ii. 282; later history,
ii. 283
Latin and Greek in the Eastern Em-
pire, iii. 372
Latin, literary and colloquial, iii. 367
Latyshev, Inscriptions Tyras, re-
viewed, viii. 309
Lamping, amongst the Greeks, i. 212,
ii. 247; compared with English per-
formances, ii. 218
Lebadela, ii. 125
Lecheum and Cepheum on coins of
Corinth, vi. 64; viii. 51
Leg of bronze from Italy, vii. 189
Λεγας as used by Greek authors, ii.
10
Legis Actio, viii. 127
Leipso, Hellenic remains and inscrip-
tion, vii. 143
Leseges, remains of, viii. 66, 457
Lemnia, i. 308
Lemurum on the alphabet, vii. 226
Leochares, Zeus Polios, viii. 35
Lerna, subjects relating to, on coins of
Argos, vi. 100
Lesches, Little Iliad, iv. 306
Leto, worship in Asia Minor, iv. 375
In Works of Art—L. and Chloris at
Argos, vi. 87; viii. 55; L., Apollo
and Artemis at Megara, vi. 56
Lema, iii. 219; v. 17
Leyden, sepulchral reliefs in museum,
v. 118
Libantria, used in temples, iv. 41
Lincoln (Bp. of) on site of Dodona, ii.
228
Lincoln (Bp. of) Collection: bronze
helmet, ii., pl. xi. (1), p. 65

- Lion, on tombe at Ayaseon, iii, pl. xvii, xviii, p. 18; at Castle Howard, xl 37; gate of lions at Mycenae, iii 19; on vase of Naucratis, viii 121; on sarcophagus, iv, 13, figs. 11, 13
- Lipara, history, vii 51; excavations, vii 51, 53; inscriptions, vii 55; stone implements, vii 56; painted vases, vii 53
- Little Iliad (Epic), iv, 318; v. 18
- Loew, tribute to Ilium, iii 74, 212
- Löschke, Mykenische Vasen, reviewed, vii 525
- Loewy, Inschriften Griechischen Bildhauer, reviewed, viii 304
- Λογυρῶδες, ii 39; iii 74
- Lombards in Kubcek, viii 105
- London: Atkinson, H., Collection of Marbles, vi 42; British Museum, see British Museum; South Kensington Museum: cast of Aphrodite of Cnidus, viii, pl. lxxx., p. 324
- Lotus on Cyprian vases, v. 103
- Louada in Phrygia, iv 395
- Louvre—
Sculpture—head of Laphis, iii, pl. xxiii, p. 226; Venus Genetrix, vii, p. lxiii
Bronze—Hermes and Dionysus, iii pl. facing p. 107
Fosses—I. 128, fig. 4; vi, pl. xlix., p. 29
- Lowther Castle Collection, v. 100; viii 335, 337
- Lycnones, viii 506
- Lycian sepulchral reliefs, v. 118
- Lycurgus on destruction of Troy, ii 14; iii 72; 76, 207
- Lycurgus, viii 311; on coins of Lacedaemon, vii 60
- Lycius, viii 497
- Lysippus, Canon, ii 346; iii 242; vi 245; School, vi 88, 113
Works—Apoxyomenus, iv 346; Heracles Epitrapeus, iii 241; Heracles at Tarentum, iii 243; Zeus at Argos, vi 85; Zeus of Sicyon, vi 78
- Magnesia, iii 51; worship of Apollo, iii 52; of Asclepius, iii 59; of Cybele, iii 53
- Magula, ii 120, 156
- Mainotes, iii 354
- Manlius, his march through Asia Minor, iv 52, 67
- Mannheim, relief, Hermes and Dionysus, iii 89, fig. 4
- Μάρτυς, ii 369
- Marathon, battle, ii 390; topography, ii 382, 384; cave of Pan, ii 390; wall, ii 64
- Marion, viii 317
- Marriage, ceremonial of, i 202
- Marzias, myth, iv 71; on coin of Phenacus, vii 102; see also Myron
- Masks on the dead, i 101; on statues, viii 185
- Mausoleum, sculpture, vii 118, 124
- Mazaria in Hades, ii 235, 257; date, ii 235, 258; language, iii 262
- Measures of length, Greek, iv 387
- Meisterhans, Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften, reviewed, viii 299
- Medea, legends of, v. 40
- Melusa's hair on coins of Tegos, vii 113; M. head on coins of Athens, viii 47, see Gorgoneion; M. on Roman coins, ii 56; M. from Tarentum, vii 33
- Melampagitus, ii 296
- Melampus on coin of Aegosthena, vi 58
- Melas, source, ii 132
- Melicerates at Corinth, vi 59, 60, 64
- Mennon, legends of, v. 18, 17
- Mên, worship of, iv 31, 35; viii 412
- Menachmus, Artemis Epitrapia, vii 71, 81, 81; Nike and Bull, vii 281
- Menemen, iii 225
- Meros (Phrygia), remains near, v. 241; viii 495
- Metaphrastotes, life of Abercius, iii 339
- Metellopolis in Phrygia, iv 376
- Metellus on coin of Athens, viii 48
- Meter Theon in Athens, iii 140
- Metrological relief at Oxford, iv., pl. xxxv., p. 335
- Metrophanes, viii 471
- Metropolis in Phrygia, iv 63, v. 244; remains near, v. 241; viii 486, 510
- Messe, viii 504
- Michaelis on Nicholson Collection, vii 246
- Micon, Nike and Bull, vii 281
- Milalon, viii 504
- Midas, tomb of, iii 3, 19; rock reliefs in neighbourhood, iii 6

- Middleton, J. H., on remains at Thyrea, vii., p. lix.
- Milicinus in Athens, vi. 146
- Milistona, between Ephesus and Tralles, ii. 45; Ephesus and Pergama, ii. 47, 54; Pergama and Adramyttium, ii. 47; at Bourabat, ii. 51; at Karyak, iv. 430; at Karayuk-Bazar, vii. 226; at Menemmen, ii. 52, 54; at Prymnassus, viii. 485; *see* viii. 514
- Miltiades, ii. 381, 384; picture at Marathon, ii. 387; on coin of Athens, viii. 47
- Mimi, ii. 314
- Mines of Siphnos, vi. 195
- Minotaur slain by Theseus, ii. 60
- Minyas, ii. 124
- Mirror cases, vii. 277
- Mistra (Peloponnese), iv. 228
- Moera (I), on Pergamene frieze, vi. 106
- Moloss, ii. 103
- Mommsen on the alphabet, vii. 227
- Momarchia at Calymna, ii. 364
- Monemvasia, in the Peloponnese, iv. 233
- Mouleins, iii. 59
- Morea in 15th cent., ii. 261; meaning of the name, iv. 194
- Morgenthau, Zusammenhang der Bilder auf Griechischen Vasen, reviewed, viii. 296
- Mosaic at Castle Howard, vi. 40; (Roman) in Hamilton Collection, vi. 33
- Mosyna in Phrygia, iv. 377
- Motella in Phrygia, iv. 393
- Moulds for terra-cottas, vii. 44; for sazes, vii., p. xlii., 44
- Mud used for building, vii. 165
- Munich: Aphrodite of Onidus, viii. 347; Cylinx of Panisition, viii. 489
- Munychia, ii. 316
- Murex, vii. 8
- Mycenae, in Aeschylus, vi. 163; and Curia, viii. 450; and Phrygia, iii. 237
- Excavations, 1886-7, viii. 274
- Contents of *Pompeii*—Stephani's theory, i. 94; their homogeneous character, i. 95; analogies elsewhere, i. 98; viii. 459; complete absence of Hellenic works, i. 103, 105; masks on the dead, i. 100; obsidian arrowheads, i. 104; paintings, viii. 283
- Fragment of column, iii. 24
- Lion-gate, iii. 19; viii. 163
- Treasury of Atreus, vii. 162; compared with Treasury of Orchomenus, ii. 139
- Vases, viii. 283, 118, 525
- Mylae, title of Apollo, iv. 252
- Mydus, primitive wall at, viii. 60
- Myrina, site, ii. 277; iii. 222; excavations, viii. 249
- Myron, historical position, i. 173
- Works—Athens and Marcyas, iii. 254, viii. 23; Diacabolus, ii. 353; Heate in Argina, vi. 94; Nike and Bull, vii. 281
- Mythology, as viewed by the Greeks, vi. 161

N.

- Nacoleia, iii. 119; cults, iii. 123; inscriptions, iii. 121; viii. 199
- Namoa, Græco-Roman, iv. 85
- Naples Museum: early bronze head, ii. 331
- Nauratia, site, vi. 202; dates, vi. 203; vii. 221, 232; excavations, 1885-8, vii. 4; incised inscriptions, vii. 220; pottery, vi. 204; viii., p. lxxix., p. 119; Great Temenos, vi. 204
- Nauvdes, Hebe at Argos, vi. 83; Heate in Argos, vi. 88
- Nauplia, subjects relating to, on coins of Argos, vi. 100
- Naxaross Company, the, iv. 162
- Naxos (I) L. 82
- Necromanteia, ii. 239
- Negro on Tarantine terra-cotta, vii. 37
- Nemea, coins of Argos relating to, vi. 82
- Nemean games, symbols on coins, vi. 82
- Nemesis on Coins and Monuments—Argos, vi. 91; Aegina, vii. 87; Megara, vi. 57; Rhacoma, vii. 47
- Nemus, i. 116, 160
- Neoteichos, site, ii. 279; history, ii. 283
- Neoplatonism of Plathon, vii. 361
- Neopoli at Iasos, viii. 105
- Nesque, iii. 72, 209
- Nereids on enclaves, vii. 134, 137
- Nessus, in Homer, iv. 103; on Pergamene frieze, vii. 261
- Nervi, i. 191
- Nesiotes, Tyrannicides, *see* *etc.*
- Nestor, connected with Hades, iv. 109
- Nettels, ii. 359
- Nictas, vocabulary, iii. 371, 390
- Nicholson, Sir C., Collection of Marbles, vii. 240
- Nicopolis, viii. 438
- Nikandra, offering to Artemis, i. 52, 59
- Nikoria, vii. 145

- Nike, *Southern*, vii, 275; plates D, E; from Acropolis, viii, 289; on cuirasses, viii, 135; on Pergamene steles, vi, 120; on Tarentine terra-cottas, vii, 40
- On Coins and Monuments—Argina, vi, 95; Athens, viii, 48; Leveshampton, vii, 64; Mantinea, vii, 99; Pellene, vii, 97; Sicyon, vi, 80; Thebes, vii, 9
- Nikosthenes, style, vi, 23; cases of, v, 233; vi, pl. xia., p. 19
- Niobe (so-called) in Hamilton Collection, vi, 31, 32; (so-called) on Sipyria, i, 83; iii, 39, 60; head-dress, iii, 226
- Nestor (epic), plan and relation to Homer, v, 37
- Notitia, order of, viii, 463
- Nymphs of Tanagra, viii, 12

O.

- Obelisk on coins of Megara, vi, 35
- Obrina, river, iv, 70
- Oceanus on cuirass, vii, 134
- Octavia (I), on coins of Corinth, vi, 71
- Odyseus, house of, iii, 254; raft of, v, 209; O. and Polyphemos, iv, 252; and the Sirens, vi, 19
- Oenoë, ii, 126
- Odellius, statue at Delos, vii, 245
- Oinia, viii, 495
- Old age, Greek ideas about, iv, 101; represented in Greek art, iv, 105
- Olive-tree on coins of Athens, viii, 28; olives of the Cephissus, ii, 122
- Olympus, personified, vii, 78
- Olympus—Temple of Zeus, east pediment, v, 195, pl. in text; Hesperid, v., pl. xlvii, p. 171; Hadrian, vii, 139; Hercules and Centaur, i, 129, fig. 1; ii, 148; inscribed spear-heads, ii, pl. xi., p. 71; Byzantine remains, iii, 301
- Olympiads, see Olympian Register
- Olympian Festival, supposed origin, ii, 165; development, ii, 166
- Olympian Register, authenticity, ii, 164; edited by Hippus, ii, 169, 174, 176, 178; date of first anthestic recents, ii, 175
- Olympion at Athens, excavations, viii, 273
- Omphalos, on coins of Delphi, viii, 17; Philus, viii, 54
- Onasimedes, Dionysos of Thebes, viii, 3
- Onatas, Hermes Criophoros, ii, 227, vi, 95; O. and Pindar, iii, 178

- Onchestus, ii, 127
- Onomarchus, viii, 14, 17
- Ophites, serpent and Hypatyle in Neuen, vi, 82
- Oracle inscriptions of Dodona, i, 229
- Orchomeneus, ii, 139; name, ii, 157; in Homer, ii, 134; inscriptions, ii, 158; excavations, viii, 276; fountain, ii, 156; plan, ii, 131; pottery, ii, 152; tombs of Minyas and Hesiod, ii, 156; tunnel, ii, 155; treasury of Orchomeneus, ii, pl. xliii, p. 120; plan, ii, 140; employment of bronze, ii, 142, 144; ceiling of *thalamos*, ii, pls. ad. xlii, p. 147
- Orkates, iii, 120; viii, 502
- Orion (I), on Pergamene tri-ae, vi, 116
- Orphernus, king of Cappadocia, vi, 269
- Oropus, excavations, viii, 275
- Orphic, doctrines, iii, 153; rites, iii, 115; verses on the soul, iii, 118
- Orphism in Magna Graecia, iii, 117
- osus } use of words with these ter-
- osus } minations in Attic Tragedy, i, 260; ii, 179
- Otrous, viii, 478
- otus, vii, 159
- Ox as standard of value, viii, 138
- Oxford University Museum—
- Sculpture*—Metrological Relief, iv, pl. xxxv., p. 335
- Gold*—Ornaments from Kertek, v., pls. xli, xlii, p. 63
- Tarentine*—fr. in Tarentum, vii, pls. lxi, lxiv, p. 1; head, vii, plate facing p. 114

P.

- Palaeon on coins of Corinth, vi, 69
- Palaeophatus, i, 149
- Palais-Sébastos, iv, 412
- Palamedes, legends of, v, 9
- Palatium, iii, 384
- Palladium of Troy, v, 26, 29, 34; on cuirasses, vii, 132, 137; on coins of Argos, vi, 88
- Pallas (giant), iii, 306, 312
- Pellene, iii, 305
- Palm-trees used as columns, vii, 163
- Pamphalos, vase of, viii, 292
- Pamphylia, inscriptions, i, 242; ii, 222; glosses, i, 258
- Pan at Marathon, ii, 390; panie terror, ii, 393
- In *Works of Art*—at Castle Howard, vi, 36, fig. 40; with Heracles and nymphs on relief, vii, 214; in Nicholson Collection, vii, 256; on Tarentine terra-cotta, iv, 118

Pan (continued)—

On Coins and Monuments—Athens, viii. 24, 47; Delphi, viii. 19; Gytheium, vi. 65; Herma, vii. 107; Megalopolis, vii. 108; Paphia, vii. 105; Thespia, vii. 106

Panathenaea, boat-racing, ii. 93

Pantheopion, ornaments and armour from, v., pls. xlv. xlvii., p. 63

Papas (Zona), iii. 124; v. 227

Papilogenia, iv. 273

Papias, iii. 124

Paraballion, victory at Olympia, ii. 171

Paragoris of Praxiteles, vi. 57

Paris, Judgment of:—Typography, vii. 190; in literature, vii. 212; origin of processional type, vii. 211; representations on vases, vii. pl. lxx., p. 190, 198 fig. 2, 200; viii. 263

Paris, Cabinet des Médailles: Patera from Bernay, iii., pl. xlii., p. 96; Louvre, *see* v.

Parasians on coin of Delphi, viii. 14

Parosios, Phrygia, viii. 185

Parhasius, Prometheus, vii. 279

Parthenon, site, ii. 294

Parthenon, later history, iv. 86; Elgin marbles at Broom Hall, v., pl. xlviii., p. 144

Athena Parthena—Leonhardt statuette, ii. 1; Athenian statuette, ii. 1, 8 fig.; bronze at Turin, ii. 6; on coins, vii. 27; viii. 22

East Pediment—composition, ii. 322; v. 201; viii. 25; Athens on coins, viii. 25; horse's heads, iii. 235

West Pediment—composition, v. 201, pl.; interpretation, v. 202; illustrated by vase from Kertsch, iii. 245, fig.; Aesclepius and Hygieia, v. 86; Athens, iv. 94; Athens on coins, iii. 251, 252, fig.; viii. 27, 31; Dione (i) vi. 123

Prise—interpretation of east side, ii. 333; horses, iii. 235; fragment at Broom Hall, v. 144

Metopes—Lapith head in Louvre, iii., pl. xlii., p. 228

Internal arrangement, viii. 352

Parthenon, conquered by Augustus, vii. 137

Pausanias, viii. 219

Peisides, school, ii. 344, 346; vii., p. lxiil.

Patellae, used in temples, iv. 41

Patmos, Hellenic remains, vii. 144

Patrios, M., on *εἰσόδος*, ii., p. xxxvii.

Panamas, native of Magnesia, iii. 67; trustworthiness, v. 196; on destruction of Troy, ii. 12; on Olympian visitors, ii. 171

Pausanias (continued)—

Nomenclature Commentary on—

Book I. 1-28, viii. 21
I. 39-44, vi. 50; viii. 50
II. vi. 59; viii. 50
III. vii. 58
IV. vii. 70
V. VI. vii. 74
VII. vii. 78
VIII. vii. 87
IX. vii. 6
X. viii. 14

Index to Commentary, viii. 60

Paxos, viii. 503

Pegasus on coins of Corinth, vi. 62, 65; viii. 50

Pedraza, statues, &c., at, viii. 33

Peirene on coins of Corinth, vi. 78; viii. 52

Peleander, viii. 402

Pelagii, viii. 311; in Acolla, ii. 276; in Aeschylus, vi. 162

Pelena and Thetis, i. 118

Pelham, H. F. on Thyra, vii., p. lxiil., ix.

Poloponnesia, schemes of Parthenon, vii. 369; population and condition in fifteenth century, vii. 363; subjected to the Turks, vii. 379

Pelopos, 'Thronos,' i. 73, 90; iii. 66; P. on coins of Ella, vii. 76

Peltes in Phrygia, iv. 395

Pemelope (so-called) of Vatican, vii. 64

Pentros, F. C. on Mycenae and Tiryns, vii. p. lii., lxi.

Pentathlon, i. 219; ii. 217; order of contests, i. 214; ii. 218; method of winning, i. 217; ii. 220

Peplos, viii. 532

Pepouza in Phrygia, iv. 404

Pergamon, cult of Aesclepius and Telesphorus, iii. 285

Sculpture—character of, vii. 266; influence on later schools, vii. 244; technique, iii. 322, 329; types, iii. 331, 335

Great Altar—breadth of staircase, vi. 141; frieze, iv. 92, 122; its arrangement, vi. 251; mythological conception, iii. 318

Figures in Priests—Aphrodite, vi. 132;

Apollo, vi. 119, 124, 125, fig. 2; Arta, vi. 131; Artemis, vi. 115; Asteris, vi. 110; Athena, iv. 92; vi. 130; Athens group, iii. 331 (pl. in text); relations to Lacocon, iii. 334, 335; Demeter and giant, vi. 103; Calisto (V.), vi. 136; Cybele, vi. 140; Demeter, vi. 105; Dione, vi. 132; Dionysus, iv. 122, v.

- 141; Dioscuri (I), vi. 137; eagle, vi. 133; Eury, vi. 131; Eos, iv. 131; Gaea, iii. 335; giants, types of, iii. 336; Hecate, vi. 110, 141; Helios, iv. 131; Hera, vi. 130; Hermes (I), iii. 326; vi. 139; Horae (I), vi. 122; Leto (I), vi. 119; Lion-giant, vi. 123; Moeris (I), vi. 106; Nike, vi. 129, 130; Orion (I), vi. 115; Proserpine, vi. 108; Selene, iv. 128; Themis, vi. 121; Triton, vi. 141; Thyia (I), vi. 104; unknown goddesses, vi. 133, 135; Zeus group, iii. 321 (pl. in text)
- Single Works of Sculpture*—near Great Altar, vii. 261; head of Apollo, vii. 268; Artemis (I), vii. 271; Athena, vii. 268; (head), vii. 271; Athena Parthenos, vii. 271; Dionysus, vii. 268; Heracles and Prometheus, vii. 268; Heracles and Telephus, vii. 269; Relief (Nicholson Collection), vii. 250
- Perminodoss, viii. 237
- Persephone on Tarentine terra-cottas, vii. 10, 11, 21, 25, 34, 44; sanctuary at Tarentum, vii. 23; votive terra-cottas from Halicarnassus, vii. 39
- Perseus, bust, ii., pl. ix., p. 55; on coins of Argos, vi. 54, 58; viii. 53; Aulna, viii. 59; Corinth, viii. 54
- Persian war, ii. 331
- Personification, allegorical, in Greek art, iv. 90; vi. 121
- Perspective, as applied in early Greek art, ii. 318
- Petara, viii. 501
- Petaseus, a circular roof, vi. 217
- Petella, gold tablet of, iii. 111
- Petersen, A., on west pediment of Parthenon, iii. 247
- Petrie, W. M. F., Naukratis, reviewed, viii. 286
- Pentinger table, ii. 52; viii. 463, 482, 484, 495, 513
- Phaedra and Hippolytus (I), on coins of Argos, vi. 91
- Phaia, ii. 61
- Phaia, iii. 133
- Phalacro, vii. 11
- Phallos on Sipylos, i. 90; as a protection against spells, vi. 315
- Phar., as used by Greek authors, ii. 19
- Phaenik, leap of, i. 212; ii. 217
- Phedias—
Athena Parthenos, and Parthenon, see Parthenon
Athena at Pellene, vii. 95, 112
Athena Promachos, viii. 24
Zeus at Megara, vi. 53
- Phedias (continued)—
Zeus at Olympia, ii. 322; vii. 75; base, ii. 321; iv. 129
- Phiale, used in temples, iv. 41
- Philomela, viii. 443
- Philomelion, viii. 421
- Philyra, i. 185
- Phlegon on the Olympian Festival, ii. 167
- Phlegon, iii. 304
- Phloa in Phrygia, iv. 391
- Phocaea, ii. 279; vases from, ii. 394, fig. 305, fig.; ruins near, iii. 219
- Phoenicians, relations with Delos, i. 12, 47, 57; in Attica, viii. 311
- Pholos, i. 111, 125, 169
- Photius, patriarch, iv. 305
- Phrygia, relations with Mycenae, iii. 257; with historical Greece, iii. 260; art, iii. 256; v. 247; P. conventus, viii. 468; divided into provinces, iii. 343; viii. 468; cities and bishoprics, iv. 379; viii. 461; sepulchral customs, v. 241; rock monuments, iii. 6, 12, 256, 290, 292; vii. 154; rock necropolis, iii. 2, 17
- Phrygian, from Acropolis, viii. 281
- Phrygians on cuf asses, vii. 130
- Phrygius, vi. 169
- Phthia on coin of Aegium, vii. 91
- Phyrites, iii. 66
- Philar, patriotism, iii. 145; political position, iii. 147; religious creed, iii. 150; doctrine as to the soul, iii. 152; ethics, iii. 154, 157; feeling for nature, iii. 156; P. and Homer, iii. 157; view of the poet's position, iii. 158, 171; poetical training, iii. 161; P. and Bacchylides, iii. 162; P. on Olympian festival, ii. 168; his art, iii. 163; his language—metaphor, iii. 167; 'superlative imagery,' iii. 168; inversions, iii. 168; similes, iii. 169; metrical dislocations, iii. 172; syntax, iii. 173; P. and Greek art, iii. 175; P. and archaic art, iii. 181; P. and the drama, iii. 183
- Piot, bronze leg, vii. 189
- Plakas, iii. 52
- Plate, ancient, iii. 66; copied in terra-cotta, iii. p. xxxvii
- Plato, on destruction of Troy, ii. 13; revival of study of P., vii. 357, 377
- Plethon, Gemistus, vii. 233; his religion, vii. 261; schemes for the Peloponnese, vii. 369
- Plutus, use of word, ii. p. xxxvii
- Ploughman at Castle Howard, vi. 39
- Plato, as conceived by the Greeks, iv. 167
- Plutus and Kirene, viii. 43

- Phyx, excavations near, viii. 272
 Poemander, on coins of Tanagra, viii. 9
 Poleitarcha at Thessalonica, viii. 360, 363
 Polybatum, viii. 489
 Polyceitua, *canon*, ii. 346
Works—*Diadumenna Farnese*, ii. 353;
 of *Valson*, ii. 338; *terra-cotta*
statuette, vi., pl. lxi., 243; vii.
 p. xli.: on *gem*, ii. 352, fig.;
Doryphorus, iv. 346; *Heate*, vi.
 88; *Hera*, vi. 88; *Hygieia* (I), v.
 66; *Zeus*, vi. 85
 Polyceles, sculptor, vii. 243
 Polygnatus, *Sack of Troy*, iii. 73; 206;
 v. 18
 Polyphemus, on vase-painting, iv. 232
 Pomegranate, symbol of the dead, v.
 122, 129
 Population of the Greek and Roman
 world, viii. 315
 Populus on coin of Corinth, vi. 76
populæ, v. 77
 Porcenne, tomb of, vi. 207
 Poseidon and Athena, *see* Athena
 in *gigantomachia*, vii. 252
 on *Pergamene frieze*, vii. 252, 259
 statues from *Pergamon*, vii. 261
 temples at Corinth, vi. 64; at Taren-
 tum, vii. 3
On Coins and Monuments—Aegina,
 vi. 95; Aeginum, vii. 91; Anti-
 cerra, viii. 20; Asopia, vii. 67;
 Beane, vii. 68; Caphysa, vii. 104;
 Colonides, vii. 72; Corinth, vi. 63,
 65, 66, 67, 72, 75; viii. 51; Cypa-
 reia, vii. 74; Epidaurus, vi. 93;
 Gythelium, vii. 66; Haliartus, vii.
 12; Helice, vii. 92; Hermione, vi.
 69; viii. 58; Larina, viii. 58, 59;
 Mantinea, vii. 99; Methana, vi. 69;
 Mothone, vii. 73; Nauplia, viii. 59,
 59; Orchomenus, vii. 100; Patrae,
 vii. 84; Thebes, viii. 9
 Potamios (name of month), vii. 155
 Pothee, Tarentine *terra-cotta*, vii. 37
 Pottery, methods of interpreting vases,
 I. 184; technique of, ii. 319; vi. 183,
 184, 188; viii. *pref.*: typography of,
 iv. 258
 Pottery, *prehistoric*, of Antiparos, v.,
 pl. xl., p. 54 (figs. 10-13); *Orcho-
 menus*, ii. 129, 152; *Troad*, I. 77;
early, of Anolis, ii. 303; *Alyattes'*
tomb, viii. 154; Asia Minor, vi. 189,
 181, figs. 1, 2; Assurlik, viii. 68,
 454; Bologna, viii. 521; Calymnos
 and Carpathos, viii. 446; Chalcidian,
 v. 181, 220; vii. 198; *Lipara*, vii.
 83; *Magna Graecia* at *Broca Hall*,
 v. 126; *Mycenae*, I. 98; ii. 154;
 viii. 228, 448; *Naucratia*, vi. 494;
 viii., pl. lxxix., p. 119; *Phoenia*, ii.
 394, fig.; 395, fig.; *Phoenicia*, v. 103,
 fig. and pl. in text; *Rhodus*, v., pls.
 xl.-xliii., p. 220; vi. 183, 189, fig. 3,
 371; Tarentum, vii. 32; *Thera*, I. 78
 Pottery, *geometric*, viii. 452; *later*
vases, relation to drama, viii. 298;
signed vases, viii. 260, 262; at end
 of fifth century, viii. 224; compared
 with *Parthenon* *marbles*, viii. 295;
 connection of designs on vases, viii.
 296; *inscribed pottery*, ii. 160, 226;
 vii. 55; viii. 120
 Potter, *Néropole de Myrina*, *reviewed*,
 viii. 520
 Praxiteles, viii. 510
 Pratinas, vi. 169
 Praxidamas, statues at Olympia, ii.
 178
 Praxiteles, style, iii. 98; iv. 268
Works—*Aphrodite of Capnia*, viii.
 pl. lxxx., p. 324; *hist. of Vatican*
statue, viii. 327; *table of replicas*
in sculpture, viii. 332; *statuettes*,
 viii. 338; *variations*, viii. 339; on
coins, viii. 340, fig.; *original type*,
 viii. 342
 Artemis at *Antheyra*, viii. 21; *Arte-
 mis Brauronia*, vii. 61; *Demeter*,
 vi. 108; *Ionayusa*, vii. 77; *Eros*
 at *Parium*, iv. 268; *Hera* at *Pla-
 taea*, viii. 7; *Hercules' Labours*,
 viii. 8
 Hermes and *Dionysus*, iii. 81, 87,
 fig. 3; vii. 242; viii. 279, 351;
 compared with other renderings of
 same subject, iii. 82, 107; *sug-
 gested restorations*, iii. 89, 108
 Leto, Apollo, and Artemis at *Megara*,
 vi. 56; viii. 60; *Leto and Chloris*
 at *Argos*, vi. 87; viii. 56; *Pare-
 goros*, vi. 57; *Tychis* at *Megara*,
 vi. 64
 Priene, *cited*, iv. 240; vi. 265; *temple*
 of *Athene Polias*, vi. 265; *frons*, vii.
 256
 Proclus, grammarian, iv. 206
 Proene, viii. 439
 Procopius, *vocabulary*, iii. 381
 Procrustes, slain by *Theseus*, ii. 68
 Prodians of *Samos*, iii. 117
 Proodri, iii. 137
 Prometheus from *Pergamon*, vii. 269;
 of *Parchasia*, vii. 270; of *Eumathia*,
 vii. 270
 Propylaea of *Eleusis*, ii. 125
porosporos on vase, viii. 319
Proserpine (I) on *Pergamene frieze*, vi.
 108; on *Gigantomachia vase*, vi.
 169

εποικισμός, viii. 107, 409
 Pymonassos, iii. 122; viii. 485
 Prytanes, iii. 185; at Ios, viii. 106
 Psellus, Michael, ii. 254
 Palcheriampolis, viii. 518
 Puteol, Corinthian, vi. 46, pl. facing
 p. 48, pls. lvi., lvii.
 Pythius (artist), Hygieia, v. 96
 Pythagoras of Rhegion, i. 189; ii. 343;
 iii. 179
 Pythieia river, ii. 278
 Pythionice, tomb, ii. 123
 Pythoëtes, Apollo at Sicyn, vi. 78
 Python, vase of, at Castle Howard,
 vi. 40

R.

Raft of Odysseus, v. 209
 Ram, in Greek sculpture, ii. 227; of
 Phrygian sculpture, iii. pl. xx., p.
 25
 Rares on coin at Delphi, viii. 19
 Rayet Collection, vase (black figured),
 Heracles and Centaur, i., pl. i. p.
 116, 124
 Reinach, S., *Consuls aux Voyageurs*
Archéologiques, reviewed, viii. 287;
Traité d'Epigraphie Grecque, re-
 viewed, viii. 306; *La Necropole de*
Myrina, reviewed, viii. 520
 Remshaw, Miss L., Archæic earring, ii.
 324, fig.
Reposée work, technique of, vii. 277
 Rhapsodists, iii. 185; inscription at
 Dodona, ii. 106
 Rherikina, statue at Olympia, ii. 173
 Rhodes (ancient) and Pergamon, iv.
 135; religious associations, ii. 357;
 vases from, v., pls. xl.-xliii., p. 220
 Rhodes (medieval) occupied by Knights
 of St. John, i. 208; love-poems,
 i. 308
 Rhynton, vii. 39
 Rhythm in sculpture, i. 193
 Rhyton, Sphinx-shaped, viii. pls. lxxii.,
 lxxiii. p. 1
 Right hand, as an omen, iii. 11
 Ring, supposed, of Attila, iv. 162
 River-gods, in Greece, ii. 359; worship
 in Lydia and Thessaly, iii. 56; at
 Castle Howard, vi. 35; statuette
 (Turner), vii., p. lxii.; on coins of
 Aegina, viii. 92; Patras, vii. 79;
 Phigaleia, vii. 111
 Roads in Asia Minor, ii. 345; in
 Phrygia, iii. 129; viii. 465, 476, 481,
 482, 486, 499, 500
 Robert, on west pediment of Parthe-
 non, iii. 248, 252; *Archäologische*
Märchen, reviewed, viii. 528

Roberts, E. S., Introduction to Greek
 Epigraphy, Part I., reviewed, viii.
 564
 Robinson, E., Catalogue of Casts, Bos-
 ton Museum of Fine Arts, reviewed,
 viii. 539
 Roma on coins of Corinth, vi. 71; viii.
 52; of Patras, vii. 86
 Roman ballad, i. 293
 Roman, at Castle Howard, vi. 35
 Romanus, iv. 11, 259
 Rome—Palazzo Albani: athlete, ii. 342,
 fig. 3. Museo Kircheriano: *Proso-*
Athene and *Enkeladus*, iv. 99, pl. in
 text. Vatican—*Sculpture*, Aphrodite
 of Cnidus, viii. pl. lxxx. p. 324,
 347, fig.; Apollo Belvedere, vi. 157;
 Gigantomachia, vi. 115; *Fame*, *Archil-*
los and *Oristes*, i., pl. vi., p. 175
 Ronchand, Au Parthénon, reviewed,
 viii. 581
 Rosettes, history of ornament, ii. 148
rotya (Neo-II), vii. 183
 Runner on coins of Corinth, vi. 64
 Ruthens, Baroness, vi. 16; collection
 of vases, v. 161; reliefs, v. 161

S.

Σ, shape on Ionic inscriptions, viii. 224,
 234; = Σ, viii. 368
 Sabonroff Collection, inscription, v.
 262; reliefs from Tanagra, v. 119,
 129
 Sacred way to Eleusis, ii. 122
 St. Petersburg—Hermilage: *Fame*,
 Athene and Poseidon, iii. 245
 Salamis (isle), ii. 124
 Salamis (Cyprus), ii. 330; prehistoric
 building, iv., pls. xxviii., xxxiv.,
 p. 112
 Salmonius, iii. 304
 Salos, lake, iii. 65
σαλμαγέ, v. 74, 163
 Salasleuda in Phrygia, iv. 286; viii.
 329
 Salus, goddess, v. 109
 Samos, an archaeological visit, vii. 143;
 excavations, vii. 145; statue, vii.
 145; agonistic inscription, vii. 147;
 measures, iv. 335, 349
 Sanctuaries of Asia Minor, iv. 42
 Sanklektos, sepulchral relief (Nicholson
 Collection), vii. 250
 Sargis, viii. 503
 Santabaris, viii. 501
 Sarapis, identified with Pluto, vi. 289,
 307
In Works of Art—Representations,
 vi. 291; at Castle Howard, vi. 35;

- in British Museum, vi., pl. lviii., p. 367; vi. 304, fig.; at Dresden, vi. 299, fig.; at Florence, vi. 297, fig.; in Hamilton Collection, vi. 21; engraved by Maffei, vi. 306, fig.; at Pompei, vi. 306; on coins, vi. 80; vi., pl. 2, p. 225; vii. 22; *ars et labor*, v. 185
- Sarcophagus at Castle Howard, vi. 82; from *Choromene*, iv. 1; vi. 182; from Corneto, iv., pls. xxxvi., xxxviii., p. 254; from Rhodes, iv. 2; vi. 182
- Sardis, i. 86
- Satire, Byzantine, ii. 232
- Satyr and Iris, i. 141; S. and Centaur, i. 145, 155; Satyr, head in British Museum, vii. 273; on gem in British Museum, i. 146, fig. 5; on vase, vi. 190, fig. 4; on sarcophagus, vi. 190; on ruin of Orchomenos, vii. 101
- Saw used at Tiryns, vii. p. liii.; at Mycenae, vii. p. lvi.
- Scambrus from Tarentum, vii. 26
- Scapula, the dominion of *Aeneas*, ii. 37; iii. 70, 218
- Schliemann, on struts of Hissarlik, iii. 187; on excavations at Tiryns, vii. p. liii.
- Schneider, *Tröischer Sagenkreis in der ältesten Kunst*, reviewed, vii. 297
- Sciron slain by Theseus, ii. 63
- Scopas, influence on successors, vii. 124; Apurouite, vii. 76; Apollo, vii. 12; Asclepius, iv. 48, 49; vi. 55; *Heate*, vi. 88; *Heraclis*, vi. 79; Hygieia, v. 90; Mausoleum sculptures, vii. 118, 124; sculpture at Tegea, vii. 114; terra-cotta (*Fortunio*), vii. 122; female head from Delos, vii. 123
- Scordaph, vii. 312
- Sculpture, *prehistoric*, at Antiparos, v. 50, figs. 1-9
- Greek—Archaic style, iv. 342; types of archaic sculpture, vii. 185; expression of emotion, iii. 230; report, 1886-7, vii. 276
- Scylla at Corinth, vi. 73
- Scyllis and Diopomus, Pallastat Chonae, vi. 81, 90
- Sebaste in Phrygia, iv. 409
- Sekilla in Phrygia, iv. 402
- Selma, on Pergamene frieze, iv. 128; vii. 272
- Selinus, metopes, ii. 347
- σέληνος*, ii. 371
- Sepulchral customs in Phrygia, v. pl. xlv., p. 241; reliefs representing banquets, v. 106; reliefs inscribed, v. 116, 119, 121, 136; relief (Athens), vi. 42; at Brown Hall, v. 144; at Castle Howard, vi. 39; (des Tombes), v., pl. xxxix., p. 208; Leyden, v. 118; (Nicholson), vii. 245; Samsa, vii. 145; from Tarentum, vii. 23; at Winton Castle, vi., pl. 2, p. 16
- Serapis, see Samps
- Serpents in Greek mythology, iii. 303; v. 113; emblem of Hygieia, v. 49; on ruin of Epidaurus, vi. 23
- Sesostria (so-called) at Nimph, i. 83; ii. 53; iii. 219; newly-discovered
- Sesostria, i. 84
- Shields, Greek, iv. 17
- Ships on vases, vi. 21, 24
- Silindounds, vii. 496
- Sibylla, iii. 59
- Sidiy, chronology of Greek colonies, ii. 177
- Sieyon, excavations, vii. 277
- Sigmm, i. 81; built of remains of Troy, ii. 11
- Silenna, mythical character, i. 158, 165; worship in Phrygia, iv. 384; at Castle Howard, vi. 35, 38; on Tarentine terra-cotta, vii. 13, 23
- Simonides, iii. 169
- Siris, punished by *Thesmos*, ii. 60
- Siphnos, gold and silver mines, vi. 195
- Sipyliane Meter, cult in Ascle, ii. 299
- Sipylium, i. 48; iii. 33; etymology, iii. 60; topography, iii. 85; foundation of city, iii. 40; worship, iii. 52, 56; local legends of Zeus, iii. 56; personification of Lakes, iii. 57; throne of Pelops, i. 73, 90; iii. 66; inscriptions near, iii. 227
- Sirens, vi. 19; on vases, vi. 22
- Siris, bronzes of, technique, vii. 278
- σῆμα*, derivation, v. 216
- Skipu, tunnel near, ii. 130; excavation at, ii. 182
- Skull from Antiparos, v. 58
- Slava, etymology of, vii. 387
- Slaves, enfranchisement by dedication, iv. 381; epitaph, iv. 140; intermarriage, iv. 140; value, ii. 129
- Smilla, iii. 179
- Stayrus, ancient site in neighbourhood, i. 63; ii. 301; road to Pergama, ii. 50; to Ephesus, ii. 51; relief from, vii. 256; tiles from, ii. 302
- Snake, see Serpent
- Socrates (sculptor), iii. 179; vii. 46
- Soula, Artemis Laphria, vii. 51, 91
- Sophocles—relation of plays of S. to history, v. 395; Sophoclean trilogy, v. 265; Ajax characterized, v. 280; Philoctetes characterized, v. 292; Trachiniae characterized, v. 271
- Sortes of Dodona, i. 229

Souapla, site of and remains at, viii. 31
 Spadon, etymology, iii. 339
 Sparta in Aeschylus, vi. 164; reliefs from, v. 121, fig. 5; v. 173, fig. 5; vii. 13, 16
 Spear-heads (votive) from Olympia, ii. 71; from Peloponnese, ii. 77
 Spear-throwing, i. 213
 Sphinx on Naucratis vase, viii. pl. lxxix, p. 119; and Oedipus, viii. 320; in Phrygian art, v. 247; forming rhyton, viii. pl. lxxii, lxxiii, p. 1; on sarcophagus, iv. 9, fig. 6
 Spies, viii. 312
Strapla, v. 218
 Stark, on Sipylos, iii. 39
 Stater, meaning of the term, iv. 248
Strabado, iii. 269
 Statues copied on coins, iv. 269; cf. 51; metal inscriptions, viii. 177; drapery, viii. 178, 190; painting, viii. 182
 Steatorion, viii. 478
 Steydant, on tombs of Mycenae, i. 64; on west pediment of Parthenon, iii. 246
 Stevenson, J., vases from Lipara, vii. pl. lxxi, p. 51
 Stihayindana, vii. 264
 Stone implements from Lipara, vii. 56
 Stopper of Amphora from Alexandria, iv. 128
 Strabo, character as a writer, ii. 39; iii. 175, 214; on desolation of Troy, ii. 16; iii. 299; on site of Troy, ii. 18; on the boundaries of the Troad, ii. 31; on Ilion, ii. 33, 37; on Homer's anarchy, ii. 42; on *Troia*, iii. 205; estimation of distances, ii. 50
 Strata (sculptor), Aesopius and Hygieia, vi. 50; viii. 56
 Strongylion, Artemis, vi. 67, 118; vii. 81
 Studniczka, Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht, reviewed, viii. 536
 Stymphalian bird on coin of Stymphalia, vii. 103
 Sudorne Castle, Varna, vi. 44
 Suppliant boy (*h*) in Sicily, vi. 78
 Synnos, viii. 516
 Synnada, viii. 481
 Syrinx, vii. 109

T.

Talent, Homeric, and assuetudine, viii. 123
 Tantalus, iii. 46; reputed monuments, iii. 61

Tarentum, topography, vii. 1, 31; Doric temple, vii. 2; sanctuary of Persephone, vii. 23; tombs, vii. 31; chthonic cults, vii. 10; *phallos*, vii. 38; fishing industry, vii. 35; pottery, vii. 32, 42; sculpture, iii. 234; v. 105; vii. 3; terra-cottas, vii. 7
 Tarsus, P. Aelius, Gippus at Castle Howard, vi. 39
 Taylor, L., on the alphabet, vii. 228
 Teosians, Apollo and Charites, viii. 40
 Tegea, temple of Athena Alca, vii. 114
 Tegea, ii. 161
 Teleclaus, iii. 161
 Teleonomia (Ephe), plan, &c., v. 41
 Telephus, from Pergamon, vii. 266; at Tegea, vii. 116
 Telephorus, iii. 285; in art, iii. 284, 291; origin, iii. 285; functions, iii. 296; supposed phallic character, iii. 297
On Colas—Pergamon, iii. 236; towns of Asia Minor, iii. 236; Dionysopolis, iv. 161; Segiadavi (?), iii. 287; Thracia, iii. 289; Roma, iii. 291
 Cult at Athens, iii. 280, 285; T. and Aesopius, iii. 293
 Tellus on cuirass, vii. 134, 135
 Telos, island of, vi. 223
 Temnothyral, viii. 317
 Temnos, site, ii. 284; walls, ii. 287; architectural remains, ii. 288; history, ii. 231; etymology, ii. 302
 Ternera, = Asarlik, viii. 31; remains at, viii. 66
 Terminal figure on coins of Aegina, vi. 65; Argos, vi. 91; Megara, vi. 57; Pylus, vii. 73
 Terra-cottas, of Myrina, viii. 522; of Tarentum, vii. 7; technique, ii. 327; meaning of statuettes, ii. 337
 Thanatos (so-called) as drum (Epheus), vii. 208
 Thasos, excavations, viii. 277, 284; epigraphy, viii. 404, 409; revelation, viii. 402; arch, viii. 437; temple, viii. 424; theatre, viii. 435
 Theagenes (athlete), i. 129; Theagenes (cyclic), i. 302
 Thebes, ii. 126
 Theosis, and Judgment of Paris, vii. 216; on Pergamene frieze, vi. 121
 Themistocles at Salamis, viii. 49
 Theodora of Smyrna, ii. 261
 Theodora and Rhodius, iii. 182
 Theodora, viii. 317

- Stenidae*, li. 367
Theophrastus, vocabulary, iii. 376, 385
Theophrastus, emperor, li. 252
Theophrastus, the *Charax* illustrated by inscriptions, iii. 128; *asophrastus*, iii. 129; *asophrastus*, iii. 141
Θεός, relief of Tefeny, viii. 335
Θεοφάνης, v. 136
Thermodon, river, iv. 279
Thesauri (so-called), *metopes*, li. 59
Thesens, *expolis*, li. 58; in Homer, v. 29, 34; on vase in British Museum, li. 57; on Coins and Monuments—Athens, viii. 41; Troezen, vi. 98
Thessalonica, in the twelfth century, li. 211
Θησαυρός, li. 360, 368
Θησέως, li. 375
Thoricus, excavations, viii. 277
Thrasymedes, *Asclepius* at Epidaurus, vi. 92, viii. 57
Thriassian plain, li. 124
Throne, marble, at Broom Hall, v., pl. xiviii., p. 140
Thucydides, on Olympian Register, li. 164, 169; system of chronology, li. 177
Thunderbolt, used by Athens, iv. 91
Θυακισμός, viii. 326
Thylla (I) on Pergamene frieze, vi. 104
Thymbra, iii. 195; necropolis, i. 78
Thymbraion, viii. 491
Thuriopolis, viii. 516
Tiberius, in Hamilton Collection, vi. 31
Tiles from old Smyrna, li. 302, 303, li.
Tillemont on *Abercius*, iii. 340
Timaeus on destruction of Troy, li. 11
Timarchides, sculptor, vii. 245; viii. 20
Timarchus, Artemis at Antiochia, viii. 21
Timonius's Sufferings, li. 234, 241; date, li. 235; language, li. 202
Timonides, Pallas at Eleusis, viii. 20
Timotheus, *Asclepius* at Troezen, vi. 98
Tiryns, great hall restored, vii. 161; the remains compared with Homeric descriptions, vii. 171; date and character of remains, vii. p. liii.
Timonius to Ptolemaeus, i. 220
Timon in Gigantomachia, iii. 103
Timoneus (river), li. 295
Timolus and *Tunarus*, iii. 56
Tombs, rock-cut, in Carpathia, vi. 236; near *Halkarissus*, viii. 57, fig.; on *Halya*, iv. 378, fig.; at *Petra*, vi. 224, fig.; of *Amnis*, vi. 212, fig.; of *Alyattes* at Sardis, vi. 220, fig.; at *Myrina*, viii. 521; of *Pasenna*, vi., pl. ix., p. 207; on coins of *Sicyon*, vi. 77; at *Tarentum*, vii. 32; see *Scapulular*, &c.
Totolia, viii. 515
τοῦτο, li. 386
Tragely, Ionic elements in Attic, i. 230; li. 179; *καλὰν τοῦτο*, vii. 151; T's from the *Eph Cycle*, iv. 317; v. 6, 15
Trajanopolis, viii. 517
Troia on style of *Scopus*, vii. 114
Tribuna, viii. 513
Trilogy, origin, vi. 167; length of time for performance, vi. 179; Sophoclean T., v. 28
Tripod on coin of Delphi, viii. 13, 16, 17
Triptolemus on Coins and Monuments—Athens, viii. 37; Corinth, vi. 76; Eleusis, viii. 48; Temple of T. at Eleusis, li. 125
Triton in Gigantomachia, iii. 208; on Pergamene frieze, vi. 141; on temple of *Pantheon* at Corinth, vi. 64; at Tanagra, viii. 10
Troad, geology, li. 38; boundaries according to authorities quoted by Strabo, li. 31; topography, iii. 194; Lydian remains, li. 21; relations with Egypt, iii. 258; with Greece, iii. 259
Troezen, history, li. 100
Trophonia, oracle at Lebadeia, li. 128
Troy (=the city of Homer. See also *Hissarlik*, *Ilium*), condition after sack in opinion of ancients, li. 8; li. 69, 72, 79, 204; of *Timonius*, li. 11; of *Sophocles*, iii. 72, 206; of *Plato*, li. 15; of *Polygnotus*, iii. 73, 206; of *Lycurgus*, li. 18; iii. 72, 207; of *Strabo*, li. 16; iii. 72, 206, 209; of *Pausanias*, li. 12; of *Grote*, iii. 73; Homeric data, iii. 198; materials employed at *Sigeum*, li. 11; claims of *Banarbashi*, i. 75; iii. 195; of *Akshi Kiot*, li. 14; iii. 195; of *Hissarlik*, i. 76; T. an eclectic composition, iii. 198; iv. 155
Trumpet, v. 74, 79, 162
Tyche on coins, see Numismatic Commentary on *Pausanias*, *passim*
Typhoeus, iii. 303, 305
Tyrantides, group, li. 61; v. 146; viii. 44
Tyrission, viii. 451
Tasconus, li. 364; vii. 364

V.

- Vedāṅga*, v. 217
Venerans in Euboea, viii. 195
Venus Genetrix, ii. 330; vii. p. lxiij;
Victrix (?) of Orchomenus, vii. 100
In Works of Art—at Castle Howard,
 vi. 46; of the Esquiline, vii. p.
 lxiiv; Hamilton Collection, vi. 31;
 Sundorne Castle, vi. 44
Vespasian, in Hamilton Collection, vi.
 30
Victory on coin of Corinth, vi. 76; on
uirassee, vii. 130, 134
Vienna—
 Cabinet of Antiquaries: bronze discobolus, i., pl. v., figs. 1, 2; p.
 176; silver dial, *Hermes* and
Dionysos, iii. 89, fig. 5
Vigilia, *Cinerarium* at Castle Howard,
 vi. 39, 40
Vigilius, *Cinerarium* at Castle Howard,
 vi. 39
Villehardouin, Geoffrey, iv. 148
Vines, law relating to, viii. 392
Vitylo, iii. 354
Vogel, *Scenen Euripideischen Tragödien*
in Vasengemälden, reviewed, viii.
 297
Votive armour and arms, ii. 65; in-
 tended for use, ii. 70; made at
 Olympia, ii. 81; votive inscriptions
 at Dodona, ii. 102; offerings to Asclepius,
 iii. 133
Votive reliefs, at Broom Hall, v. 149,
 152; at Edinburgh, v. 157; in
 Nicholson Collection, vii. 250
Urtiche, *Ueber griechische Kunst-*
schriftsteller, reviewed, viii. 522

W.

- Wagner*, mediæval Greek texta, i.
 308
Waldstein, C., on *Venus Genetrix*, vii.
 p. lxiij.
Wales, Princess of, *Eros*, iv. 206, plate
Warrior (?), bust at West Park, vi. 44;
 on sarcophagi, iv., pl. xxxi., p. 3
Warriors, bronze heads from Acropolis,
 viii. 231
Weights, Greek, iv. 157
West Park, marble bust, vi. 44
Wilton House, *Gigantomachia*, iii. 327
Winter, *Die jüngeren attischen Vasen*,
 reviewed, viii. 294
Winton Castle, relief, vi. 16

- Wolf and Twins* on *uirassee*, vii. 132,
 137
Wood, J. T., on the Erechtheum, ii.,
 p. xxxv.
Wrestlers on coins of Gytheium, vii.
 67

X.

- Xanthos*, ii. p. xxxvii.
Xanthus (river), ii. 278
Xenades, potter, vii. 205
Xenocrates, edited by Coray and C. de
 Ancours, i. 308
Xenophilus, *Asclepius* at Argos, vi. 90;
 viii. 56
Xenophon, *Zeus* and *Artemis* at Mega-
 lopolia, vii. 107
Xpōs, ii. p. xxxvii.
Xerxes at Ilion, ii. 22; iii. 73

Z.

- Zannoni*, *Scavi della Certosa di Bologna*,
 reviewed, viii. 523
Zeus, in *Gigantomachia*, iii. 321; in
 Lydian legends, iii. 58; Z. Brou-
 tōn, iii. 123; Z. Naos, at Dodona,
 i. 231; ii. 102; Z. Sabazius, iii.
 58; Z. Soter, iii. 123
In Works of Art—Z. of Phaidias at
 Olympia, ii. 322; of Leochares,
 viii. 33; Z., *Anubis* and *Osiris*
 (Nicholson Collection), vii. 249;
 head of Z. (Nicholson Collection),
 vii. 250; Z. from *Parameythia*, in
 British Museum, iii. 242
On Coins and Monuments—*Argos*,
 vi. 94, 95; *Aegira*, vii. 94; *Aegium*,
 vii. 83, 89, 170; *Argos*, vi. 85;
Asopus, vii. 67; *Athens*, viii. 32;
Corinth, vi. 79; viii. 51; *Elia*, vii.
 75; *Gytheium*, vii. 66; *Hermione*,
 vi. 109; *Lycoussa*, vii. 109, 110;
Mantinea, vii. 98; *Megalopolis*,
 vii. 107, 108; *Megara*, vi. 53;
Messene, vii. 71; *Methana*, vi. 99;
Patras, vii. 83, 86; *Pellene*, vii.
 90; *Sicyon*, vi. 78; *Tholos*, viii.
 9; *Thuria*, vii. 69; *Troezen*, vi.
 27
Zenxis, centaurs, i. 123, 143
Zingot, viii. 514
Zygodon, v. 183

III.—INDEX OF CLASSICAL AUTHORS.

- Aeschylus.**
Agamemnon. 410: vi. 177
 415: vi. 179
 445: vi. 177
 455: vi. 176
 1152: vi. 176, 331
 1277: vi. 175
Choephoros. 942: i. 269
Eumenides. 470-489: viii. 129
 568: v. 163
 944: v. 163
 1044: v. 167
Persae. 584: i. 267
Promethæa. 529: i. 264
 536: vi. 173
 543: i. 264
 551: i. 278
 679: ii. 213
 1054: i. 271
Septem. 111: i. 290
 240: i. 290
 334: v. 78
Supplices. 845: ii. 214
Arctophanes.
Eccles. 360, 370: viii. 190, 111
Plaut. 791: v. 82 note
Aristotle, Rhetoric. III. 16: iv. 325
Callimachus, Epigram., Anthol., XII.
 43: iv. 329
Catullus, IV.: ii., p. xxvii.
Cicero, De Div. i. 34, 76: i. 229
Demosthenes, De Cor. 275: i. 275
Diogenes Laertius, VIII. 46: i. 192
Euripides.
Aleceia. 939: ii. 183
Andromache. 109: i. 286
 1014: ii. 189
 1040: ii. 189
 1179: ii. 211
 1180: ii. 203
Bacchae. 375: i. 288
 386: ii. 184
 382: ii. 184
 1297: ii. 204
Hecuba. 100: i. 268
Helen. 321: ii. 206
Hercules F. 676: ii. 187
Hippolytus. 161: i. 277
 196: ii. 192
 1234: vi. 304
 1364: i. 280
Ion. 184: viii. 3
 1080: i. 283
 1090: i. 282
 1169: viii. 3
Euripides.
Iph. in Antr. 761: ii. 197
 790: i. 279
 1431: ii. 197
Iph. in Taur. 439: ii. 195
 1280: ii. 191
 422: i. 279
Medea. 635: ii. 185
 1094: ii. 191
Orestes. 549: ii. 201
 1013: ii. 188
 1281: ii. 183
Phoenissae. 185: i. 290
Rhesus. 383: v. 77
Troades. 990: i. 266
 990: ii. 195
Frag. 447: i. 290
 480: ii. 180
 583: ii. 185
 848: ii. 185
 965: i. 272
Herodotus, VII. 42: ii. 23
Hesiod, Theog. 1019: v. 13
Homer.
Iliad. IV. 132-138: }
 IV. 185-187: } iv. 78
 IV. 215: }
 IV. 459: iv. 12
 V. 153: vi. 326
 V. 722-82: v. 193
 V. 743: iv. 17
 VI. 243: vi. 331
 IX. 204: vi. 326
 X. 351: vi. 326
 XI. 353: vi. 326
 XII. 295: iv. 287
 XII. 421: vi. 320, 323
 XIV. 489: vi. 327
 XVII. 31: iv. 81
 XVIII. 397-508: viii. 122
 XVIII. 507: viii. 126
 XX. 216: ii. 14
 XX. 300: iii. 71, 205
 XX. 397: v. 30
 XX. 413: iv. 80
 XXI. 403: vi. 320
 XXI. 407: vi. 325
 XXI. 485: vi. 323
 XXI. 431: vi. 320
 XXIV. 29: v. 7
 XXIV. 265-274: v. 187
 XXIV. 304: v. 13
 XXIV. 810: i. 81
 XXIV. 615: i. 89
Odyssey. II. 337: iii. 273.

Homer,
Odyssey. V. 223—261: v. 200
VI. 9, 10: vi. 330
VI. 50: vii. 186
VIII. 124: vi. 220
VIII. 499: iii. 157
XI. 489: vi. 332
XI. 577: vi. 325
XIV. 63: vi. 332
XIV. 482: iv. 80
XV. 403: i. 50
XVII. 339: vii. 174
XVIII. 559: vi. 330
XX. 6: vii. 175
XX. 387: vii. 175
XXI. 394: i. 128
XXI. 434: vii. 180
XXII. 188: iii. 279
XXII. 151: vii. 168, 182
XXII. 270: vii. 170
XXIV. 297: vi. 332
Hymn. in Apoll. 391—544: i. 55
Hymn. in Venerem, 123: vi. 333
See also Homer in General Index
Horace, Carn., i. 15, 2: v. 10
Oracula Sibyllina, III. 363: i. 9
Pausanias, V. 13, 7: i. 74
Philostratus, de Gymn., 3: i. 321
Pindar,
Nem. VII. 70: ii. 220
VII.: i. 222
Pyth. IV. 237: vii. 180

Plato,
Leges. 682 b: ii. 14
683 a: ii. 14
691 c: ii. 183
Phaedo, 67 a, d: i. 274
Rep. 616 c: v. 217
Pliny,
H. N. VI. 4, 3: i. 191
XXXVI. 13: vi. 209
Plutarch, Apophth. Laced. 230 D: i. 21
Sophocles,
Ajax. 14: v. 76
Antigone. 145: i. 292
376: ii. 202
Oedipus Col. 333: i. 287
1211: ii. 181
1229: ii. 181
Philoctetes. 1144: ii. 193
Trachiniae. 1264: ii. 197
Frag. 658: i. 278
Strabo XII. 3, p. 578: viii. 225
XIV. p. 643: v. 37 n
Theocritus, II.: vii. 157
Theophrastus,
microphysica: ii. 129, 133, 134
recepta: iii. 141
Tyrtaeus, Fragm. 4 (Bergk): i. 263
Virgil, Aen. II. 81: v. 9
Vitruvius, III. 2, 3: iv. 244

IV.—EPIGRAPHIC INDICES.

(A) Geographical Index.

(a) ORIENTAL INSCRIPTIONS.

(b) GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

(c) LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

(B) Index of Published Inscriptions corrected in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

(A) Geographical Index.

(a) ORIENTAL INSCRIPTIONS—

Hittite on Sippine, iii. 226
Pamphylian, i. 242: ii. 222
Phrygian, iii. 261: v. 246
Unknown (Hisarlik), i. 78 fig.

H.S.—VOL. VIII.

(b) GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

AREA MINOR.

Acronia (Slabben), iv. 416: viii. 465

Alla, iv. 417

Allypatak, viii. 513

Ames, viii. 516

Antipolada, iv. 23

Anastasiopolis (Uch Kuyular), iv. 391

Andeda (Andyo), viii. 355

Antiochia (Ali Agha Chiflik), viii. 233

Apameia, iv. 64

Aperlae, vi. 355, 356, 357

Arcti, viii. 496

Attoda (Ipoll Hissar = Assar), viii. 223

Atyochorion (Badinar), iv. 333: viii. 376, &c.

P P

ASIA MINOR (continued)—

- Endioliar*, see *Atryochonion*, Dionysopolis
Baghlye, viii. 501
Bakir, vi. 347
Baltık, iv. 422
Branchidea, vi. 350, 351, 353
Bria, iv. 467
Brouza (*Kara Sandıklı*), viii. 480
Caria, vi. 251
Chalcadon (*Kadıtrent*), vii. 154
Corycus, vi. 362
Cyane, vi. 369
Dicocleia (*Dola*), iv. 422; viii. 467
Dionysopolis (*Sazak*, *Badrakar*, *Orta Kızı*, *Zeyce*, *Kabalar*, *Davalar*), iv. 389; viii. 391
Dios Koinu (*Tubaklar*), iv. 415
Dyghalar, v. 260
Dorylaeum, v. 255
Elke, viii. 260
Epheana, iii. 104; vi. 349
Eski Nispet, viii. 504
Eucarpia (*Maglaylı*), iv. 402, 429
Eumonia, iv. 309; v. 251
Gülle Çiftlik, viii. 259
Hacılar, viii. 259
Hacılarlar, viii. 615
Halicarnassus (?), ii. 98
Het-ja, viii. 249
Hierapolis, iv. 375; vi. 345, 346
Hierapolis (*Kotak Hissar*), iii. 341; iv. 424, 430
Hypaethicus campus, iv. 386; viii. 398
Iasos, viii. 91
Ioucharatux (*Hierocharax*, *Oltural*), iv. 419
Isinda (*Isanos*), viii. 252
Kafık, viii. 248
Kalevishlar, viii. 250
Kara Bazar (near *Dorylaeum*), v. 256
Karagach-Kucuk, v. 259
Kara Hadja, v. 353
Karayutali, viii. 238
Karshike, viii. 257
Kayaklı, viii. 264
Kestel, viii. 257
Khasroo Pasha Khas, viii. 501
Krassos, iv. 433
Kumuk, iv. 434
Kumbet, viii. 495
Kutayak, v. 259
Kuyukak (near *Hierapolis*), iv. 431
Kuyukak (near *Nacoleia*), v. 258
Lagbon (*Abu Farukia Pasha*), viii. 254
Laurida (*Imbey*, *Kavaklar*), iv. 396
Magnesia, vi. 343, 349
Melampagitus (*Aeolia*), ii. 396
Meneimen, ii. 53; vi. 343

ASIA MINOR (continued)—

- Metropolis* (*Tatortly*, *Horrau*), iv. 57
Maarpuur Kaya, viii. 229
Mosyua (*Osenn*), iv. 378
Metella (*Makale*), iv. 393; viii. 394
Myra, vi. 358
Myrina, iii. 221
Nacoleia, iii. 121; v. 257, 260
Naes (*Isak*), iv. 422
Ollama (*Helensli*), viii. 251
Olympus (*Lycia*), vi. 361
Orta Kent (*Dionysopolis*), iv. 389; viii. 397
Otroua, viii. 478, 480
Palula-Schaste (*Papussalim*), iv. 412
Patara, vi. 354, 358, 359
Papous (*Kiltir*), iv. 405
Paparcablar Şişes (*Kizil Aygatch*), viii. 227
Pogla (*Kuslo*), viii. 255
Prione, iv. 237; v. 60
Sagalassum (*Dumtar*), viii. 230
Salanda, *Salsajouda* (*Kabalar*), iv. 388; viii. 390
Samuk (*Pergamus*), vi. 347
Sardes, vi. 346
Sarak, iv. 389; viii. 237, 418
Sebaste (*Simsak*), iv. 410
Sendi Ghazi, viii. 502
Solenzia, vi. 363
Sillyon (*Asarhones*), i. 242; ii. 222
Sipyria, Mt. iii. 227
Soungala (*Tekoubeler*), viii. 89
Takina (*Yarishli*), viii. 231, 261
Tekarik Kesi, viii. 517
Tefeny, viii. 238, 238
Thamasonium (*Karagach-Dumtar*), viii. 226, 223
Thyatira, vi. 347
Thymbra, i. 89, fig.
Tottala, viii. 513
Trokendeno, viii. 493
Tymion (*Hadjahar*), iv. 423
Uz-Baghch, viii. 250
Valiair Serai, viii. 513
Favikent, viii. 259
Fusufcha (near *Cybra*), viii. 234
Zemur, viii. 513
Zivintkewi, viii. 254

EGYPT.

- Abu Simbel*, vii. 222, 230
Alexandria, iv. 153 (amphora)
Elephantine, i. 92
Maharrakus (*Nubia*), i. 92
Naukratis, viii. 129 (vase)

GREECE.

- Athens*, vi. 146
Bonae (*Laconia*), viii. 215 fig.

GREECE (continued).—

Boeotia, vi. 150
 Copae (Boeotia), ii. 161
 Dodona, i. 228; ii. 192
 Eleusis, vi. 146
 Messene, vi. 151
 Olympia, ii. 66
 Orchomenus, ii. 139, 158
 Platæa, vi. 149
 Salamina, viii. 257

ISLANDS OF THE AEGEAN.

Amorgos, v. 44
 Antiparos, vi. 193 (handles of diotæ)
 Olymna, ii. 362
 Camirus, see Rhodes
 Cos (or neighbouring coast), vi. 251
 Delos, vi. 345
 Iasen, viii. 103
 Leipso, vii. 144
 Rhodes: Camirus, iv. 136, 140, 351;
Apollakia, ii. 354; *Kerami*, iv.
 158, 139; *Monolitha*, iv. 138;
Cabeira, iv. 141; doubtful pro-
 venance, vi. 249, 253
 Samos, vi. 350; vii. 147
 Seriphos, vi. 192
 Taramos, viii. 116
 Telos, vi. 234, fig.
 Thasos, viii. 401

ITALY AND SICILY.

Chiusi, ii. 226
 Lipara, vii. 56
 Petelia (gold tablet), iii. 111
 Tarentum, iv. 156, 158; vii. 41

UNKNOWN PROVENANCE.

Broom Hall (Fife), v. 150
 Edinburgh Museum, v. 150
 London, stele of Hippocrates, vi. 43

(c) LATIN INSCRIPTIONS.

Bernay (France), iii. 102 (patern)
 Castle Howard, vi. 39, 40
 Edinburgh Museum, v. 169

(B) Published Inscriptions corrected in
the Journal of Hellenic Studies.I. *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*

C.I.G. 100: ii. 96
 300: vi. 146
 1632: vi. 150
 1988: viii. 375
 2379: vi. 343
 2570: vi. 344
 2949: vi. 343
 3810: v. 255
 3834: iv. 402
 3885: iv. 402; viii. 483
 3902a: iv. 433
 5009: vi. 342
 5952: viii. 223, 224
 5953a: viii. 224
 5956a: viii. 231, 232, 233
 4336: vi. 343
 4342^c (iii p. 1160): i. 242
 4360a: viii. 247
 4367: viii. 247
 4367f, i: viii. 257
 9267: iv. 436
 See also vi. 341

II. *Le Bas, Voyage.*

L.B. 102: vi. 351
 730: iv. 410
 787: iv. 410
 743: viii. 223
 1718: viii. 234
 1700: viii. 231
 1724: ii. 52

III. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hel-
lénique.*

Bull. II. (1878) p. 172: viii. 239
 p. 173: viii. 227
 p. 255: viii. 245
 p. 253: viii. 240, 249

VI. (1882) p. 518: iv. 427

VII. (1883) p. 448f.: iv. 411, 428

IV. *Ephemeris Epigraphica.*

V. 176, 1406: viii. 485

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CONTENTS.

1. A Klypeus in Form of a Sphinx. Plate LXXII, III.—A. S. MORTON	1
2. Numismatic Commentary on Plautius, III. Books IX, X, & XI. Plate LXXIV—VII.—F. THOMPSON, D.D., and F. GLANVILLE	6
3. Excavations in Persia.—W. B. CATON	67
4. Idem.—E. L. HINDS	72
5. Two Samian Vases. Plate LXXIX.—E. A. GARDNER	110
6. The Third Game in Book XVIII.—WALTER LEAF	122
7. The Homeric Valant: its Origin, Value, and Affinity.—W. BROWNE	133
8. Recently Discovered Architectural Statues.—E. A. GARDNER	113
9. The Lampsacæ and Vases in Karia, 1195—1240.—J. H. DODD	151
10. An Inscription from Boeotia.—E. A. GARDNER	214
11. Notes on a Text in Asia Minor.—A. H. SMITH	219
12. Vases Representing the Judgment of Paris (Note)	265

SUPPLEMENT

Restatutions in Greece, 1874-7	265
Medicine and Epigraphy, 1886-7	277

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- (A) *Art and Manufacture*—Hirt's 'Rechnung'; Bruns's 'Geschichte des Vortages der Antike'; Furtwängler's 'Beschreibung der Vasensammlung im Antiquarium'; Kuhn's 'Griechische Vasen und Wandmalereien'; Klein's 'Epigraphik'; Wilhelmsen's 'Attische Vasen'; Margenthaler's 'Zusammenhang der Bilder auf Griechischen Vasen'; Schreiber's 'Trachten der Vasen'; Vogel's 'Sonstige europäische Trachten in Griechischen Vasensammlungen'.
- (B) *Inscriptions*—Hirschfeld's 'Griechische Inschriften'; Colla's 'Sammlung der Griechischen Inschriften'; Löwy's 'Griechische Inschriften'; Bernhardt's 'Griechische Epigraphik'; Lepsius's 'Griechische Inschriften'.
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